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31 August 1981

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 12, 16 June 1981

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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ETERNAL GLORY TO SOONG CHING LING, OUR COUNTRY'S PATRIOTIC, DEMOCRATIC, INTERNATIONALIST AND COMMUNIST GREAT FIGHTER, OUTSTANDING STATE LEADER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 81 pp 2-4

[Memorial speech by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at memorial service for Comrade Soong Ching Ling--3 June 1981]

[Text] With deep grief, we pay tribute today to the memory of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, one of the founders of the People's Republic of China, honorary president of the People's Republic of China, a leader whom the people of all nationalities in China, including Taiwan compatriots and Overseas Chinese, love and respect from the bottom of their hearts, a great patriotic, democratic, internationalist and communist fighter known throughout the world, a long-tested vanguard in defense of world peace, and an outstanding member of the Communist Party of China.

Despite all treatment, Comrade Soong Ching Ling died of chronic lymphocytic leukemia at 2018 hours on 29 May 1981, in Beijing at the age of 90.

A native of Wenchang County, Guangdong Province, Comrade Soong Ching Ling from her early years followed the great revolutionary, Dr Sun Yat-sen, and devoted herself to the cause of the democratic revolution. In 1913 she became Dr Sun Yat-sen's secretary, taking charge of his vast correspondence including confidential letters from China and abroad, and other day-to-day work. She married Dr Sun Yat-sen in 1915. She was firm, loyal, prudent and modest, and always remained Dr Sun's close comrade-in-arms and able assistant. In May 1921, Dr Sun Yat-sen took office as the extraordinary president of the Republic of China. In June the following year, Chen Jiongming turned against the revolution and bombarded the presidential mansion. His rebel forces pressed on and the situation became critical. Comrade Soong Ching Ling refused to leave the mansion before others. She said to Dr Sun: "China can do without me, but cannot do without you." She insisted that Dr Sun be evacuated from the danger area before her. Then escorted by guards, she broke through the battle lines. As a result, her health was irreparably impaired. This heroic action is but one indication of Comrade Soong Ching Ling's staunch will, and outstanding courage that underscored her dedication to the cause of revolution.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling did a great deal of active and practical work during Dr Sun Yat-sen's consultations with representatives of the Communist Party of

China on matters of cooperation and in his discussions with envoys sent by Lenin. She firmly supported the three people's principles, of which Dr Sun Yat-sen made a new interpretation in the "Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang of China," namely, the new three people's principles of alliance with Russia, alliance with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers. In order to solve the problems of the unification and construction of China, Dr Sun Yat-sen, despite grave dangers and against all advice to the contrary, traveled to north China in November 1924. Comrade Soong Ching Ling accompanied him with great resolution. Dr Sun Yat-sen died of illness in Beijing on 12 March 1925. It was Comrade Soong Ching Ling who publicized Dr Sun Yat-sen's testament to China and the world. Shortly afterwards, speaking with the force of justice, she denounced the right wing of the Kuomintang and plunged into the work of preparing for the northern expedition.

During the second national congress of the Kuomintang in January 1926, Comrade Soong Ching Ling resolutely implemented Dr Sun Yat-sen's three great policies, worked in close cooperation with the Chinese communists, and struggled against the right wing of the Kuomintang. After the 12 April 1927 counterrevolutionary coup in Shanghai, Comrade Soong Ching Ling and many Kuomintang left wingers as well as the Chinese communists Mao Zedong, Dong Biwu, Yun Daiying, Lin Boqu and Wu Yuzhang issued a joint message in denunciation of Chiang Kai-shek. On the eve of the open betrayal of the revolution by the Wang Jingwei government in Wuhan, she again issued a "statement in protest against the violation of Dr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles and policies," declaring that she would sever all relations with those who were renegades to the cause of Dr Sun Yat-sen. On 1 August, Comrade Soong Ching Ling, Comrade Mao Zedong and 20 others issued a declaration in the name of Central Committee members of the Kuomintang, solemnly exposing the betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei. On the day of the Nanching Uprising, a revolutionary committee composed of Zhou Enlai and 24 others was formed and, though Comrade Soong Ching Ling was not in Nanchang at the time, she was elected to the seven-member presidium of the Revolutionary Committee. In August 1927, she made a long and arduous journey to the Soviet Union to seek the road to victory for the Chinese revolution.

During the first 2 years of the 10-year civil war, Comrade Soong Ching Ling participated in a series of important international anti-imperialist activities in the Soviet Union and France and, in 1929, she was elected honorary chairman of the second congress of the anti-imperialist league. She subsequently became one of the principal leaders of the world anti-fascist movement.

After Comrade Soong Ching Ling returned to China, she gave wholehearted support to the political stand of the Chinese Communist Party and resolutely rejected any post offered to her on the Central Committee of the Kuomintang and in the government. This action served to defy the KMT threats and lures. She time and again stated her profound yearning for the cause of socialism. She solemnly pointed out in an article she wrote in 1931 that the Kuomintang had long since betrayed its revolutionary policies and that its various factions, backed by warlords, were all trying to curry favor with the imperialists, and were slaughtering the Chinese masses. "Only a revolution based on the masses and serving them can smash the power of the warlords and politicians, shake off the yoke of imperialism and realize socialism." In the 1930's, when she was engaged in revolutionary activities in Shanghai, she established a profound revolutionary friendship with the great communist Lu Xun. Together with Lu Xun, Cai Yuanpei, Yang Xingfo and others, she organized the China League for Human Rights, and waged sharp struggles against the Kuomintang reactionaries, protecting and rescuing a large number of Chinese Communist Party members and patriotic democrats who opposed Chiang Kai-shek. Thus she made important and unique contributions to the cause of revolution.

After the "September 18" incident in 1931, Japanese troops invaded and occupied China's three northeastern provinces and the KMT government pursued a policy of non-resistance. In 1934, the Chinese Communist Party set forth a "six-point program for resisting Japan and saving the nation" which was promulgated over the signatures of Comrade Soong Ching Ling and others. On 1 August 1935, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued the "1 August declaration" which called on the people of the whole country to work together as one to stop the civil war and resist Japanese aggression. Comrade Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Liu Yazi, Jing Hengyi, Chen Shuren as well as Yu Youren, Sun Fo and others were the first to respond. And their response produced a tremendous public impact. During the war of resistance to Japan, Comrade Soong Ching Ling refused to be confined to the same place as the Kuomintang government and instead went to Guangzhou and Hong Kong where she founded the "China Defense League" for collecting donations from prominent foreigners and Overseas Chinese sympathetic to China's war of resistance to Japan. She unremittingly supported the anti-Japanese struggles led by the Chinese Communist Party and exposed the reactionary Kuomintang policies of compromise with and capitulation to Japan and opposition to the Communist Party and the Chinese people. The Kuomintang government therefore exerted pressure on Comrade Soong Ching Ling through foreign forces, but the allegations used as pressure against her were refuted by her and by Comrade Chen Hansheng who was working with her at the time. After the southern Anhui incident in 1941, Comrade Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Liu Yazi and Peng Zemin came out boldly to denounce the Kuomintang's pernicious acts. Comrade Soong Ching Ling arrived in Chongqing in December 1941. She managed to meet or maintain contact with George Hatem, Agnes Smedley, Edgar Snow, Rewi Alley and other foreign friends who were sympathetic to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people and they worked closely with her, making important contributions to the Chinese people's cause of resistance to Japanese aggression.

After the victory of the war of resistance, Comrade Soong Ching Ling founded the China Welfare Fund in Shanghai and, under very trying conditions, provided concrete assistance to the working masses. During the war of liberation she rendered great material help to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Liberation Army under its leadership.

After Beijing was liberated, Comrade Soong Ching Ling was delighted to accept the invitation from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party addressed to her to participate in the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and she made the trip north. When the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, Comrade Soong Ching Ling was elected vice-chairman of the central people's government. She was elected vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in 1954, and vice-chairman of the

People's Republic of China in 1959 and again in 1965; and elected again vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC in 1974. As an important state leader for the past 32 years, she was involved in numerous state activities in the cause of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Comrade Soong Ching Ling made highly successful visits to the Soviet Union, India, Burma, Pakistan, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. In 1957, Comrade Soong Ching Ling accompanied Comrade Mao Zedong and participated in the Moscow meeting of representatives of the Communist and workers parties. Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and other comrades often exchanged views with her on major international and domestic issues and, during the long period in which they collaborated, they confided in each other, and forged a profound and comradely friendship. Comrade Soong Ching Ling always paid attention to women's work in new China, devotedly watching over the health and education of children and young people. For many years she presided over the work of the People's Relief Administration and the Red Cross Society of China. Comrade Soong Ching Ling was an outstanding leader of Chinese women and an affectionate grandmother to the children of China. She always showed great solicitude for old friends and acquaintances who had been followers of Dr Sun Yat-sen in their early years, and deep concern for the future of Taiwan. She ardently hoped that peace talks between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party would be conducted at an early date so as to accomplish the great cause of the reunification of the motherland, to which she made invaluable contributions.

In recent years, Comrade Soong Ching Ling was gladdened by our party's successive smashing of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and staunchly supported the series of principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. She was full of enthusiasm for the socialist modernization of the motherland to which she devoted all her energy and strength in her later years. She ardently hoped for the growing prosperity of the motherland which has entered into the era of socialism after realizing Dr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary ideal of the three people's principles. Comrade Soong Ching Ling made brilliant contributions to the cause of China's revolution and construction and won the heartfelt respect and love of the people of all nationalities in the country.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling was elected a member of the World Peace Council in 1950 and chairman of the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific regions in 1952. In the international sphere, she conducted courageous and fruitful struggles to oppose wars of aggression, defend world peace, advance progressive culture, strive for social progress and the well-being of mankind and promote understanding and friendly exchange among the people of all countries. She enjoyed the wide esteem of people of all strata in China and other countries, and was acknowledged internationally as the great woman of the 20th century.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling spared no effort in performing her duties and, for the past 70 years, devoted all her energies and strength to the people's democratic and socialist cause of China, to world peace and the cause of world progress. Under all circumstances, she retained her unyielding revolutionary principles, and was neither intimidated by force, nor subdued by wealth or rank. Her noble spirit and integrity will be remembered throughout history. What we treasure most is the fact that Soong Ching Ling kept up with the pace of history and starting as a great revolutionary democrat she became a great communist. The Communist Party of China and its leaders Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and other comrades had long accepted her as a close comrade-in-arms, a comrade and a respected proletarian vanguard fighter. Shortly before her death, she was accepted as a full member of the Communist Party of China, and her long cherished wish was thus fulfilled. This was an honor for Comrade Soong Ching Ling and also an honor for the Communist Party of China. Comrade Soong Ching Ling will always live in the hearts of the Chinese people and in the hearts of the Chinese communists.

In mourning Comrade Soong Ching Ling, we will turn grief into strength and, rallying still more closely around the Central Committee of the party, work hard to accomplish the great sacred cause of the reunification of the motherland and build China into a modern, powerful, socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization!

Eternal glory to Comrade Soong Ching Ling!

CSO: 4004/124

THE GREAT AND GLORIOUS LIFE OF COMRADE SOONG CHING LING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 81 pp 5-10

[XINHUA 30 May report]

[Text] Soong Ching Ling, honorary president of the People's Republic of China and vice chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, who died yesterday, was known throughout the world as a great patriotic, democratic, internationalist and communist fighter.

While her family came from Wenchang County, Hainan Island, Guangdong Province, Soong Ching Ling herself was born on 27 January 1893 in Shanghai. She was considered to be 90 years old according to the traditional Chinese practice.

Soong Ching Ling received her early education at the McTyeire School for Girls in Shanghai. She went to the United States in 1908 at the age of 15 and entered Wesleyan College for Women in Macon, Georgia, where she received a bachelor of arts degree in 1913. The year she graduated she wrote an article for the college journal entitled "The Greatest Event of the Twentieth Century," hailing the victory of China's 1911 revolution. Soon after she returned to China in 1913, she became the secretary of Dr Sun Yat-sen, the great forerunner of the Chinese revolution, and started her revolutionary career.

On 25 October 1915, she married Dr Sun Yat-sen. In the following years she accompanied Dr Sun in traveling between Shanghai and Guangzhou, rendering service to the revolution. During the May 4 movement of 1919, she worked hard to help rescue the arrested Beijing students. In May 1921, Dr Sun Yat-sen took office as the extraordinary president of the Republic of China. On the early morning of 16 June 1922, warlord Chen Jiongming turned against the revolution, and surrounded and bombarded the president's office. Soong Ching Ling insisted that Dr Sun Yat-sen leave immediately. But she did not leave the office until 0800 the same morning, escorted by two bodyguards and an aide-de-camp who broke through the encirclement. She escaped danger the following evening, when she was in a state of exhaustion, her health seriously impaired.

In August 1922, Sun Yat-sen disembarked from a warship at Shanghai and began a major overhaul of the Kuomintang leadership. Soong Ching Ling did a lot of effective work in the consultations on cooperation which took place between Dr Sun Yat-sen and the representatives of the Chinese Communist Party and during his conversations with the special envoys sent by Lenin.

In 1923, troops loyal to Sun Yat-sen drove Chen Jiongming out of Guangzhou, and Sun Yat-sen and Soong Ching Ling returned to that city, when they continued the work of overhauling the Kuomintang.

The Kuomintang held its first national congress in 1924. Soong Ching Ling firmly supported the new explanation in the manifesto of the congress in which the three great policies of alliance with Soviet Russia, cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers, were included in the three people's principles, which henceforth became known as the new three people's principles.

In November 1924, Soong Ching Ling accompanied Sun Yat-sen in going north to Beijing, at the invitation of military and political leaders there, to solve the problems of China's reunification and construction. Sun Yat-sen died on 12 March 1925, in Beijing. It was Soong Ching Ling who made known to China and the world Dr Sun Yat-sen's political will. After his death, she dedicated herself to the great revolution of the Chinese people.

After the "May 30" massacre in 1925, with great indignation she issued this statement to a reporter of Shanghai's MINGUO RIBAO: "This tragedy, to put it concisely, was the first time in Shanghai that the Chinese people were able to unite to resist the atrocities committed by the British police station as part of the suppression by the British and Japanese powers of the Chinese people's revolutionary spirit.... All Chinese people are charged with the important task of saving the country."

During the second national congress of the Kuomintang in January 1926, Soong Ching Ling resolutely upheld Dr Sun Yat-sen's three great policies and worked in close cooperation with the Communist Party to carry on the struggle against the right wing of the Kuomintang. At this congress, she was elected a member of the Kuomintang Executive Committee. In November of the same year, the Northern Expedition Army captured Wuhan. The national government prepared to move to that city, and Soong Ching Ling together with an advance party arrived in Wuhan. On 13 December in Wuhan, the members of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee and the members of the national government council held a meeting, at which it was decided to form a joint committee, and Soong Ching Ling became a member of this committee. During the first 6 months of 1927, Soong Ching Ling ran a women's institute of political training in Hankou, Hubei Province. When Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Kuomintang right wing, launched a counterrevolutionary coup in Shanghai on 12 April of that year, Soong Ching Ling and many Kuomintang left-wingers as well as Mao Zedong, Dong Biwu and other Chinese communists issued an open message denouncing Chiang Kai-shek. On 14 July 1927, on the eve of the open betrayal of the revolution by the Kuomintang government in Wuhan headed by Wang Ching-wei, Soong Ching Ling issued a statement, stating: "Some members of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang are doing violence to Sun Yat-sen's ideas and ideals." She continued with supreme confidence in spite of the serious crisis in the revolution: "Sun Yat'sen's three people's principles will eventually succeed, the revolution in China is inevitable." She also said, "There is no despair in my heart for the revolution. My disheartenment is only for the path into which some of those who had been leading the revolution have strayed."

On 1 August 1927, Comrade Soong Ching Ling, Comrade Mao Zedong and 20 other persons issued a declaration to expose the betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei. She supported the Nanchang Armed Uprising launched by the Chinese Communist Party on the same day. A revolutionary committee composed of Zhou Enlai and 24 others elected Soong Ching Ling to a seven-member presidium. Soong Ching Ling left for Moscow in late August to seek the road for the Chinese revolution. Upon her departure she issued a public statement, again expounding Sun Yat-sen's three great policies. She said: "The reactionary forces led by the fake leaders of the Kuomintang who have betrayed the revolution endanger the three great policies"; "they are bound to fail, as they are taking the road of those who attempted to rule the people in the same way." She returned to China by way of Berlin in May 1929 to attend the state funeral of Sun Yat-sen in Nanjing. On the eve of her return to China, she issued a statement saying: "I cannot participate directly or indirectly in the work of the Kuomintang until its policy is in complete conformity with the basic principles of the late Dr Sun Yat-sen."

During her stay in the Soviet Union and Europe from 1927 to 1929 and 1930 to 1931, she took an active part in the international movement against imperialism and in defense of peace. Soong Ching Ling was elected honorary chairman at two conferences of the Anti-Imperialist League held in Belgium, December 1927, and in Germany, August 1929. She subsequently became one of the principal leaders of the world anti-fascist movement.

After returning to China in 1931, she enthusiastically supported the Communist Party's proposal to end the civil war and form a national anti-Japanese united front. In an article published 19 December 1931, in Shanghai, she exposed the reactionary nature and the capitulationist activities of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang government. She wrote: "Only a revolution based on the masses and serving them can smash the power of the warlords and politicians, shake off the yoke of imperialism and realize socialism."

On 28 January 1932, the Japanese militarists invaded Shanghai and the 19th Route Army counterattacked, thus sparking the "January 28" incident. With the help of Yang Xingfo, Soong Ching Ling raised money and, borrowing buildings from Jiaotong University, set up a 300-bed hospital in Shanghai for wounded soldiers. In reply to a reporter's question, she said: "With regard to the war of resistance against Japan," I "advocate vigorous resistance to the end." "Mankind exists only through struggle, and revolutionaries can only be concerned about right and wrong and not about present dangers. The 19th Route Army is fully aware that there is a great disparity in numerical strength between it and the enemy and that its weapons and financial resources are inferior to those of the enemy, but, in spite of everything, the army is striving with its flesh and blood for the slim chance of China's survival, so that the world knows that China has armed forces and its people's morale that are not to be bullied, not only being a model of armed forces but also being the armed force of the revolution and the vanguard of anti-imperialism. In setting up this hospital, our generation is only showing part of its stand with the masses and expressing its reverence for and gratitude to these unprecedently revolutionary fighters. In December of the same year, with Lu Xun, Cai Yuanpei and Yang Xingfo, she organized the China League for Human Rights to oppose Chiang Kai-shek's fascist massacre. When elaborating on the league's mission, she said: "If the revolution in China is not victorious, imperialism will subjugate and carve up the country. There are no other alternatives. I believe in the ultimate victory of the Chinese people. I think the China League for Human Rights is one of the instruments propelling us forward toward attainment of this goal." The league protected and rescued many CCP members and anti-Chiang patriotic democrats by struggling against the Kuomintang reactionaries, and made a special contribution to the revolutionary cause.

On 1 April 1933, Soong Ching Ling published a message to the Chinese people, opposing the Chiang Kai-shek government's persecution of patriots who opposed imperialism and resisted Japanese aggression and the illegal arrest of the communists Luo Dengxian, Liao Chengzhi and Chen Geng. She called on the Chinese people to rise in a struggle to protect the arrested revolutionaries. In an article entitled "Unite, Chinese Workers" and published in Shanghai in May 1933, Soong Ching Ling pointed out: "The Chiang Kai-shek government cannot unify China, cannot lead the armed people in a national revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism and cannot give the peasants land." She called on the people of the whole country to "unite, get organized, and struggle for China's liberation, unification and territorial integrity."

In September 1933, she convened the Far East conference of the World Anti-Imperialist War Committee in Shanghai and delivered a speech in which she said, "The present era marks the birth of a new social system--socialism"; "Reactionary armed forces can be confronted only with revolutionary armed forces"; "We are against imperialist war, but for national revolutionary war waged by the people who take up arms."

In 1934, the Chinese Communist Party put forward a six-point program to resist Japan and save the nation which was published over the signatures of Soong Ching Ling and other democrats.

In 1935, when Japanese imperialism further intensified its aggression against China and the Chinese people's resist-Japan national salvation movement was in a further upsurge, Soong Ching Ling continued her unremitting struggle to form a national united front for resistance against Japan and to protect the people's democratic rights. On 1 August 1935, the CCP Central Committee issued the "August 1" declaration which called the people of the whole country to unite to end the civil war and resist Japan. Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Liu Yazi, Jing Xiangyi, Chen Shuren as well as Yu Youren and Sun Ke were the first to respond, exerting a tremendous influence.

Shen Junru, Zou Taofen and other democrats established the "National Salvation Federation" in Shanghai in May 1936, demanding that the Kuomintang government stop the civil war, release political prisoners, negotiate peace with the Red Army and establish a unified government of resistance against Japan. Soong Ching Ling was a member of the executive committee of the federation. In November of the same year, the Kuomintang government arrested Shen Junru, Zou Taofen, Li Gongpu, Sha Qianli, Shi Liang, Zhang Naiqi and Wang Zaoshi--all members of the federation. Soong Ching Ling issued a statement on 26 November, protesting the arrest of the seven champions of democracy. When the Kuomintang tried the seven leaders of the democratic movement, she went to the "higher court" in Suzhou and, following their imprisonment, asked the court to shut her up as well for the "crime of patriotism."

Kuomintang Generals Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng, who were eager to resist Japanese aggression, arrested Chiang Kai-shek in the famous Xian incident of 12 December 1936. Soong Ching Ling was one of those who advocated that Chiang Kai-shek be released on condition that he agree to end the civil war and resist Japanese aggression.

Along with Feng Yuxiang, He Xiangning and other Kuomintang left-wingers, Soong Ching Ling proposed at the 3d Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Committee in February 1937 to restore Dr Sun Yat-sen's three great policies of alliance with Soviet Russia, cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers. She made a speech at the meeting, asking the Kuomintang government to end the civil war and mobilize all the forces, including the Communist Party, to defend China's territorial integrity. In November of the same year, she issued a statement supporting the formation of an anti-Japanese national united front.

Soong Ching Ling initiated and organized the China Defense League in June 1938 to publicize the anti-Japanese movement among people abroad and collect medical and other supplies from all over the world. To provide first-aid to wounded soldiers, the league introduced medical teams organized by foreign friends to the anti-Japanese base areas set up by the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army. The team led by the Canadian surgeon, Dr Norman Bethune, was one of these.

After the "south Anhui incident" in the spring of 1941, Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning and others sent a joint message denouncing Chiang Kai-shek and demanding that he "stop using armed force to attack the Communist Party." After the Japanese militarists launched the Pacific war in December 1941, Soong Ching Ling arrived in Chongqing from Hong Kong and immediately resumed the activities of the China Defense League. During this period, she got together with George Hatem, Agnes Smedley, Edgar Snow, Rewi Alley and other foreign friends and worked for the Chinese people's cause of resistance to Japanese aggression.

Soong Ching Ling returned to Shanghai in 1945 when the anti-Japanese war ended in victory. Late that year she organized the China Welfare Fund, which rendered support to progressive organizations and democratic forces. During the liberation war, the fund provided substantial material assistance to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Liberation Army. On 23 July 1946, Soong Ching Ling issued a statement in Shanghai, calling for the organization of a coalition government and urging the American people to stop the U.S. Government from giving military assistance to the Kuomintang.

In 1948, Kuomintang veterans including Li Jishen (Li Chi-shen), He Xiangning and Feng Yuxiang organized the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang in Hong Kong, and Soong Ching Ling was named its honorary chairman.

On 1 July 1949, Soong Ching Ling published an article in Shanghai, "Salute the Chinese Communist Party," which expressed heartfelt acclaim for the people's victory.

In September 1949, at the invitation of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, Soong Ching Ling came to Beijing to attend the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. She delivered a speech at the session, calling for the founding of an independent, democratic, peaceful, strong and prosperous China, which would work for lasting world peace. On 30 September, she was elected vice chairman of the central people's government. From that time onward, Soong Ching Ling was a prominent state leader, and Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi often exchanged views with her on major domestic and international issues.

As an official representative of China, Soong Ching Ling took part in international activities frequently, making outstanding contributions to the promotion of friendship among peoples, progressive culture and world peace.

She was elected a member of the executive bureau of the World Peace Council at the organization's second congress in Warsaw on 23 November 1950.

On 18 September 1951, she was awarded the Stalin peace prize. She donated the entire 100,000 rubles to welfare institutions for Chinese women and children.

Soong Ching Ling led the Chinese delegation to the peace conference for Asian and Pacific regions held in Beijing in October 1952 and was elected chairman of the peace liaison committee of the Asian and Pacific regions. She again headed a Chinese delegation to the World Peace Congress in Vienna in December 1952.

From 16 December 1955 to 4 February 1956, Soong Ching Ling visited India, Burma and Pakistan, and in August 1956 she visited Indonesia. All these visits were successful.

In November 1957, Comrade Soong Ching Ling accompanied Comrade Mao Zedong at the Moscow meeting of representatives of communist and workers parties.

In the capacity of vice chairman of the People's Republic of China, Soong Ching Ling visited Ceylon along with Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice Premier Chen Yi in February 1964.

Soong Ching Ling was a respected and beloved leader of all the nationalities of China. In September 1954, she was elected vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress at the first session of the First National People's Congress.

In December 1954, she was elected vice chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference at the first session of the second National Committee of the CPPCC. On 27 April 1959, Soong Ching Ling was elected vice chairman of the People's Republic of China at the first session of the Second National People's Congress. On 3 January 1965, she was reelected vice chairman of the People's Republic of China at the first session of the Third National People's Congress.

On 12 November 1966, Soong Ching Ling delivered a speech in the Chinese capital at a ceremony solemnly commemorating the centenary of the birth of Dr Sun Yat-sen, in which she said, "With unwavering belief in our objectives, with staunch faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, with unbounded confidence in our ability to win, we join hands in struggle with all who strive for a world without exploitation of man by man, without national oppression and without racial discrimination."

On 17 January 1975, at the first session of the Fourth National People's Congress and again on 5 March 1978, at the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Soong Ching Ling was reelected vice chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee.

Soong Ching Ling was an outstanding leader of the women of China. On 25 April 1953, she was elected honorary president of the All-China Women's Federation. In 1957, at the first session of the federation's third executive committee, and in 1978, at the fourth national congress of Chinese women, she was again elected honorary president of the federation. When delivering the closing address at the fourth national congress of Chinese women, she emphatically pointed out: "To bring up with the best of care the children to be reliable successors of the revolution is a strategic task of the party and the state, and also a lofty duty of women in the new era."

Soong Ching Ling showed great concern for the health and education of the children of China and was their affectionate grandmother. She was chairman of the Chinese People's National Committee in Defense of Children since 26 November 1951.

On the eve of the 14 May 1981 forum to honor "June 1" International Children's Day, she wrote a letter to wish the meeting success, explaining that she could not attend because of illness. In the letter she said: "Though I am unable to attend the meeting, my heart beats together with yours in love and concern for our children."

Soong Ching Ling was elected executive chairman of the People's Relief Administration of China in April 1950. In August of the same year, the China Welfare Fund which she had founded was renamed the China Welfare Institute. She continued to lead this organization during her lifetime.

Soong Ching Ling always concerned herself with the future of Taiwan, and she sincerely expected that talks between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party would be conducted at an earlier date, so as to accomplish the great cause of reunifying the motherland. She made valuable contributions to this cause.

On 29 September 1979, Soong Ching Ling published an article in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, entitled "The People's Will Is Invincible." The article said, "We have taken great strides along the bright road of socialism over the past 30 years under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Although the road has been hard and tortuous, careerists and conspirators have been unable to defeat the strong will of 900 million people. Not a single one of these careerists has not been badly battered and smashed by the strong will of the people. This has always been the case in the past and will remain so in the future. I am confident that the people's will is invincible. She also said: "Today I am already well over 80 years old. When I see that the international and domestic situations are excellent, and that, after overcoming the danger of being capsized, the ship of new China is again riding the winds and clearing the waves as it advances upright and unafraid, I feel joy in the bottom of my heart and incomparable happiness. I also see new brightness for the motherland. I sincerely hope that the great people of our country, under the guidance of Marxism-Leininism-Mao Zedong Thought, will constantly enhance their unity and march toward a brighter future. I shall be happy to march forward shoulder to shoulder with everyone involved in this great and heroic cause."

On 15 May 1981, the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee accepted Soong Ching Ling as a full member of the Communist Party of China.

On 16 May 1981, the 18th meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress conferred on Soong Ching Ling the title of honorary president of the People's Republic of China.

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THE GLORIOUS ROAD OF A GREAT COMMUNIST FIGHTER—IN MEMORY OF COMRADE SOONG CHING LING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 81 pp 11-15

[Article by RED FLAG Editorial Board]

[Text] The passing away of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, an exemplary member of the CCP, one of the founders of the PRC and our honorary state chairman, has filled the whole party and the whole nation with immense grief. Since 1913, in striving for founding an independent, democratic, prosperous and strong new China and for thoroughly liberating the Chinese nation and people, Comrade Soong Ching Ling remained faithful and unswerving, struggled all her life and performed outstanding feats. Comrade Soong Ching Ling lived her life as a great champion of patriotism, democracy, internationalism and communism. She will occupy a glorious and indelible place in modern and contemporary Chinese history.

The road taken by Comrade Soong Ching Ling strikingly draws people's attention and touches people's hearts. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said in his memorial speech: "She never ceased advancing in pace with history. She changed from a great revolutionary democrat into a great communist." Since her youth, Comrade Soong Ching Ling resolved to dedicate herself to the cause of revolution led by Dr Sun Yat-sen. The failure of the 1911 revolution had rendered the old democratic revolution beyond saving. Comrade Soong Ching Ling assisted Sun Yat-sen in assembling revolutionary forces to struggle against the northern warlords. After the "May 4th" movement broke out, she and Sun Yat-sen enthusiastically welcomed and supported this great patriotic democratic movement, which raised the curtain on the new democratic revolution. Subsequently, Sun Yat-sen accepted the proposals of the CCP and adopted the revolutionary three people's principles, which embodied the three major policies of establishing an alliance with the Russians, establishing an alliance with the communists, and supporting and assisting the peasants and workers. Comrade Soong Ching Ling was then his competent assistant. After the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, the rightists in the Kuomintang, headed by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei, betrayed the revolutionary three people's principles set by Sun Yat-sen and led the Chinese revolution, which had hitherto been full of promise, into an abyss of darkness. At that critical moment, Comrade Soong Ching Ling, determined to carry on the ideals and cause of Sun Yat-sen, came forward resolutely and bravely, held high Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary banner, united the leftists in the Kuomintang to side with the progressive forces in China, whose core was the CCP, and launched uncompromising struggles against the Kuomintang reactionaries. During the following 20 years and more, those long years marked by massive and ceaseless bloodshed, Comrade Soong Ching Ling disregarded various kinds of action taken against her by the reactionaries, such as promise of gain, intimidation and persecution; exploited every advantageous condition selflessly and skillfully to carry out revolutionary activities; and went all-out to support the cause of the people's revolution led by the CCP, until Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule over the mainland was completely overthrown. After the founding of new China, as one of the leaders of our state Comrade Soong Ching Ling devoted all her efforts and made enormous contributions to our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction, to the cause of safeguarding world peace and promoting human progress, and in particular to the work of taking care of and educating children. History has testified that the road of devoting oneself to the people's revolutionary cause and struggling for the building of a new China, which Comrade Soong Ching Ling chose and followed for over 70 years, is the correct road in line with historical trends.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling was a great patriot. She took the revolutionary road out of patriotism. Since her youth she was imbued with fervent and boundless love for the motherland. When she was being educated at Wesleyan College for Women, she wrote and published articles to express her views on the future of China. Deeply concerned about the destiny of the motherland, she thought that life would be devoid of charm if one were to forget one's motherland. The fact that imperialism and the Chinese reactionaries were trampling on the motherland filled her with indignation. She hoped that the motherland would one day become really independent, democratic, prosperous and powerful. It was precisely these patriotic thoughts which constituted an enormous motive force and firm basis for her active participation in the cause of the revolution led by Sun Yat-sen. With the development of the Chinese revolution, she progressed from patriotism to revolutionary democracy and then to communism, so that finally she grew into a champion of communism. It can be seen from the life of Comrade Soong Ching Ling that patriotism should be unconditional. Patriotism is tantamount to loving the people, closely integrating one's own destiny with the people's destiny, and devoting oneself to striving for a beautiful and bright future for the people. A patriot is not necessarily a communist, but a communist must in the first place be a patriot.

A patriot cannot become a revolutionary without taking part in revolutionary practice or throwing oneself into fiery mass struggles. The noblest quality of Comrade Soong Ching Ling's was that she was a great revolutionary with the will to do solid work. Taking the road of a revolutionary, she changed from a patriot into a revolutionary democrat and then into a communist. She could traverse the whole course of this road only after she had completely broken with five categories of reactionary forces.

First, she broke with the feudal monarchic system. The decadent and moribund nature of this system, which had dominated China for some 2,000 years, became increasingly evident toward the end of the Qing dynasty. Declaring a break with this reactionary system was the road which every progressive Chinese had to take at that time. Even before the 1911 revolution, Comrade Soong Ching Ling greatly admired and respected Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary proposition of overthrowing the autocratic monarchic rule. She was overjoyed at the success of the 1911 revolution. She trampled the dragon flag of the Qing dynasty under her feet and acclaimed the institution of the republican system. She wrote in an article to highly appraise the significance of the 1911 revolution: "This means that 400 million people have been emancipated from the slavery of an extreme monarchy." This shows that Comrade Soong Ching Ling deeply resented and broke with the feudal monarchic system in which the monarch could claim, "I am equal to the country."

Second, she broke with the reactionary rule of the warlords. Because of the weaknesses and limitations of bourgeois revolution, the fruits of the 1911 revolution were soon seized by the northern warlords, represented by Yuan Shihkai. During the following 10 years and more, the warlords, who were occupying various places, waged tangled warfare year after year, so that the broad masses of people suffered extreme misery. Sun Yat-sen was greatly distressed and launched several punitive expeditions against Yuan. He enthusiastically supported the "May 4th" patriotic movement, which was aimed at opposing imperialism and feudalism, and whose direct object of attack was the northern warlords' government. He resolved to organize revolutionary armies to launch a northern expedition against Chen Jiongming, the local warlord who betrayed the revolution, and others. These were his specific actions against the rule of the warlords. As Sun Yat-sen's assistant, comrade-in-arms and revolutionary companion, Comrade Soong Ching Ling wholeheartedly supported these just actions of Sun Yat-sen's, and thus showed her clear-cut stand of breaking with the rule of the warlords.

Third, she broke with the Kuomintang rightists. From the very beginning, the Kuomintang rightists resented and opposed the three major policies of "establishing an alliance with the Russians, establishing an alliance with the communists and supporting and assisting the peasants and workers," which were proposed by Sun Yat-sen and adopted by the first national congress of the Kuomintang. As soon as Sun Yat-sen died, they impatiently came out to oppose the three major policies, to attack the communists and to "purge undesirable elements from the party." At the end of 1925, the "Xishan meeting" faction, headed by Xie Chi and Zou Lu, adopted proposals such as "depriving communists of Kuomintang membership," "expelling the Central Committee executive member Li Dazhao, delegate of the Communist Party," and so on. They openly carried out activities to betray and split the revolutionary camp. In these circumstances, Comrade Soong Ching Ling took the initiative to unite the Kuomintang leftists with the Communists, and dealt a heavy blow to the Kuomintang rightists. At the second national congress of the Kuomintang, convened in January 1926, she made a speech strongly condemning the rightist clique in the Kuomintang for violating Sun Yat-sen's teachings. Her principles and stand won the respect of the majority of representatives. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek launched the "April 12" counterrevolutionary coup and butchered the communists on a massive scale. Comrade Soong Ching Ling, together with communists such as Mao Zedong, Dong Biwu, Yun Daiying, Lin Boqu, Wu Yuzhang and so on, as well as with Kuomintang leftists such as Deng Yanda and Chen Youren, published an open telegram denouncing Chiang Kai-shek. In July of the same year, on the eve of the formation of the counterrevolutionary "coalition of the Nanjing forces and the Wuhan forces," which was going to take place after Wang Jingwei followed in Chiang Kai-shek's footsteps and turned traitor, Comrade Soong Ching Ling published in Hankou her "declaration to protest against violations of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles and policies." She clearly declared: "In my view, the interpretations of Sun Yat-sen's principles and policies by certain Executive Committee members of our party are against Sun Yat-sen's ideas and ideals. Therefore, I will not take part in the implementation of our party's new policies." From then on, she no longer maintained relations with the Kuomintang, which was manipulated by Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Jingwei and company. She completely broke with the Kuomintang rightists.

Fourth, she broke with Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime. The Chiang Kai-shek regime was established in compliance with the needs of imperialism, the big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class. During its 22 years of existence, it exercised more vigorous dictatorship over China and practiced the reactionary policy of capitulating to foreign countries. It pushed the Chinese people into an abyss of miseries. Comrade Soong Ching Ling persistently waged tit-for-tat struggles against the reactionaries headed by Chiang Kai-shek. In 1929, after she returned to China from the Soviet Union, she resolutely refused to take up any posts in the Kuomintang Central Committee or government. In 1931, she bravely declared that the Kuomintang, which was manipulated solely by Chiang Kai-shek, "was no longer a political force," and that it was "utterly notorious, utterly detested and rejected by the whole nation." She had no pity for its doom. The next year, she and Lu Xun, Cai Yuanpei and others organized the "League for Safeguarding Human Rights in China" to wage tenacious struggles against the criminal acts of the Chiang Kai-shek government, such as deliberately depriving the people of their rights and carrying out fascist massacres. They rescued many communists and patriots from Kuomintang prisons. In the article "Workers of China, Unite!" which was published later, she denounced Chiang Kai-shek's "treacherous acts against our country," such as suppressing the people and thwarting the people in fighting against Japan. She sharply pointed out that his government was "the representative of the landlord and bourgeois cliques, which deceives and oppresses the people as well as brings disasters on the nation." In 1936, the seven leaders of the National Union of Various Circles for National Salvation were arrested by the Chiang Kai-shek government. Imbued with a sense of justice, Comrade Soong Ching Ling raised her protest as an executive committee member of this organization. She even went to Suzhou and requested the "high court" to punish her for the "crime of patriotism" together with the "seven gentlemen." During the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Soong Ching Ling solemnly exposed and criticized the Kuomintang reactionaries' reactionary policies of compromising with and surrendering to Japan as well as opposing the Chinese communists and the Chinese people. After the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, Chiang Kai-shek, risking universal condemnation, started a new civil war and vainly attempted to destroy the armed forces and liberated areas that were under the leadership of the CCP. Comrade Soong Ching Ling promptly published declarations pointing out that Chiang Kai-shek was essentially opposing the people in starting a civil war. She said that the reactionary elements could not hope to win victory in this war. The only way out was to abolish the dictatorship of a single party and organize a united government. She appealed to the American people to stop their government from providing military assistance to the Kuomintang. From the time of the war of resistance against Japan to the liberation war period, Comrade Soong Ching Ling struggled ceaselessly against the Kuomintang reactionaries until this reactionary regime was completely defeated.

Last, she broke with imperialism. In his latter years, Sun Yat-sen deeply realized from his revolutionary experiences accumulated over several decades that to succeed in revolution, China had to oppose imperialism and struggle in unity with the nations of the world that treated China as an equal. In her revolutionary practice, Comrade Soong Ching Ling also fully understood this point. She always adopted the attitude of uncompromisingly breaking with imperialism. As early as 1925, when the "May 30" massacre took place, she expressed immense indignation at the violent acts of British and Japanese imperialism. She praised the masses for their patriotic act of struggling against imperialism. She thought that this represented "one of the aims of the revolution waged by Dr Sun Yat-sen over 40 years." In the 1930's, because the Japanese imperialists were ceaselessly stepping up their aggression against China and the Kuomintang was always making compromises and capitulations, Comrade Soong Ching Ling repeatedly published declarations solemnly condemning Japanese imperialism for its ambition and crime of vainly attempting to annex China, and she appealed to the whole nation to rise up and fight the invaders. After the war of resistance against Japan started, she took the lead to organize the "League for Defending China" to vigorously win the sympathy and support of the peoples of the world in favor of China's war of resistance against Japan and to reveal the crimes of aggression committed by Japanese imperialism. Comrade Soong Ching Ling also actively participated in international movements aimed at opposing imperialism and safeguarding peace. On one occasion she was elected honorary chairman of the congress of the international alliance against imperialism, and on another occasion she was a principle leader of the world antifascist committee. In 1933, disregarding harassment and bans by imperialist forces and the Kuomintang reactionaries, Comrade Soong Ching Ling exercised leadership over the convention of the Far East meeting of the "World Committee for Opposing Imperialist War" in Shanghai. She spoke at the meeting and appealed for "launching a powerful movement against imperialist wars throughout the Far East, and in particular in China." It should be said that the above-mentioned actions of Comrade Soong Ching Ling's in breaking with feudal monarchy, warlord forces, Kuomintang rightists and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime actually constituted part of her act of completely breaking with imperialism, because all the above-mentioned reactionary forces were the loyal running dogs of imperialism. Propped up by imperialism, they cruelly oppressed and enslaved the broad masses of working people in China.

We can clearly see from the course of the struggle waged by Comrade Soong Ching Ling that she opened up her own road toward communism precisely by completely breaking with various domestic reactionary forces and foreign imperialism as mentioned above. She was absolutely free from sycophancy or obsequiousness. She never exhibited any trace of hesitation, despair or dejection in the face of any setback or difficulty. She persistently and sincerely loved the motherland and the people. She zealously pursued truth and had infinite confidence in China's future. In the face of the Kuomintang reactionaries' promise of gain, intimidation and persecution, she displayed the dauntless spirit of "treating them with cold contempt" and fighting calmly. She cherished lofty sentiments of infinite loyalty to the people's revolutionary cause, so that "neither riches nor honor could corrupt her; neither threat nor force could bend her." She had the revolutionary firmness wholeheartedly and steadfastly to fight side by side with the CCP to create a new China. She did not put on airs. She was amiable. Without going after any private gain, she displayed an immense sense of responsibility and quietly worked in the people's interest for several decades.

During the years of hardship when the CCP led the people to wage protracted revolutionary struggles, Comrade Soong Ching Ling supported our party's political views with the utmost sincerity, did not fear brute force or intimidation, resolutely supported the people's revolutionary cause, and was the most faithful and reliable comrade-in-arms of the CCP. As early as when Dr Sun Yat-sen was discussing prospects of cooperation with CCP representatives, Comrade Soong Ching Ling did a great deal of work which practically and effectively promoted cooperation. When the second congress of the Kuomintang was being convened in January 1926, she closely united with the communists to wage resolute struggles against the Kuomintang rightists. After Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei turned traitor in 1927, she resolutely stood on the side of and fought together with the CCP. In 1934, she signed her name under the "six key programs for resisting Japan and saving our nation," which was put forward and published by the CCP. In 1935, she and others took the lead to respond to the "August 1 declaration" issued by our party Central Committee, which appealed to the whole nation to unite, stop the civil war and fight in unison against the Japanese. During the years of darkness when the Kuomintang reactionaries cruelly persecuted the communists and patriots, with the help of her lofty prestige and status as well as her extensive social relations, Comrade Soong Ching Ling tried by all means to support, protect and rescue numerous persecuted comrades. During the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, without caring how difficult or dangerous the circumstances were, Comrade Soong Ching Ling persistently and diligently disclosed to the world the truth of how the CCP was leading the revolution, steadfastly arranged for sending to the liberated areas through various channels medical equipment, medicine, cash and other goods and materials which were collected through donation campaigns, and thus effectively supported the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the People's Liberation Army. These things showed that, as a faithful comrade-in-arms of the CCP, Comrade Soong Ching Ling took the people's revolutionary cause as her own, and took part in the people's revolutionary struggles in her own special way with the help of her special status. On 1 July 1949, she published her article to hail the victory of the revolution in China, calling our party "our leader," and she fervently said: "Salute the Communist Party." Subsequently, she accepted an invitation from Comrade Mao Zedong and the party Central Committee and went to Beijing to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. After the founding of the People's Republic, as one of our state leaders, she frequently discussed issues of major importance to our country with our party Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai, Comrade Liu Shaoqi and others. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "At various critical moments, Vice Chairman Soong has always supported our party and stood on the side of the people. Her contributions even exceed those of some responsible comrades in our party." It should also be pointed out that since early times Comrade Soong Ching Ling considered it her greatest honor and considered it would give her the greatest happiness to become a communist. Since early times, she set demands on her own words and deeds according to the norms of a communist. In 1958, she requested to be admitted into the party. However, when the party Central Committee advised her that it would be more favorable to the cause of the party for her to temporarily remain outside the party, she gladly and sincerely submitted herself to the party's decision.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling loved our party so fervently because she fervently loved our people as well as the cause of the Chinese people's revolution, which has been led by the Communist Party. She deeply knew from her experiences in life that without the CCP there would have been no new China or socialism or communism. This was the loftiest attainment in her lifelong search for truth. Such an attainment could not be divorced from her belief in Marxism-Leninism and firm conviction that socialism and communism would inevitably be victorious. She knew that one could have firm confidence in the revolution and work well only if one applied the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoints and methods to understand the world. Back in the 1930's, when she was in Shanghai, she had paid great attention to studying Marxism-Leninism. She not only studied it herself, but showed concern for and gave assistance in the study of Marxism-Leninism by the personnel who worked with her, including foreign friends. She arranged for them to study Marx' and Lenin's works. In 1931, Comrade Soong Ching Ling expressed her firm belief: "Only a revolution that is based on the masses and serves the masses can crush the power of the warlords and politicians, free us from the fetters imposed by imperialism, and lead to the real practice of socialism." Later she said: "Socialism and communism will ultimately become the universally adopted social system over the whole world." She said: "This social system can be realized and will certainly be realized only under the leadership of the Communist Party." Ever since her belief in socialism and communism was established, she never hesitated nor wavered. She persistently and ceaselessly advanced with the pace of the times and finally became a great champion of communism.

When Comrade Soong Ching Ling was nearing death, the party Central Committee accepted her as a CCP member according to her desire, thus fulfilling her long-cherished wish and writing in her glorious history the last, brilliant-red page. Was this accidental? Not at all. This was the inevitable result of the conversion of Comrade Soong Ching Ling from a thorough democrat into a communist. As a communist, she fervently loved and showed concern for the people. She loved what the people loved and resented what they resented. She was one with the people and shared weal and woe with them. She was ready to undergo any ordeal if warranted by the people's needs. She devoted the efforts of her whole life without reservation to the people's revolutionary cause and to the cause of construction. As a communist, she adhered to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship and party leadership. In a word, she adhered to revolutionary truth. As a communist, she was lofty in virtue, style and integrity. She cherished lofty communist sentiments and a firm belief in communism. The history of the past 70 years has proved that Comrade Soong Ching Ling is a fine example of a revolutionary soldier, a revolutionary cadre and a communist. She can be called a model member of the Chinese nation in our generation. Our respected and beloved Comrade Zhou Enlai praised her as the "gem of our nation." She is absolutely worthy of this praise.

Although Comrade Soong Ching Ling has passed away, she will live forever in the hearts of all the Chinese people, as all great revolutionaries do. Her revolutionary spirit and lofty virtues will shine forever, serving as a force to encourage us to accomplish the great cause of unifying our motherland and building our country into a socialist power with a high degree of democracy and civilization.

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WE ARE FORGING AHEAD ALONG THE GREAT SOCIALIST ROAD

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[Article by staff commentator]

[Text] From 1921 to 1981, our party passed through 60 years of glorious struggle. Leading the people of all nationalities throughout the country, our party overthrew the domination of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in China, brought about the most profound social change in human history in the world's most populous country and made universally acknowledged outstanding achievements. Although we have made some mistakes and suffered some setbacks since the founding of new China, the record of these 30 and more years will go down in history as a glorious chapter in the victorious advance of our people on the socialist road.

I

In the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, we have scored great achievements in the fields of socialist revolution and socialist construction under the leadership of the party.

After overturning the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism that had lain like deadweight on the backs of the Chinese people, we set up a people's democratic dictatorship, or the state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the working class. This power is basically different in character from that of the exploiting class, which oppressed and exploited the people. It belongs to the people and protects the people. It practices the most extensive democracy among the people and exercises dictatorship over the enemies of the people. The establishment of people's democratic power marked a new era in Chinese history: the history of a handful of exploiters dominating the overwhelming majority of people, which had existed for thousands of years, came to an end, and the broad masses of working people changed from oppressed slaves into the masters of the new society. Old China, which suffered more than a century from the bullying and humiliation of capitalism and imperialism, became the independent and self-governing new China. Our people are no longer a people bullied by others and we have stood up. The chaotic conditions of old China, which was rent by disunity, are gone forever. With the exception of Taiwan, the whole country is united as never before, and the people, and this includes the people of all nationalities, are united.

Since the setting up of the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship, we have promptly completed land reform throughout the country; realized the change from new democratic revolution to socialist revolution; carried out socialist transformation of individual agriculture, the handicrafts industry and capitalist industry and commerce; established the absolute superiority of the socialist economy, that is, ownership by the whole people, throughout the national economy; implemented the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work; eliminated the exploiting system and the exploiting class and founded the most advanced socialist system in the history of mankind. For an economically backward and populous big nation in the East to step from a semifeudal and semicolonial society into a socialist society is the greatest and most profound social change in the history of our country, which will not only provide the basic guarantee for making China rich, strong and prosperous, but will also have a far-reaching impact on the future of mankind.

The success of the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution and the setting up of the socialist system greatly emancipated our social productive forces. We applied the superior conditions provided by the new system to carry out planned large-scale economic construction on the "poor and blank" status of old China, and gradually set up an independent and relatively complete industrial system and national economic system for developing industrial and agricultural production and scientific, cultural and educational undertakings and improving the life of the people.

As a result of the domination of reactionaries and the aggression of imperialism, the national economy of old China was extremely backward. The output value of modern industry then accounted for only slightly more than 10 percent of the total industrial and agricultural output value, and the remaining 90 percent of the economy consisted of scattered and backward individual agriculture and handicrafts industry. Most of the limited amount of modern industry was in the hands of the imperialists. The level of industrial and agricultural production was very low and the national economy was in a hopeless decline. In 1949, total national industrial and agricultural output value amounted to only 46.6 billion yuan, of which the total output value for industry was 14 billion yuan and for agriculture 32.6 billion yuan. The national income of 35.8 billion yuan amounted to only 66 yuan per capita. The annual output of steel was only 1.58 million tons; coal was only 32 million tons; crude oil was only 120,000 tons; electricity was only 4.3 billion kilowatt-hours; and cotton cloth was only 1.89 billion meters. Old China was known as an agricultural country, but its agricultural production was also very backward. In 1949, total grain output was 113.2 tons or 418 jin per capita; cotton was 445,000 tons or 1.6 jin per capita; and the three oil-bearing crops--peanut, sesame seed and rapeseed--totaled 2.328 million tons or 8.6 jin per capita. This was the state of affairs left to us by old China. It was on this base that we carried out construction.

On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The work of economic construction on a nationwide scale has been placed before us. Our excellent condition is that we have a population of 475 million and a territory of 9.6 million square kilometers. We are faced with many difficulties. However, we believe that all difficulties will be overcome by the heroic struggle of the people throughout the country." At present, after more than 30 years of arduous efforts, we have built a backward agricultural country into an agricultural country with a considerable level of industry. There has been a very big increase in economic strength. In 1980, total industrial and agricultural output value reached 661.9 billion yuan or 13.2 times above that of 1949, of which, the total industrial output value of 499.2 billion yuan was 34.7 times above that of 1949 and the total agricultural output value of 162.7 billion yuan was 4 times above that of 1949. National income reached 363 billion yuan or 9.14 times above that of 1949. The national income of 369 yuan per capita was 4.6 times above that of 1949.

In the industrial sector, we not only developed the existing steel, electric power, petroleum, coal, chemical engineering, machine-building and light and textile industries, and the newly built aircraft, automobile and tractor industries, but also set up many new industries such as the synthetic fiber, plastic, electronics and atomic energy industries. Thus, the range of industries was complete. By 1980, fixed industrial assets in the whole country reached 410 billion yuan or equivalent more than 30 times above the fixed industrial assets accumulated by old China in nearly a century. The output of various principal products also showed a marked increased. In 1980, the output of raw coal was 620 million tons or 18.4 times above that of 1949; the output of crude oil was 105.95 million tons or 882 times above that of 1949; the output of electricity was 300.6 billion kilowatt-hours or nearly 69 times above that of 1949; the output of steel was 37.12 million tons or 234 times above that of 1949; the output of cement was 79.86 million tons or 120 times above that of 1949; the output of cotton cloth was 13.47 billion meters or 6.1 times above that of 1949.

In the agricultural sector, our water conservancy projects, agricultural machinery, agricultural chemical fertilizer and rural electricity consumption also greatly increased, and there was a marked improvement in agricultural production conditions. By 1980, the whole country had a total of 86,000 reservoirs of all sizes and 2.09 million motor-driven or power-driven wells. The irrigated area reached 675 million mu, or more than double the 299 million mu of 1952. The area plowed by tractors in the whole of China reached 610 million mu, or 41.3 percent of the total cultivated area and 300 times that of the 2.04 million mu in 1952. The amount of agricultural chemical fertilizer used was 12,694 million tons, or an average of 8.52 kilograms of chemical fertilizer for each mu of cultivated land. This was an increase of 41.6 times the 0.2 kilogram used in 1952. Rural electricity consumption was 32.1 billion kilowatt-hours, or an increase of 641 times the 50 million kilowatt-hours consumed in 1952 and equivalent to 7.5 times the electricity generated in the whole country in the early period of the liberation. The improvement in agricultural production conditions effectively promoted the development of production. In 1980, total grain production reached 318 million tons, or 1.8 times above that of 1949; the output of cotton was 2.70 million tons, or 5 times above that of 1949; total output of the three oil-bearing crops--peanut, sesame seed and rapeseed--reached 6,691 million tons or 2.3 times above that of 1949. By relying on our own strength, we had basically guaranteed the food and clothing needs of nearly 1 billion people.

Along with the increase in production, there was a greater development in our education, science, culture, health and sports. In 1980, we had 204 million students studying in full-time schools in the country or 6.9 times that of the early period of the liberation. In the 32 years, our institutions of higher learning and technical secondary schools had turned out nearly 9 million people who had received professional training. The number of workers in the whole country had increased to 100 million people, and we had a contingent of technical and management cadres and skilled workers of a fairly high standard. We had built a series of new scientific and technological departments from scratch. Our successes in nuclear technology, satellite technology and missile-launching technology showed the important achievements made by our sophisticated scientific and technical departments. There was a considerable improvement in the material and cultural life of the people compared with the early period of the liberation. Discounting the factor of rising prices, the average consumption level of urban and rural people throughout the country in 1980 had nearly doubled that of 1952. There was also a very big improvement in the health of the people, and their average lifespan had nearly doubled that before the liberation.

As long as we are open-minded, we can see from these undeniable facts: We have definitely made tremendous achievements under the socialist system which could never be obtained under other social systems. Within a short period of 32 years, we have scored achievements which old China could not make in several centuries. The rate of growth of our industrial and agricultural production is one of the fastest in the world. This has initially as well as effectively demonstrated the superiority of the socialist system. These achievements are the fruits of the united struggle and diligent labor of the party and people and the basis for the continued advance of the whole party and people. To fully affirm these achievements and correctly understand their significance means to affirm the struggle of the people and the socialist road chosen by the people and affirm the leadership of the party over revolution and construction. We should greatly treasure these achievements and confidently struggle for the consolidation and development of the victory of the people.

II

The road of our advance was not smooth all the way, and we had relatively smooth development as well as serious setbacks.

In the past 30 and more years, especially during the first 7 years following the founding of the People's Republic, the people of various nationalities in the country had, under the leadership of the party, step by step realized the change from new democratic revolution to socialist revolution and basically completed the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production. During this period, the guiding policy and fundamental principles determined by the party were correct, work was more properly carried out and a brilliant victory was obtained. When the nationwide land reform was completed and the work of rehabilitating the national economy was about to be concluded, the party, on the suggestion of Comrade Mao Zedong, put forth the general line for the transitional period and decided to basically realize the industrialization of the country and the socialist transformation of agriculture, the handicrafts industry and capitalist industry and commerce within 15 years. This general line reflected the inevitable demand of the historical development of the Chinese revolution and the interests and aspirations of the masses of working people. Its content was correct, its proposal was timely and its predetermined measures were also appropriate. Our party integrated the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China, creatively developed a road of socialist transformation suitable to China's unique conditions, adopted diverse transitional forms, proceeded in an orderly manner and smoothly carried out the profound change from private ownership to public ownership. In this large-scale and extremely profound social change involving several hundred million people, we not only avoided a drop in productive forces, which normally would be unavoidable under such conditions, effectively promoted the development of the whole national economy and strengthened the socialist economy, but also correctly implemented the policy of transforming the former exploiters into self-supporting laborers. This was a great success in the history of world socialism. The shortcoming was, after the tempo had been stepped up in the summer of 1955, work became a bit careless. In the production and construction of the First Five-Year Plan, which began in 1953, the policy was correct, the tasks fixed were also appropriate and the various major proportional relations of the national economy were better coordinated. Consequently, production developed faster, the economic effect was better and there was a marked improvement in the life of the people.

The 10-year period from the basic completion of socialist transformation to the eve of the "Great Cultural Revolution" was when we began the all-round building of socialism. After the basic completion of socialist transformation, the party led the people of the whole country to find a road for building socialism in keeping with our national conditions. The documents of the "eighth party congress" and such works as "On the 10 Major Relations" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" by Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the experiences in the early period of the founding of the People's Republic and put forth a series of brilliant ideas and correct policies and principles. However, because of a lack of experience, we became rash in the face of victory and made a very serious mistake in the Greap Leap Forward of 1958. In changing production relations and in economic construction, we made the leftist mistake of subjective rash advance, and this resulted in high targets, arbitrary and impractical directions, proneness to boasting and exaggeration and the tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely. In the winter of 1958, Comrade Mao Zedong tried to lead the whole party in correcting the mistakes already recognized and proposed such plans as not depriving the peasants, not going beyond the stage of development, opposing egalitarianism, putting the emphasis on the development of commodity production, observing the law of value and maintaining a comprehensive balance, and arranging the national economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. This was of important guiding significance both at that time and afterward. However, after the Lushan meeting in 1959, we again erroneously turned to "opposing the rightist tendency." We not only discontinued the process of correcting mistakes already started, but also further enlarged the original leftist mistake and subjected our socialist cause to a serious setback. After serious difficulties appeared in the national economy, the CCP Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong decided to carry out a policy of readjusting, consolidating, filling out and raising standards for the national economy, and on the basis of carrying out investigations and studies and summing up experiences, formulated in succession a series of correct policies, rules and measures for work in various fields, made tremendous efforts for correcting mistakes and overcoming difficulties and gradually returned various work to the right track so that the national economy could be rehabilitated and developed more quickly. Generally speaking, most of the work we have done during those 10 years had been correct and effective. A great part of the material and technical foundation for our present modernization was established during this period. Most of the backbone force for our national economic and cultural construction and their work experience was developed and accumulated during this period. The mistakes made by the party during this period were corrected by the party itself with the support of the people. For the sake of finding a socialist construction road suitable to conditions in China, we have accumulated valuable positive as well as negative experiences and lessons.

The most serious setback suffered by the socialist cause was the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" from May 1966 to October 1976. The mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and the counterrevolutionary sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in particular, caused a great disaster to the party and state and resulted in heavy losses to our national economy. However, this did not cause any fundamental change in the character of our party and state. The party and government still eliminated all kinds of interference, continued to lead the people in carrying out socialist construction, and also obtained definite development and some important achievements in capital construction and in the fields of science and technology. However, in guiding economic work, we had for a time in varying degrees again set unrealistic targets that were too high in arranging production quotas and construction scales. On top of that, because of ineffective command and loss of control, the capital construction front became overextended and accumulation became excessive. The actual standard of living of the people declined and serious imbalances appeared in the national economy.

After the smashing of the "gang of four" in 1976, our party and state entered a new period of construction, and industrial and agricultural production made a more rapid recovery. However, in the first 2 years, because we underestimated the difficulties caused by the 10 years of internal disorder to the national economy and did not clean up the "leftist" guiding ideology in economic construction, we put forth some excessive and impractical slogans and targets in our anxiety for quick results. We again extended the scale of capital construction, which had already exceeded our national capability, and further aggravated the serious imbalances in the national economy. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, held in December 1978, comprehensively and conscientiously reversed the leftist mistakes made during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution" and determined the guiding policy of emancipating the mind, using one's brains, seeking truth from facts, uniting as one and looking forward; made the strategic policy of shifting the focus of work of the whole party to socialist modernization; put forth the demand on the whole party to pay attention to solving serious major imbalances in the national economy and passed a resolution for speeding up the development of agriculture. Not long afterward, based on the guidelines of the 3d Plenary Session, the central work conference again put forth the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy. By means of the efforts of the whole party and people throughout the country, a favorable situation rarely seen since the founding of the People's Republic appeared in our national economy within a very short time.

On summing up our economic work in the past 30 and more years, we have acquired experiences of success as well as lessons in failure. In the period of the 3 years of rehabilitation, the period of the first 5-year plan and the period of readjustment from 1963 to 1966, because our guiding policy for economic construction and various arrangements for production and construction were more in keeping with objective reality, work was better carried out and remarkable success was achieved. We suffered two major setbacks during the Great Leap Forward and the "Great Cultural Revolution." The mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" in particular were of an overall and protracted nature. They caused heavy losses to our state and people and prevented us from making still greater achievements which we could have made. The people had to endure sufferings and sacrifices which they should not have been subjected to. This has been a very profound lesson.

The road of history has been tortuous. During the democratic revolution, only by means of making a comparison between victory and defeat and acquiring both the positive and negative experiences could we more fully understand the nature of the Chinese revolution. In the socialist period, only by means of making repeated comparisons between success and failure and between right and wrong in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic, and also acquiring both the positive and negative experiences, could we greatly deepen our understanding of the laws governing socialist revolution and socialist construction. To conscientiously sum up these historical experiences at present, we must further unify the thinking of the whole party and the people throughout the country on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought so as to score a greater victory in socialist modernization.

III

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has, with a thoroughgoing materialist attitude and the spirit of a high degree of responsibility toward the people, conscientiously summed up historical experiences and lessons, realistically corrected the long-existing "leftist" mistakes, and, based on the new historical condition, established and developed anew the guiding policy of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought of the party, carried out a series of reforms in the socialist economy and the political system and gradually opened up a correct road for China's socialist modernization. In the future, we must develop socialist modernization in accordance with the fundamental policy formulated by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and keep on developing and perfecting it in practice.

1. We must resolutely and unswervingly focus the work of the party and the state on socialist modernization. Our aim in carrying out socialist revolution is to emancipate the productive forces, keep on improving labor productivity and satisfy the needs of the material life and cultural life of the people. Without highly developed social productive forces, the socialist system cannot be consolidated and there cannot be any great improvement in the material life and cultural life of the people. What is more, we will be unable to eventually eliminate all class differences and realize the ideal of communism. We have learned a serious lesson

in the past 30 and more years, namely, that for a long time after the basic completion of socialist transformation, we did not regard economic construction as the central task of the whole party and the whole country. Therefore, we were unable to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system. The development of the national economy was unstable and uncoordinated, and the improvement in the life of the people was very slow. In the future, apart from a large-scale invasion by a foreign enemy (even then we must still carry out economic construction needed and permitted by war), we must consistently regard socialist modernization as the center of all work. All other tasks must be subordinated to this center and revolve around it. We definitely cannot interfere with or undermine it.

2. We must proceed from our national conditions and fully understand the protracted and arduous nature of building socialism. Since nationwide liberation, we have stumbled many times in carrying out socialist construction. The most basic reason for this was because we have no clear knowledge of the national conditions in our country and do not understand the long and arduous efforts required to raise a country with such backward productive forces as ours to an advanced level. Therefore, because of our anxiety for quick results, we invariably made "leftist" mistakes in our guiding policy. We should soberly see that as a socialist country we have already made considerable achievements in economic construction. However, the level of our social economic and cultural development is still rather backward. We have a vast land area and abundant natural resources, but the amount of cultivated land per capita is very small and many of the natural resources have still not been exploited. China has a population of 1 billion people of whom 800 million are peasants, and manual labor is still the dominant factor in agriculture. Our commodity economy is not developed and social labor productivity is low. These conditions determine that our socialist modernization will be protracted and arduous. Only by doing what we are capable of and advancing step by step in an orderly manner can we harmoniously and healthily develop our national economy and gradually improve the life of the people on the basis of uninterrupted growth in production. Otherwise, haste will not bring success. Such sentiments as quick success and passive pessimism are both wrong.

3. The transformation and perfection of socialist production relations must correspond to the level and needs of the development of productive forces. In the past, a striking manifestation of leftist ideology in our economic work was: exaggerating the role played by the transformation of production relations in the development of productive forces, exceeding the level of the development of productive forces, changing too hastily and quickly the production relations, attempting to cross over from small collectives to big collectives and from collective ownership to whole-people ownership and eliminating essential individual economy as quickly as possible, and negating the proper position and role of distribution according to work, commodity production and regulation by market mechanism in the national economy. We should keep this lesson in mind. Proceeding from actual conditions in the country and under the condition of the absolute superiority of socialist public ownership, we should allow various economic sectors and forms of diversified economy to exist. We should give full play to the positive role of regulation by market mechanism under the unified planning and guidance of the state. Not only must we insist on the state

exercising scientific management by economic means and administrative means, but we must also guarantee the decisionmaking power of enterprises and enable them to become relatively independent commodity producers. We must adhere to the principle of distribution according to work, oppose egalitarianism and create in practice a form of distribution according to work suitable to the specific conditions of various professions and trades. After the old production relations have been replaced by the new production relations, there should be a period of stabilization and consolidation. We should readjust and perfect the production relations based on the needs of the development of the productive forces and set up a form of production relations suited to the development of the productive forces.

4. Make a success of all other work centered on economic construction. To build a strong and modern socialist country, there are many things we must do. The various tasks are inter-related and we cannot concentrate on one thing only and lose sight of the others. In reforming and perfecting the socialist economic system, we must at the same time strive to build a socialist political system with a highly democratic and perfect legal system. In building a high degree of material civilization, we must at the same time energetically develop education, science and culture, strengthen political and ideological work and gradually build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. To guarantee the smooth progress of modernization, we must correctly understand and handle the contradictions in socialist society and keep on strengthening the great unity among people of various nationalities throughout the country. We must strengthen the people's army and consolidate our national defense. We must adhere to the foreign policy of opposing hegemonism, safeguarding world peace, supporting the righteous struggle of the people of various countries and unremittently strengthening unity with peoples throughout the world.

To do all this, we must strive to strengthen and improve party leadership. The correct leadership of the party is the basic guarantee for the success of all our undertakings. In the history of the century and more since the Opium War of 1840, in order to save China and build up the country, the Chinese people explored various roads, tested various political parties and factions and finally chose the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist road. This inevitable result of the development of Chinese history is an irreversible and decisive choice made by the Chinese people in their long struggle. Even though certain mistakes and even serious setbacks appeared on the road of advance, our party together with the people have always succeeded in overcoming all kinds of difficulties, triumphing over enemies of every description, correcting their own mistakes and rediscovering the road of continued advance. This shows that we have a very strong self-regenerating capacity. We firmly believe that as long as we adhere to the four basic principles, closely unite with the masses and maintain what is good and correct what is wrong in the interests of the people, our socialist modernization is bound to triumph. Our future is bright.

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THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

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[Text] For the past half a century and more, the Chinese communists with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative have made a theoretical synthesis of China's unique experience in its protracted revolution in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. This synthesis constituted a scientific system of guidelines befitting China's conditions--Mao Zedong Thought. Sprouted during the party's infancy, it has taken shape, enriched itself and developed step-by-step as the party has grown more and more mature and has guided us to win a great victory in revolution and construction. It has been borne out by history that without the Communist Party there can be no Mao Zedong Thought and no socialist new China. Correctly understanding Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role and Mao Zedong Thought and unswervingly upholding Marxism-Leninism; Mao Zedong Thought is a fundamental question which has a vital bearing on the future and destiny of the party and state.

I

The emergence of Mao Zedong Thought in the Orient and its birth in China is an inevitable development of history. After World War I and the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia under the leadership of Lenin, the world's proletarian revolution reached a new stage of development and the CCP began to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism to lead the Chinese people in carrying out revolutionary struggles. It was under these historical conditions that Mao Zedong Thought came into being.

As we all know, Marxism stems from the sum total of the revolutionary experiences and revolutionary ideas of all countries. "This theory provides only general guiding principles, which, in particular, are applied in England differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany, and in Germany differently than in Russia." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, pp 187-188) Likewise, these principles are applied in China differently than in Russia. This is because each country has its own historical conditions and particular features not found in other countries. In a big semifeudal and semicolonial country like China, which is made up mostly of peasants, which takes opposition to imperialism and feudalism as its immediate task and where social contradictions are extremely complicated, how the proletarian political party should lead its masses in carrying out the national democratic revolution and in marching toward the socialist and communist society is a difficult but special task. We can never accomplish such a task without the guidance of Marxist-Leninist theory. However, we also cannot succeed by mechanically applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism. To lead a great struggle like the Chinese revolution, we must have a very creative and bold theory. Only in this way can we lead the revolution to victory. Thus, the birth of Mao Zedong Thought which has as its basic feature the combination of Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution in the course of China's new democratic revolution and the collective struggle of the party and the people is an inevitable historical phenomenon.

Combining Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution is a great task. In the history of our party, this combination was not accomplished in one move. Our party began to explore the basic issues of the Chinese revolution from its founding days to the first great revolution. In the great countryside struggle against imperialism and feudalism, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Li Dazhao, Qu Qiubai, Cai Hesen, Deng Zhongxia, Chen Yannian and other comrades upheld the principles stand of Marxism-Leninism and integrated themselves with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong's important works such as "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" and "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," his call in early 1927 for the peasant self-defense corps to "march into the mountains" to "lay a military foundation," his teaching that unless revolutionary armed forces were preserved there was no way to cope with future contingencies, and so on, were the earliest manifestations of this combination. However, because our party was still very young and had only a superficial understanding of Marxism-Leninism and the reality in China, Mao Zedong Thought could not yet take shape.

The period from 1927 to the Zunyi conference in January 1935 was very important in the formation of Mao Zedong Thought. Having been tempered during the first revolutionary civil war, our party had acquired experiences of success and failure. After the failure of the great revolution and under the extreme threat of terror from the counterrevolutionaries, our party continued to hold high the banner of opposing imperialism and feudalism and led the broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals and other revolutionary people in carrying out a great political, military and ideological struggle. The "August 1" Nanchang Uprising led by Zhou Enlai and other comrades fired the first shot of armed resistance against the Kuomintang. At the CCP "August 7" meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the brilliant idea of "political power growing out of the barrel of a gun." Afterward, he led the Autumn Harvest Uprising and together with Comrade Zhu De and other comrades, initiated the Jinggang Mountains revolutionary base area. A large number of the party backbone leaders went to the countryside to wage a guerrilla war and acquired new experience in setting up "armed independent regimes of workers and peasants." In those 8 years of arduous struggle, the party led the masses in resisting the offensives of the Kuomintang reactionaries and in opposing the Japanese imperialists' aggression in China after the "September 18 incident," thus greatly pushing forward the liberation of the Chinese people. In those days of "arduous struggle, to start an undertaking when numerous wars were taking place," our party, represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, followed the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism; adhered to the basic principle of integrating theory with practice; proceeded from China's national conditions; independently probed into Marxism; used Marxist theory to solve practical problems; with tremendous political perseverance and theoretical courage, struggled against dogmatist and left adventurist mistakes committed by the Communist International, Wang Ming and others in the Chinese revolution; creatively solved a series of basic problems of the Chinese revolution, and found a correct road for the Chinese revolution of seizing political power by means of armed struggle. These were important signs of the formation of Mao Zedong Thought.

In accordance with China's actual situation, Mao Zedong and other comrades clearly noted China's social nature, social contradictions and characteristics of the Chinese revolution after the failure of the great revolution. Under extremely difficult conditions, our party shifted the focus of work from cities to the countryside and carried out the agrarian revolution war. That was a new and great change of historical significance.

The Theory of Setting Up and Developing Red Political Power Was Created, and a New Path in the Chinese Pattern of Seizing Political Power by Means of Armed Struggle Was Opened Up

This meant setting up "armed independent regimes of workers and peasants," integrating the peasant agrarian revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, carrying out armed struggle, strengthening the revolutionary base areas and developing red zones amidst the white regime. It "was the highest form of peasant struggle under the leadership of the proletariat in semicolonial China and was the inevitable outcome of the growth of peasant struggle in a semicolony." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 95) The Chinese people pinned their greatest hopes on it. It emerged in the course of the collective struggle of the party and the people with the path taken by Zhu De and Mao Zedong and by Fang Zhimin of the party and the people with the path taken by Zhu De and Mao Zedong and by Fang Zhimin of setting up base areas, building up political power in a planned way, carrying out deep-going agrarian revolution and expanding the people's armed forces as the correct representative. Later Comrade Mao Zedong generalized this path as "encircling the cities from the rural areas and then capturing them." This was a new conclusion not found in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin and was also an unprecedented undertaking in the history of the international communist movement.

During the Period From the Sanwan Reorganization to the Gutian Meeting, the Problem of the Principle for Building the Party and the Army Was Solved

The Chinese Red Army was an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other comrades stressed the party's leadership over the army, set up party branches at the company level and corrected various kinds of nonproletarian ideas inside the party. In addition, in opposing Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolutionary "encirclement and suppression," they created a set of strategies and tactics for guerrilla warfare and mobile warfare having the nature of guerrilla warfare. That was the key to setting up and developing the Red regime.

In His Work 'Oppose Book Worship,' Comrade Mao Zedong Put Forward for the First Time the Ideological Principle of Integrating the Basic Tenets of Marxism-Leninism With Chinese Reality

One of his famous sayings was: "The victory of the Chinese revolutionary struggle depends on Chinese comrades' understanding of China's conditions." He criticized the dogmatist mistake of some people who would say, "Show me where it's written in the book," whenever they opened their mouths, and of relying only on directives from the Communist International or from higher organs to solve practical problems of the revolution. He drew the well-known conclusion of "no investigation, no right to speak." He held that without investigation of actual situations, idealistic class estimations and idealistic work guidance would emerge. He put forward for the first time the ideological principle of integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's reality and stated that in our struggle it was necessary to study Marxist "books." However, the ideas in these books had to be integrated with China's reality, and it was imperative to correct "book worship" which was divorced from reality. It was precisely because Mao Zedong and other comrades persisted in integrating theory with reality and opposed "book worship" that a new path for the Chinese revolution of seizing political power by means of armed force was opened up, which guided the liberation of the Chinese people to victory.

The CCP Zunyi conference in January 1935 corrected those military and organizational mistakes of decisive importance and established Comrade Mao Zedong's leading position in the Red Army and the party's Central Committee. That was a turning point in the course of events of great historical significance. It saved the party and the Red Army and it saved the Chinese revolution. It ensured the party's victory in leading the Red Army's Long March, realized the plan of going north to resist Japanese aggression and pushed forward the struggle for liberation of the Chinese people along the road of encircling the cities from the rural areas.

II

The decade from 1935 to 1945 was a period in which the Chinese revolution acquired rich experience from failures and setbacks, continuously strengthened the revolutionary forces and prepared to seize countrywide victory. It was also an important period in which Mao Zedong Thought was increasingly enriched, and developed in all aspects and became mature. In these 10 years, our party overcame all kinds of difficulties and obstacles, set up a national front to resist Japanese aggression, went all out to mobilize the masses, expanded the people's forces and led the 8th Route Army, the New 4th Army and the people's anti-Japanese armed forces independently. With the initiative in our own hands, we waged an anti-Japanese guerrilla war on an unprecedented scale, set up anti-Japanese base areas at the enemy's rear, smashed Chiang Kai-shek's anticommunist scheme and finally defeated the Japanese aggressors. Since the party already had 24 years of experience in struggle, had made repeated comparisons between the two victories and two failures and carried out a great deal of study and summarizing of problems of the Chinese revolution using the theory of Marxism-Leninism, it was able to formulate a line and a complete set of concrete policies suitable for the actual situation during the war of resistance against Japan. Through the rectification movement throughout the party, the adoption of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in History" and the successful convening of the party's "seventh congress," the whole party became united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought was generally recognized by the whole party.

1. One of the Prominent Signs of the Development and Maturity of Mao Zedong Thought Was the Founding of a Complete Theory of the New Democratic Revolution. This Was a New Contribution to the Marxist-Leninist Theory

The relation between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution were scientifically expounded. In accordance with the international environment of the Chinese revolution and the nature of the Chinese society, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the whole revolutionary movement led by the CCP, including the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, had to be divided into two stages. The first stage was new democracy and only the second stage was socialism. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The new democratic revolution is a revolution of the masses of people under the leadership of the proletariat to oppose imperialism and feudalism." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 610) It no longer belonged to the category of the old world bourgeois democratic revolution but was a part of the world's proletarian socialist revolution. Its ultimate future was not capitalism but socialism and communism. New democracy and socialism were two revolutionary stages of a different nature. Only with a clear understanding of the difference and connection between the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution could we correctly lead the Chinese revolution.

The Marxist method of class analysis was creatively used to divide China's bourgeoisie into two parts. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the big bourgeoisie (bureaucratic bourgeoisie) was the running dog of imperialism and it was the target of the revolution. However, because each group of the big bourgeoisie had a different imperialist background, when the spearhead of the revolution was directed at one imperialist system, big bourgeois groups of another imperialist system might participate in the struggle against it. Therefore, we should make use of this contradiction and look upon these groups as indirect allies in order to isolate and oppose the main enemy at the time. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that in the broad national revolutionary united front, we should adopt the strategic principles of "making use of contradictions, winning over the majority, opposing the minority and destroying them one by one," and implement the strategic policies of "developing the progressive forces, winning over the forces in the middle and isolating the diehard forces." Historical facts have proved that these strategic principles are entirely correct. Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out that the Chinese national bourgeoisie was a class with a dual character. In the new democratic revolution, this made it possible for the national bourgeoisie to become an ally of the revolution but not the main force of the revolution, far less could it play the role of a leader in the revolution. Therefore, in the united front, the party should adopt the policy of both unity and struggle toward the national bourgeoisie. Addressing the erroneous ideas of "everything through the united front" and "everything to be submitted to the united front" advocated by the Communist International and Wang Ming, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed that we should adhere to the party's principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and implement the policy of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands in the united front. The national struggle was thus in keeping with class struggle.

The mutual relations between the united front, armed struggle and the strengthening of the party were penetratingly expounded. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that in old China, the people lacked even the minimum democratic rights. Therefore, armed struggle was the chief form of struggle in the Chinese revolution and the army was the chief form of organization. Without armed struggle, the proletariat had no status, the people had no status, the Communist Party had no status and the revolution could not win victory. The Chinese armed struggle was a peasant revolutionary war under the leadership of the proletariat. The peasants accounted for 80 percent of the Chinese population and were the main force of the Chinese revolutionary contingent. The Chinese revolution was virtually a peasant revolution. Solving the problem of land for the peasants and liberating the peasants from feudal land relationships was the main ingredient and the foundation of the new democratic revolution. History has already proved: Armed struggle, the united front and strengthening the party were our party's three main treasures for defeating the enemy in the Chinese revolution and were also our party's three basic problems in tackling the Chinese revolution. A correct solution to these three problems and their mutual relations meant correct leadership of the whole of the Chinese revolution. Concerning this, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in a deep-going way: "The united front and armed struggle are the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy. The united front is intended to carry on armed struggle. The party is the heroic warrior wielding the two weapons, the united front and the armed struggle, to storm and shatter the enemy's positions. That is how the three are related to each other." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 576)

2. The Proletarian Military Theory Was Established. This Was Also One of the Prominent Signs of the Development and Maturity of Mao Zedong Thought

Proceeding from China's national conditions, the characteristics and laws of China's revolutionary war were scientifically analyzed. Comrade Mao Zedong stated that there were four main characteristics of China's revolutionary war: A large semicolonial country which had undergone a great revolution and whose political and economic development were disproportionate, a powerful enemy, a weak Red Army and the agrarian revolution. These characteristics determined the guidelines and many of its strategic and tactical principles. They showed that there were both favorable and difficult conditions in China's revolutionary war. "This is the fundamental law of China's revolutionary war, from which many other laws ensue. (Ibid, Vol 1, p 175)

The fundamental principle for strengthening a new-type people's army was systematically established. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 988) Inside the army, we had to set up correct relations between officers and soldiers, between higher and lower levels and among military, political and logistics work. There had to be democratic life within certain limits and military discipline with authority based on conscientious observance. Outside the army, we had to set up correct relations between the army and the people, between the army and the government and between our army and other friendly forces. In work related to the enemy army, we had to have correct policies for its disintegration and the winning over of prisoners of war. The army had to accept absolute leadership of the party. Soldiers were the foundation of the army. We had to imbue the army with progressive political spirit. Political and ideological work was the lifeline of our army.

A complete set of strategies and tactics for the people's war was created. Comrade Mao Zedong stated: "The richest source of power for waging war lies in the masses of the people." (Ibid, Vol 2, p 478) If the army and the people were united as one, we would be invincible. In the people's war, if there was only the main force, the Red Army without the people's guerrilla warfare, we would be like a one-armed general. The strategies and tactics of our army were based on the people's war. "Our strategy is 'pit 1 against 10' and our tactics are 'pit 10 against 1'--this is one of our fundamental principles for mastering the enemy. (Ibid, Vol 1, p 209) When our enemy was strong and we were weak, our army's way of fighting had to be protracted strategic war and also a war of quick decisions in campaigns and battles. We had to concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one. In the 8-year war of resistance against Japan, our army's fighting policy was basically carrying our guerrilla warfare but we seized the favorable opportunity to carry out mobile warfare. The basic characteristic of the so-called mobile warfare under favorable conditions was "fight when you can win, move away when you can't win." (Ibid, p 214) "Moving" was for the purpose of "fighting" and "fighting" was a basic point on which we established our strategic and tactical policies. In 1945, with the development of the war, at the appropriate time, our party proposed the change in military strategy from guerrilla warfare as the dominant factor to mobile and positional warfare as the dominant factors.

3. Another Sign of the Development and Maturity of Mao Zedong Thought Was the Establishment of a Sound Theory on Strengthening the Party

In China, where modern industry accounted for a very small percentage of the economy, and the proletariat accounted for a very small percentage of the population while the peasants and other petite bourgeoisie accounted for the great majority, it was an extremely difficult task to strengthen a Marxist-Leninist party. Therefore, in order to strengthen and consolidate the party organizationally, we had to stress strengthening the party ideologically before we could reach unanimity of thinking of the whole party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole party for great political struggles. Unless this is done, the party cannot accomplish any of its political tasks." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol 3, p 1043) At the same time, we had to strengthen the party organizationally, adhere to democratic centralism, strictly observe the party's discipline, correctly implement the party's policy for cadres, strengthen the party's unity, eliminate unprincipled factional struggle and oppose individualism and sectarianism before we could build a centralized and united party.

In the war of resistance against Japan, our party created the form of rectification to educate the whole party in Marxism-Leninism. We adhered to the principle of integrating theory with practice, opposed subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped party writing, unfolded positive ideological struggle and reformed the party according to the standard of the vanguard of the proletariat. During the rectification, we also formulated policies and principles for correctly handling inner-party relations, practiced the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and adopted the method of "unity-criticism-unity" so as to attain the goal of clarifying ideas and uniting comrades.

During the party's long-term struggle, especially through the rectification and the study of the party's history, the party's fine traditions and styles were established. These were mainly the style of integrating theory with practice, the style of having close ties with the masses and the style of self-criticism. These three great styles are prominent signs distinguishing our party from any other political parties.

At the party's "seventh congress" in 1945, Comrade Liu Shaoqi systematically expounded the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought, stating: "These theories are reflected in all the works of Comrade Mao Zedong and in many documents of the party." ("Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution") The congress explicitly stipulated: "The CCP takes the line of integrating Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong Thought, as the guide for all its work." ("The CCP Constitution") The "seventh congress" was one of unity and victory. It made extremely important preparations for our party to strive for countrywide victory of the revolution.

III

The period between 1946 and 1957 saw brilliant victories unprecedented in the history of the Chinese revolution. It was also a period during which Mao Zedong Thought continued to develop and win great victories through a new course of practice. During this period, our party, guided by Mao Zedong Thought, led the Chinese people to wage the unprecedented liberation war, to win a complete victory of the new democratic revolution, to found the people's new China, to successfully realize the change from new democracy to socialism, to fundamentally complete the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and to theoretically and practically fulfill the arduous task of building the socialist system in China, which has one-fourth of the world's population and is economically and culturally backward.

1. The People's Liberation War Was Won and a Republic Under the People's Democratic Dictatorship Founded

Revolutionary dual tactics were used to combat counterrevolutionary dual tactics. After winning the war of resistance against Japan, the Chinese people were faced with a decisive struggle between China's two destinies and two future, which meant building a bright China or a dark one. To race against time to make preparations for a civil war, Chiang Kai-shek telegraphed Comrade Mao Zedong three times, asking him to come to Chongqing for talks. At that time, Comrade Stalin told our party to hand over our weapons for a "legitimate" position in exchange. During this complicated struggle, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the policy of "giving tit for tat and fighting for every inch of land" as a countermeasure against Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary policy of "wresting every ounce of power and every ounce of grain" from the people. They firmly resisted the adverse current of "handing over our guns" in the international communist movement, pointing out that "the arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must be kept and not handed over." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol 4, p 1107) After Chiang Kai-shek's scheme of fraudulent peace had gone bankrupt, the KMT reactionaries, counting on their temporarily superior forces, waged a countrywide reactionary civil war. Facing the fierce-looking KMT reactionaries, who were supported by U.S. imperialism and armed to the teeth. Comrade Mao Zedong showed the boldness of a proletarian revolutionary and put forward the famous thesis that "Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries, are all paper tigers too." (Ibid, p 1139) He confidently pointed out: Judging from a long-term point of view, the really powerful forces do not belong to the reactionaries but rather to the people; history will finally prove that our millet plus rifles are more powerful than Chiang Kai-shek's airplanes plus tanks. While stressing that strategically it was necessary to despise the enemy, he asked the whole party and the whole army to tactically take the enemy seriously, to aim at wiping out the enemy's effective strength and, in every campaign, to concentrate superior forces many times outnumbering the enemy forces and to completely encircle the enemy without allowing any escape from the net of encirclement so that the PLA, which was temporarily in an inferior position, might grow stronger and stronger through fighting. This superb art of daring to win and knowing how to struggle reflected the vivid application and development of the Marxist strategic and tactical thinking.

The theory of launching a strategic offensive was created to guide a decisive strategic battle to victory. After our army smashed Chiang Kai-shek's all-out offensive against places of strategic importance in the liberated areas, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong commanded the PLA to resolutely launch a strategic offensive and spread the war to areas under KMT control. On 30 June 1947, our mighty army units led by Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping fought their way across the Huang He and marched toward the Dabie Mountains, thereby raising the curtain on the PLA's strategic offensive. Chen Geng and others led the Taiyue army corps to boldly drive on to western Henan. Another mighty army led by Chen Yi and Su Yu pressed onward to southwestern Shandong and the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu borders. Along these three routes our army fought on the exterior lines and swept through the length and breadth of the Chang Jiang, Huaihe, and Huang He and Hanshui basins, shaking the KMT reactionary rule to the roots. The three major campaigns, that is, the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign, the Huai-Hai campaign and the Beijing-Tianjin campaign, launched between September 1948 and January 1949 were unprecedented decisive strategic battles and were followed by our army's countrywide advance, in which our army conducted strategic operations of pursuing and wiping out enemy forces. Under the correct commands of Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and Peng Dehuai, our army fought like a fierce tiger and was irresistible on every battlefield, drawing a spectacular picture of the entire strategic offensive of the Chinese people's liberation war. The 10 major principles of military affairs formulated in the course of the heroic people's war and the theory of strategic offensive summed up by Comrade Mao Zedong added new weapons to the treasure house of the Marxist-Leninist military theories.

The people's new China was founded under the guidance of the theory of the people's democratic dictatorship. After the people's liberation war had come to the stage of strategic offensive, the party's policies became the key to winning a countrywide victory of the revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong emphatically pointed out: "Only when all the policies and tactics of the party are on the correct path will it be possible for the Chinese revolution to win victory." (Ibid, p 1241) He drafted a number of documents for the party, summarizing the general line and policy concerning the new democratic revolution and the agrarian reform and focusing utmost attention on directing party organizations to correct the "leftist" mistakes in carrying out the party's policies during the revolutionary upsurge. These documents not only guaranteed the triumphant development of the revolution but also enriched and developed the theory of Mao Zedong Thought on the new democratic revolution. With our army's victory in the decisive strategic battle, the main force with which Chiang Kai-shek launched the counterrevolutionary civil war was wiped out. The KMT reactionary clique attempted to stage a comeback. Instigated by U.S. imperialism, it again practiced the fraudulent peace. In this situation, the question of whether the revolution should be carried through to the end or be given up halfway was placed conspicuously before the party and the people. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We must use the revolutionary method to wipe out all the forces of reaction resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely; we must unswervingly persist in overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; and we must overthrow the reactionary rule of the KMT on a countrywide scale and set up a republic that is a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat and with the worker-peasant alliance as its main body." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1266) He called on people of the whole country to carry the revolution through to the end and put forward the theory of a people's democratic dictatorship, thereby correctly guiding the whole party, the whole army and the people of the entire country to completely wipe out the counterrevolutionary armed forces, to thoroughly smash the Chiang Kai-shek clique's reactionary state machinery and to establish the national government under the people's democratic dictatorship. The establishment of this government was a concentrated expression of the fruits which the Chinese people had gained in their revolutionary struggle. It also opened a new road for the socialist revolution in China. Later, in his report to the 2d Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee, he demonstrated that with the winning of a countrywide victory, the party should shift the focus of its work from the countryside to the cities and laid down the fundamental policy for the party's political, economic and diplomatic work after the countrywide victory. Then, in his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," he summed up the fundamental experience of the Chinese revolution and concentrated it into one point, "that is, the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." (Ibid, p 1417) He said that the people's democratic dictatorship meant democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries. He also pointed out: There are bourgeois republics in foreign lands, but China cannot have a bourgeois republic. These expositions enriched and developed the Marxist theory on the proletarian dictatorship.

2. The Great Change From New Democracy to Socialism Was Successfully Accomplished

In light of the economic and political conditions created by the victory of the new democratic revolution, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the guiding ideology of making preparations in 3 years and carrying out planned economic construction in a decade. Conditions were complicated and all tasks had to be undertaken during the initial period after the founding of the new China. Vigorous efforts were made to restore and develop production, and the masses were organized to directly participate in the drive to change the old relations of production and emancipate productive forces. At the 3d Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the program "fight for a fundamental turn for the better in the nation's financial and economic situation," aimed at restoring our country's national economy. He also laid down the party's strategic and tactical policy of "do not hit out in all directions," a policy for steadily accomplishing revolutionary change. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, the army and the people waged the earth-shaking war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, carried out a mighty agrarian reform movement in the newly liberated areas inhabited by 300 million people, and launched a countrywide mass campaign to suppress counterrevolutionaries. After systematically taking measures to confiscate bureaucrat-capital enterprises, to crack down on speculation and profiteering, to stabilize market prices, to readjust industry and commerce and to put the socialist state sector of the national economy in a leading position, they launched the movement against "three evils" as well as the movement against "five evils" to repulse the frenzied attack of the bourgeoisie, and put the capitalist industry and commerce onto the path of state capitalism subordinate to the socialist state sector of the national economy and under the supervision of the working class. Subsequently, in only 3 years, we not only healed the serious wounds caused by the long years of war, restored the national economy and pushed it above the highest level before the liberation war but also organically combined the thoroughgoing completion of the tasks of the democratic revolution with the preparation for the countrywide socialist transformation and construction, thereby adding a brilliant chapter to the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism.

3. A Path of Socialist Transformation Suitable to China's Characteristics Was Creatively Opened Up

In the course of planning a revolutionary change, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong closely watched the change in the relations between cities and the countryside and the development of principal contradictions in our country. Based on Lenin's theory of transition and their own practical experience, they promptly laid down the policy of simultaneously carrying out socialist construction and transformation and put forward the general line of gradually accomplishing the country's socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce for the transition period. This general line reflected the inevitability of historical development. On the road to socialist transformation, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, working with utmost efforts, first led the 500 million peasants to get organized and accomplish the socialist transformation in agriculture. Thanks to the party's correct principles and policies and reasonable steps, an upsurge of socialist transformation emerged very quickly in the vast countryside, the peasant masses embarked on the road to becoming well-off together, and the arduous task of socialist transformation in agriculture was fundamentally completed in a few years. In transforming capitalist industry and commerce and in view of the fact that China's capitalism had been deprived of its main body, that is, bureaucrat capital, after the triumph of the democratic revolution, and that the Chinese national bourgeoisie still had a dual character during the period of transition from new democracy to socialism, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the policy of "utilizing, restricting and transforming" the capitalist industry and commerce and found that "state capitalism is the only road for the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and for the gradual completion of the transition to socialism." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 98) In the course of practice, they also formulated a number of reasonable steps for transforming state capitalism from a lower to a higher level, such as the state's placing orders with private enterprises for processing of materials or manufactured goods, a state monopoly on purchase and marketing, selling of goods for the state on a commission basis and joint state-private management of enterprises, and adopted the policy of peaceful "redemption" for acquiring the means of production owned by the national bourgeoisie. Subsequently, our country was able to triumphantly accomplish the historical task of transforming the capitalist economy under the conditions of having very few social upheavals and to rather smoothly remold the majority of exploiters into socialist laborers who could earn their own living. Thus, the idea of redeeming the bourgeoisie as put forth by Marx and Lenin was realized in China for the first time. This was a great achievement in the history of socialism in China and the world and a splendid victory of Mao Zedong Thought.

4. A New Way for Socialist Construction Suitable to Our Country's Conditions Was Explored

While directing the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out that the purpose of the socialist transformation was to increase productivity and accomplish the country's industrialization. Comrade Mao Zedong said in his address to the first NPC: "We should gird ourselves to build our country, which is at present economically and culturally backward, into a great industrialized country with a high standard of modern culture in the course of several 5-year plans." (Ibid, p 133) Later, when the party national conference discussed the first 5-year plan, he stressed: "What we have set out to accomplish, think about and dig into is socialist industrialization, socialist transformation and the modernization of our national defenses." (Ibid, p 144) Under the direct guidance of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, our country achieved brilliant results in carrying out the first 5-year plan of developing its national economy. In April 1956, in his speech entitled "On the 10th Major Relationships," Comrade Mao Zedong, drawing lessons from the Soviet Union, summed up our country's experience in economic construction. Bearing in mind the fact that ours was a big agricultural country, he pointed out that the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other should be properly handled, agriculture should be taken as the basis of developing the national economy, and China should develop industry in its own way. During the Eighth National Party Congress, Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping made important reports and Comrade Chen Yun delivered an important speech, correctly analyzing the new changes in the relationship between various classes in our country, pointing out that in our country the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie had been basically resolved and that the major task for the people of the whole country during the new period was to develop the productive forces, and confirming that the focus of the party's work should be shifted to socialist construction. In February 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong delivered a speech entitled "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" to the Supreme State Conference. He put forward the theory of correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of qualitatively different social contradictions and demonstrated that correctly handling the contradictions among the people for the purpose of uniting the people of the whole country to develop our country's economy and culture had become the main theme of our country's political life. He said: "Our basic task has changed from unfettering the productive forces to protecting and expanding them in the context of the new relations of production." (Ibid, p 377) To correctly handle the contradictions among the people and build socialism, it is necessary to adopt the political policies of "unity-criticism-unity," "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and the economic policies of giving overall consideration and making proper arrangements. The documents of the Eighth National Party Congress and Comrade Mao Zedong's new achievements in his theories and policies carried in his works mentioned above are brilliant records of the triumphant development of Mao Zedong Thought. They are still playing an important role as our guide.

In the course of all-round socialist construction in our country, the theory of strengthening democratic centralism in the party and the task of carrying out technical revolution as put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong and the great blueprints of building a powerful modern socialist country as drawn up by Comrade Zhou Enlai are of vital significance for our party in probing into the laws of socialist construction.

IV

While China was carrying out revolution and construction, Comrade Mao Zedong creatively applied dialectical materialism and historical materialism to the whole of our party's work and formulated some scientific methods of thinking, work and leadership. His important works, including "On Practice," "On Contradictions," "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party's Work Style," "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing," "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" and "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" intensively reflect his ideology in this aspect. To sum up, his ideology comprises the basic points of seeking truth from facts, taking the mass line, maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts.

1. Seeking Truth From Facts

During the 1930's, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the necessity to oppose book worship, to proceed from reality and to link theory with reality. He stressed that investigation and study are the first step of all work. He said: "No investigation, no right to speak." In summing up the experiences and lessons of the Chinese revolution, many of his works, especially his philosophical works, penetratingly discussed and enriched the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics. He repeatedly pointed out that a correct understanding can often be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. He elucidated and elaborated the core of dialectics--the law of unity of opposites. In his important works on questions of the Chinese revolutionary war, he furnished brilliant examples of applying and developing the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge and dialectics in the course of practice. Our party persists in the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, making investigations, testing truth through practice and developing truth in the course of practice. For this reason, it dares to throw away the principles and conclusions unsuitable to China's conditions and replaces them with new principles and conclusions suitable to China's conditions, thereby successfully creating the great cause of Sinicizing Marxism-Leninism and turning it into an invincible weapon for the Chinese people.

2. Taking the Mass Line

The people are the makers of history. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in making world history. We must do everything for the people, trust them, rely on them and form one with them, and only thus can we surmount any difficulty, and no enemy can crush us. Therefore, we should establish the viewpoint of trusting that the people can emancipate themselves and the viewpoint of learning from the people. In doing our work, we should uphold the scientific Marxist-Leninist method of leadership of "practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge," "from the masses and back to the masses," "combining the general with the particular" and "combining the leaders and the masses." In this way, it will be possible to integrate the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge with the method of leadership of taking the mass line. This is a scientific summary of our party's historical experience gained in the long course of revolutionary struggles. This is also a unique achievement made by the Chinese communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong in applying Marxism-Leninism.

3. Maintaining Independence, Keeping the Initiative in Our Own Hands and Relying on Our Own Efforts

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We stand for self-reliance. We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 965) In a big country like ours, we must mainly depend on our own efforts and self-reliantly develop our revolution and construction. We must be determined to fight through to the end and trust and rely on the Chinese people's wisdom and strength. We must preserve our national pride and confidence and must never act servilely. Over the past few decades, our party has persistently displayed the spirit of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, so that we have had the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations.

These three basic points represent the application and development of Marxism-Leninism under China's conditions and are a precious spiritual wealth of our party and state.

However, a most regrettable thing was that during his last years, Comrade Mao Zedong made more and more serious mistakes in theory and practice regarding class struggle in a socialist society and appreciated and encouraged the cult of personality, thus gradually harming the party's democratic centralism and the people's democracy. Conspirators like Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng made use of these mistakes with ulterior motives. Eventually, this led to the decade-long internal strife in the name of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and brought a great misfortune to the party and people. These mistakes were contrary to the scientific theories of

Mao Zedong Thought. They should definitely be separated from Mao Zedong Thought. For the same reason, the theories and policies, such as the theory of the struggle against hegemonism and the theory of the three worlds, which were put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong during his last years and were proven correct in practice, should be incorporated in the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought. This is the materialist attitude of seeking truth from facts. At the same time, we hold that the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought represent a major development, and not an all-round development, of the Marxist-Leninist theories, and still less should they be regarded as the third milestone. This is also the materialist attitude of seeking truth from facts.

The new period of upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought began with the downfall of the "gang of four," especially after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The various strategic policy decisions, such as shifting the focus of the party's work to the socialist modernization, made by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee constitute a historic change of the most far-reaching significance effected by our party since the founding of new China. This change indicates the correctness of full-scale restoration and reestablishment of Marxism-Leninism in our party ideologically, politically and organizationally. The party Central Committee leads the whole party in starting to seriously correct the leftist mistakes made in all aspects before and during the "Great Cultural Revolution." It has resolutely corrected the erroneous policy of the "two whatevers." While making efforts to eliminate chaos and restore order on all fronts, it has reiterated the necessity to uphold the four basic principles and repeatedly emphasized that the stance, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought must be applied in studying the new conditions and solving the new problems emerging in the course of practice. We must take a correct approach to the historical position held by Comrade Mao Zedong and the great contributions made by Mao Zedong Thought to the Marxist-Leninist theories. In no way should we negate the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought on the grounds that Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes during his last years. It is incorrect to adopt a dogmatist attitude toward Mao Zedong Thought. It is also wrong to adopt a nihilist attitude toward Mao Zedong Thought. We should always take Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our party and state and firmly uphold the four basic principles, so that our country will continue to press ahead along the revolutionary path opened by Comrade Mao Zedong and the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

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THE SEVENTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE SIXTH CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE 'RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY'

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[Article by Yu Xishan [0151 3556 1472]]

[Text] Summing up historical experience is our party's fine tradition. It is through the continuous summarization experience that our party raises its Marxist-Leninist theoretical level. Today, on the eve of the 60th founding anniversary of the CCP and when the whole party is seriously summing up historical experience since the founding of our country, it is of great significance to review the history of the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee and the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" it adopted.

I

The enlarged 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee was held at Yang Jialing, Yanan. It opened on 21 May 1944 and closed on 20 April 1945. This was the first plenary session of the CCP Central Committee held since the Communist International was disbanded. It was attended by 17 members and alternate members of the Central Committee and 12 responsible comrades from different central bureaus and subbureaus or from other organs (who had the right to speak and vote at the session). The session mainly discussed and adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" which paved the way for convening the "seventh congress."

The session elected a presidium made up of Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Ren Bishi and Zhou Enlai and elected Mao Zedong as chairman of the CCP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee. The session decided that during the session, the Secretariat and the Political Bureau would cease functioning and the Presidium would handle the routine work.

The Seventh Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee held eight plenary meetings in 11 months.

The first meeting on 21 May 1944 elected the presidium, listened to the work report given by Comrade Mao Zedong on behalf of the Political Bureau, adopted the agenda for the "seventh congress" and decided on who would give reports at the congress. It also decided that the "political report" to be given by Comrade Mao Zedong was to be discussed by the Presidium and all participants of the session, and along with it, the military report, the revised party program and report on problems concerning the party's history were to be drafted by four separate committees to be set up.

The meeting on 5 June discussed the problem of work in cities and after the meeting, the "CCP Central Committee's instructions on work in cities" was issued.

The meeting on 9 November discussed the problem of negotiations between Comrade Mao Zedong and Patrick Hurley, personal representative of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

At the meeting on 7 December and on 18 February 1945, Comrade Zhou Enlai reported on the two negotiations meetings he had attended in Chongqing.

The meeting on 9 December 1944 discussed the problem of setting up a liberation committee.

The meeting on 31 March 1945 discussed and approved the "political report" which was to be given at the "seventh congress" and the draft of the party program which was to be submitted to the "seventh congress" for discussion.

The last meeting on 20 April 1945 approved the "military report" which was to be given at the "seventh congress"; adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party"; and approved the list of candidates for the Presidium and for the credentials committee and the agenda of the "seventh congress."

II

The last meeting on 20 April 1945 unanimously adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party." Wang Ming was absent because of illness but he wrote a letter to the session expressing his support.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" (hereinafter called the "Resolution on History") was one of the major documents adopted at this session and it was formulated on the basis of the Yanan rectification movement. Left deviationist and right deviationist mistakes occurred on several occasions in our party's history. Left adventurism represented by Wang Ming, which lasted from the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee at the beginning of 1931 to the time before the Zunyi meeting at the end of 1934, exerted the deepest influence on and brought the greatest losses to the party. In order to unify the thinking of the whole party and to win victory in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression the CCP Central Committee led the whole party in carrying out a rectification movement which had great historical significance. As early as in February 1939, the CCP Central Committee especially set up the department of education for cadres to lead and organize the study movement of the whole party. In September 1941, the CCP Central Committee set up senior study groups to organize the party's senior cadres to study the thinking methods of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the history of the 20 years since the founding of our party. At the same time, in September 1941, the Political Bureau of the

CCP Central Committee held an enlarged meeting to examine the party's historical political line, especially during the second revolutionary civil war period. Face-to-face criticism was carried out and many comrades who had committed mistakes made preliminary self-criticisms. Through this meeting, the party's senior cadres came to the same understanding on some major problems of the Chinese revolution. After the meeting, in accordance with the discussions at the meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a "draft of the conclusion on the Central Committee's line of leadership since the fourth plenary session" (this draft was not made public). "Since the 6th CCP Central Committee--Inner-Party Secret Documents" and "Before the 6th CCP Central Committee--the Party's Historical Material" edited under the direction of Comrade Mao Zedong were published respectively in December 1941 and December 1942, which provided systematic study and research material for the rectification movement. After the rectification movement was carried out universally throughout the whole party from 1942 to 1943, senior cadres carried on further study beginning from October 1943. At this stage, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held several enlarged meetings to discuss the party's entire history, in particular, the history from 1931 to the end of 1934. At the same time, comrades who had worked in revolutionary base areas or in the Chinese workers-peasants Red Army were invited to participate in discussions on the party's history. Half a year later, the enlarged 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee was held.

At the very beginning of the session, a special committee with Ren Bishi as the convener and Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Bo Gu, Luo Fu and three others as its members was set up to draft and revise the "Resolution on History." The "Resolution on History" was revised no less than eight times during the session and the draft was submitted three times to the session. Each time it was first thoroughly revised by Comrade Mao Zedong.

Through 6 years of study, exchange of views and discussions, our party's senior cadres had a unanimous or deeper understanding of many major historical problems. Some problems were finally made clear only at the 7th plenary session. The main problems were: The 4th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee was "totally wrong"; the political line from the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee to the Zunyi meeting was "a new 'leftist' line"; the booklet "Struggle To Make the CCP Become More Bolshevik" written by Wang Ming was "basically an entirely erroneous general program of 'leftist' opportunism to 'oppose right deviation.'" It was precisely because unanimous views on these important problems were reached that the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" was able to take shape.

It was originally intended to submit the "Resolution on History" to the "seventh congress" for discussion and adoption. Therefore, the first meeting of the 7th plenary session listed it as an item on the agenda of the "seventh congress." Why was it then discussed and adopted at the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee? The reason was that in so doing the "seventh congress" could concentrate on discussing the policy for the war of resistance against aggression and for the construction of the country. In his speech at the meeting on 21 March, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Comrades of the 7th plenary session should persuade the representatives (with good reasons and with a good attitude) to have the sensibility of entrusting the 7th plenary session with resolving historical problems so that they could concentrate their efforts on the tasks of resisting aggression and building the country. Historical mistakes of the past were mainly social phenomena. They were due to our party's lack of maturity. The reason why some comrades committed mistakes was because they were not conscious and believed themselves to be correct. So they wanted to overthrow everything inside and outside the party. Now everybody has become conscious and our thinking is, in the main, unanimous. Wang Ming has recently written a letter agreeing to oppose the Kuomintang reactionaries and unite the whole party. That is very good. If we use the congress as a means to solve historical problems, it will certainly take 2 to 3 weeks and will distract people's attention from the central targets. Even then the result obtained will not be better than the present draft." In accordance with this, the meeting on 31 March decided to submit the "Resolution on History" to the following meeting of the 7th plenary session for discussion and adoption after all representatives (i.e., representatives assembled at Yanan ready to take part in the "seventh congress") had agreed to do so. At the meeting on 20 April, Comrade Ren Bishi also said: "Since the last meeting, we have received decisions from all delegations expressing their unanimous view of entrusting the 7th plenary session with the task of solving the party's historical problems so that the congress could concentrate its strength on discussing current problems."

III

The "Resolution on History" was an important historical document adopted at the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee. It condensed the collective wisdom of the whole party and is shining with the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The "Resolution on History" summed up in detail historical lessons since the founding of the party, especially during the period from the beginning of 1931 to the end of 1934. It systematically and comprehensively elaborated on the historical background, contents and political, military, organizational and ideological manifestation as well as its development, consequences, social origins and policies for correcting the leftist mistakes occurring on several occasions in history, especially those represented by Wang Ming. The "Resolution on History" not only played an inestimable role at that time in uniting the whole party to win total victory in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and the complete liberation of the Chinese people, but also plays an important role today in guiding our thinking and actions. The main ideas presented in this resolution were as follows:

1. The "Resolution on History" highly appraised Comrade Mao Zedong's outstanding contributions in making use of Marxist-Leninist theory to solve problems of the Chinese revolution and pointed out the great significance in establishing the leading role of Comrade Mao Zedong. The "Resolution on History" said: "What is particularly worth rejoicing is that the thinking represented by Comrade Mao Zedong of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution has been greatly developed in the past 10 years. Our party finally established Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership in the Central Committee and the whole party in the past period of the agrarian revolution. That was the greatest achievement of the CCP in that period and was the greatest guarantee for the liberation of the Chinese people."

Although the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong over the Red Army was reestablished at the Zunyi meeting, quite a number of people still had doubts, lacked confidence and even opposed him. For example, during the period from the Zunyi meeting to the Huili meeting, many people expressed their doubts and dissatisfaction toward Comrade Mao Zedong's flexible strategy and tactics. At Maoergai, Zhang Guotao enthusiastically held meetings with military governors in a vain attempt to usurp the leadership of the CCP Central Committee. At the beginning of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, Wang Ming telegrammed from Wuhan to Yanan forbidding Yanan to use the name of the Central Committee in issuing documents and sending telegrams. They seriously interfered with the implementation of the correct line and caused heavy losses to the party. Only through the rectification and meetings of senior cadres was the whole party truly united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The "Resolution on History" showed with a large number of historical facts that at each historical stage of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth and put into practice the correct line, principles and policies. At each critical moment of the revolution, he resisted the interference of the erroneous ideas and saved the revolution. These historical facts have shown that Comrade Mao Zedong was a worthy leader universally recognized by the whole party. As soon as the whole party recognized their true leader and conscientiously supported him, a tremendous strength was generated and a strong unity and unification of the whole party was achieved. Therefore, the "Resolution on History" stated with full confidence: "The enlarged 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee has rejoicingly pointed out: After various kinds of successes and setbacks, our party has finally reached for the first time the present state of a high degree of ideological, political, organizational and military consolidation and unity under the leadership of Mao Zedong. This is a party that will soon win victory and a party that is invincible."

2. In summing up our party's mistakes in history, especially in summing up lessons of the "leftist" mistakes, the "Resolution on History" concentrated on analyzing the social roots of the mistakes, stressed the importance of overcoming the petite bourgeois ideas inside the party and pointed out that the petite bourgeois ways of thinking are mainly manifested in observing problems subjectively and one-sidedly, taking one's subjective desires, feelings and empty talk for reality, one-sidedness for all-sidedness, a portion for a whole and a tree for a forest. The political tendency of the petite bourgeoisie is usually and easily manifested as vacillation first to the left and then to the right. When the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are divided, it is prone to commit left deviationist mistakes and when the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are combined, it is prone to commit the right deviationist mistakes. The tendency of the petite bourgeois organizational life is easily manifested as individualism and factionalism which are divorced from the masses.

In discussing the "Resolution on History," Comrade Chen Yi said that what was most difficult to correct in the work in the enemy's rear areas was the leftist mistakes. This was also true of mistakes in the party's history. They were all "leftist" ones except the two mistakes made by adhering to Chen Duxiu's doctrine (the second mistake was the right deviationist mistake committed by Wang Ming during the war of resistance against the Japanese aggression). The reason why these kinds of "leftist" mistakes could prevail on several occasions was that they were supported. Many people liked to do things in a big way and not in a small way. Young comrades who had been admitted into the party after the war of resistance against Japanese aggression started were too enthusiastic and were not very objective. This was quite similar to the mistakes we committed in the recent past.

3. The "Resolution on History" stressed adhering to the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and "understanding the mistakes fully and uniting with comrades who committed them." The "Resolution on History" pointed out that the left or right deviationist mistakes on each occasion were not accidental but the outcome of specific social and historical conditions. In order to overcome these erroneous ideas, we should not act rashly nor should be act with undue haste. We should patiently conduct thorough and painstaking education in Marxism and Leninism and unfold criticism and self-criticism. In the past struggle against the doctrines of Chen Duxiu and Li Lisan, we did not thoroughly and ideologically make clear the nature and root causes of the mistakes, nor did we appropriately point out ways to correct them. Instead, we overstressed personal responsibility and thought that the problem would be solved simply by cracking down on the person who had committed the mistake. As a result, the same mistake was repeated. The "Resolution on History" stressed that we should take an analytical attitude toward comrades who have committed mistakes and should not negate everything. "Of the views of comrades who have committed mistakes, not all are wrong. Some of their views on opposing imperialism and feudalism, on the agrarian revolution, on the war against Chiang Kai-shek, and so on are the same as those of comrades advocating the correct line." Therefore, we should treat these comrades warmly and sincerely, unite with them and work together with them. "If he has realized and begun to correct his mistakes, we should welcome him without any prejudice and unite with him so that he can work for the party. Even if a comrade has not yet fully realized and corrected his mistakes but no longer persists in his mistakes, we should adopt a sincere and comradely attitude in helping him to realize and correct his mistakes."

At the plenary session on 31 March 1945, many comrades stressed that as soon as comrades who had committed mistakes had corrected them or no longer persisted in them, we should not quibble over old scores. Comrade Zhu De said: "Our representatives are highly interested in old scores but they do not go deep into political reports. We should draw their attention to this. Some people say that if the old ones are not clarified, nothing new can emerge. "However, new things have already emerged and if we still quibble over the past, I am afraid that the old ones cannot be clarified and the new things will be overlooked. We must guard against this." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Not bringing up old scores is of course not a slogan. Summing up experience can also be considered as bringing up old scores. But when we bring up old scores, we should not do it in the same way as did the peasants in forcing the landlords to reduce land rent and interest on loans and in bringing up old scores to overthrow them." In the report on the work policy for the "seventh congress" made on 21 April 1945 at the preparatory meeting for the "seventh congress," Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "The work policy for the congress is unity and victory. The congress should look forward to the future and not back at the past. Otherwise, the success of the congress will be affected. The congress should have the 400 million people in mind in organizing our ranks." Therefore, the "Resolution on History" stressed: "The task of the whole party from now on is to strengthen unity on the basis of clarifying our thinking and adhering to principle in the way stated in clause 2 of this resolution: 'Uniting all comrades of the party as a harmonious family and as a solid rod of steel to struggle for ultimate victory in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and for the complete liberation of the Chinese people' All analyses, criticisms and controversies concerning inner-party history should proceed from unity and end in unity. If we violate this principle, we are not correct."

The 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee successfully attained unity of thinking of the whole party so that the whole party united closely around the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong and was fully prepared for achieving new and greater victories.

CSO: 4004/124

STEADILY DEVELOP NATIONALITIES EDUCATION IN THE COURSE OF READJUSTMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 81 pp 36-38

[Article by Zang Boping [5258 0130 1627]]

[Text] Thirty-two years since nationwide liberation, under the leadership and care of the party Central Committee and the State Council, and owing to the all-out support of the broad masses and the strenuous efforts of students and teaching staff, minority nationality education has been significantly developed. This development is not limited to primary and middle school education to meet the revolutionary and construction requirements of the minority nationality regions; a large number of institutes of higher learning including 10 minority nationality colleges have been established, and this has led to the initial formulation of the minority nationality education system. In 1980, minority nationality students studying in different types of schools in the whole of China totaled 9.7 million; compared to the 1951 figure of 990,000; this was an increase by 8.8 times. Owing to the development of schools of different categories and different levels, a new contingent of intellectuals is being created among the minority nationalities, and the scientific and cultural level of the minority nationality people is being raised. In the country's 10 minority nationality colleges alone, and up to 1979, more than 97,000 cadres and specialized professional cadres of various nationalities had been trained. This accounts for more than 10 percent of the minority nationality nonproduction cadres throughout the country, and many of them are in leading bodies of party and government organs at various levels. In addition, the ranks of minority nationality teachers, who are dedicated to the educational cause of the party, have been built up. The total number of minority nationality teachers had grown to 463,000 by 1980. The broad masses of minority nationality teachers, along with Han nationality teachers supporting the frontier regions and minority nationality regions, have worked very hard and made great contributions to developing the educational cause of minority nationalities, and have nurtured a new generation of minority nationalities. Some groundwork has been laid for the compiling, translating and publishing of textbooks in minority nationality languages, not only in terms of quantity, but also in improving quality, and some experience has been gained in this respect.

However, minority nationality education has gone through many twists and turns. After 1958, minority nationality education work was weakened owing to the erroneous "leftist" ideological influence on educational work and on minority nationality education. Particularly during the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wreaked even greater destruction on minority nationality education. Among the 10 minority nationality colleges in China, 8 of them were ordered dissolved or closed down one after the other. Minority nationality middle and primary schools were reduced or amalgamated, and this occurred most frequently. Large numbers of cadres and teachers who had engaged in minority nationality work for many years were attacked and persecuted. Minority nationality educational institutions, minority nationality language teaching, the development of minority nationality language textbooks and the institutions for compiling and translating also suffered major setbacks. At the same time, the unrealistic proposal of "primary schooling within the village, lower schooling within the brigade, advanced schooling within the commune," also caused the already weakened minority nationality education work to suffer a serious case of "dropsy," that is to say, the number of students and schools statistically increased but the student attendance rate, the graduation rate and the quality of education dropped. In addition, various degrees of misappropriation of educational expenditures were seen in many regions, which seriously affected the development of minority nationality education.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, under the general policy of emancipating the mind, using one's brains and uniting to look forward, the erroneous "leftist" ideology has been further eliminated and the foundation for setting the minority nationality educational work to rights has been laid. Under the care of the party Central Committee and the State Council, relevant provinces and autonomous regions have taken positive measures to change step by step the present discord between minority nationality education and the four modernizations, and have quickly put forward programs for readjusting, reviving and developing minority nationality education. Many provinces and regions have made additional appropriations from funds supplied by the state and from local financial budgets to minority nationality education, subsidies to minority nationality middle and primary schools have been raised, the livelihood of the teachers at schools has improved and the management of schools has also improved. In order to train more qualified minority nationality professionals, specially selected middle schools, secondary vocational schools and institutions of higher learning in some regions are now conducting classes; the proportion of minority nationality students in secondary vocational schools and institutions of higher learning has increased. In pastoral and mountainous areas of minority nationality regions, more middle and primary boarding schools have been built. These measures will pave the way for the steady development of minority nationality education in the readjustment.

Historical practice tells us that only through the strict and thorough implementation of the party's nationality policy can the cause of minority nationality education be put in its proper place and achieve a steady development. A nationality develops in the course of history by a people having a common language, common territory, common economic life and shared mental outlooks. These are all manifested in a common culture. A nationality's existence is long term. The total integration of minority nationalities is something in the distant future; its realization will be a prolonged historical process, only being attained after the extinction of classes and the state. The socialist period is the phase to equalize all nationalities and build mutual confidence, and to ensure the prosperous development of all nationalities. Any attempt to realize "the total integration of minority nationalities" at the present, and thereby negate or even exterminate nationality characteristics and nationality differences, is wishful thinking contrary to the law of history and would be an out-and-out mistake. If nationality characteristics and nationality differences were neglected in minority nationality educational work, not only would that be detrimental, but also the unity between the various nationalities would be adversely affected.

To generalize the nationality problem into a class problem was the result of the erroneous "leftist" influence, and it confused the minority nationality problem with the class problem; they are problems of entirely different domains and natures. This only served to aggravate class struggle. Class and class struggle are the internal problem of an individual nationality, while the minority nationality problem is a problem concerning different nationalities. Ours is a multinational country. The formation and existence of various nationalities has been the result of a historical evolution of thousands of years. Under socialism, the relationship between various nationalities has basically become a relationship between laboring people of various nationalities. Though contradictions can stem from the differences between the nationalities, nationality characteristics and differences actually exist among nationalities; these contradictions might also contain factors of class contradictions, however, they cannot be described simply as class contradictions. If all these were termed class contradictions without any analysis, the party's nationality policy would be bound to suffer a distortion, the unity between the nationalities would be hampered and minority nationality education would suffer greatly. We must remember this.

The general policy of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee demands that all work should proceed from reality. Therefore, the development of minority nationality education should also proceed from the reality of the minority nationality regions. The first national conference on minority nationality education pointed out that it was absolutely correct to "adopt a national policy suitable to the development and progress of the people of the various nationalities" as the basic content of minority nationality education. To make our minority nationality education an important part of China's socialist educational system, it should be fully realized that among the various minority nationalities in our country, differences not only exist in the degree of development of economy and culture, but also in life styles, in languages, in customs and habits, in religious beliefs and in mental outlooks. Therefore, the minority nationality educational policy adopted under the guidance of the general educational policy should be in line with minority nationality characteristics. Different decisions on the educational system, school management, pace of development of education, class size and class work, teachers' livelihood and the development of teaching materials, duration of schooling, arrangement and use of educational funds and so on, should be made in accordance with the actual situations.

In a populous, economically underdeveloped country like China, state support is a very important factor in the development of minority nationality education. Since most of China's minority nationalities live in remote mountainous regions, pastoral districts and frontier regions, and owing to long oppression and exploitation by the internal and external reactionary ruling class, these regions are economically and culturally backward. Therefore, all-out support from the state and the advanced regions of the motherland are indispensable factors for the development of minority nationality education. In fact, many advanced regions of the motherland have been supplying manpower and other forms of help and support to the remote minority nationality regions, and the valuable experience thus gained should be promoted. On the other hand, we must also understand that our country, for the time being, is still in the process of economic readjustment; the level of economic development is comparatively low, and the development of minority nationality education is much like the development of any revolutionary cause and construction work. State support and assistance must be correctly integrated with the self-reliance of the minority nationality regions, with the positive factors of local enterprises and mines and of the communes and brigades in the minority nationality regions, and the initiative of the broad masses of cadres should be fully aroused. For state-run enterprises and mines and collective-run schools, the policy of "walking on two legs" should be adopted. Attention must also be paid to launching on-the-job training schools; practice since liberation has proved this to be the most valuable and effective experience.

Nationality education should be developed by using available resources and in a step-by-step manner, aimed at practical results. In one aspect, and within the field of education and among schools of different levels and categories, there is the phenomenon of a disproportional ratio. The disparity between Han education and minority nationality education is a reflection of the disproportional ratio which exists within the field of education. Minority nationality education is the weakest link on the educational front, a process aimed at its revival is necessary. In another aspect, proceeding from the current economic base of our country and the local regions, a general policy for steady development in the course of readjustment should be adopted for the recovery and advancement of minority nationality education. It is also necessary to strictly respect and fully protect the rights of nationalities; there must be equality in politics, economy, culture and education. We can neither simply copy methods from the Han nationality regions nor resort to the solution of driving a knife between nationalities. The party's educational policy should be fully carried out in the course of readjustment. We must grasp the essential points, grasp quality, and aim for effectiveness. The training of professionals should be in accordance with actual conditions. The correct balancing of quantity and quality, popularization and elevation, the general and specific should each proceed on the local level, and this process should advance solidly and steadily in the course of readjustment. Minority nationality regions should earnestly carry out "the decision on certain problems of the popularization of primary education" issued by the party Central Committee and the State Council. Proceeding from each locality's actual situation, a realistic, feasible plan dedicated to the gradual popularization of national elementary education should be formulated. The "dropsy" phenomenon and the problem of formalism should be solved. For primary and middle school education in remote mountainous regions, frontier regions and pastoral districts, schools should be run in a manner suitable to local characteristics; and efforts must be directed on a selected basis to organize and manage a number of minority nationality middle and primary schools and middle and primary boarding schools, so as to ensure the quality of education and a supply of trained people and to ensure that the investment in education produces results. In the few regions where education and culture are well founded, it is imperative to emphasize the improvement of the quality of education by popularizing and effectively running primary and middle schools. To train qualified personnel to meet the requirements of the four modernizations, minority nationality colleges in various regions and secondary vocational schools and institutions of higher learning in autonomous regions should be run efficiently.

The question of qualified teaching staff is the weakest link in minority nationality education. Owing to the influence of the erroneous "leftist" ideology, many teachers were attacked during successive political movements and, as a result, there are many leftover problems. Hence, the party's policy on intellectuals should be thoroughly carried out. So as to stabilize the teaching ranks, the treatment of teachers both politically and economically should be improved. At the same time, other steps should be taken to train minority nationality teachers. Various problems found among teachers in the collective-run schools should be solved in earnest. Especially after the institution of agricultural production responsibility systems, problems regarding rations and livelihood should be tackled in accordance with the conditions of each region. Plans should be developed to train teachers for collective-run schools, and their political and professional standards should be raised step by step.

We are running socialist schools--we must train teachers who are both Red and expert. At present, we must keep in mind the reality of students being in schools of different levels and different standards in the minority nationality regions, and strengthen ideological and political education, especially insisting on education on the four basic principles, on dialectical materialism, on patriotism and on unity among the nationalities. We must train each student to be a socialist new man who possesses ideals and morals and who is cultured and physically fit.

Ours is a great, multinational socialist country. Each and every nationality has contributed to the development of China's glorious thousands year-old culture. The anti-imperialist and antifeudalist revolutionary struggle has cemented the fate of all nationalities; with their lives and blood, they have protected the motherland. We have in the past, through education, trained large numbers of minority nationality cadres in various fields. Under the leadership of the party, and taking these comrades as the backbone and relying on the broad masses of people, the great tasks of democratic reform and socialist transformation in minority nationality regions have been accomplished with comparative ease, the economy and culture of various regions have also advanced. To build socialism, we still need to devote great effort to training large numbers of minority nationality cadres in various fields, especially large numbers of scientific, technical and management personnel; to work for the prosperity of minority nationality regions and minority nationality cultures, and for the successive eradication of inequality, which in fact does exist between nationalities, and for the continual strengthening of unity among the nationalities. The steady advancement of minority nationality education and the elevation of minority nationality education to its proper level involves not only the problem of scientific and cultural development and the economic prosperity of minority regions, but also, more importantly, the realization of the four modernizations and the fate of all minority nationalities. Hence, all party members must grasp the strengthening of education, and on the basis of readjustment, strive for the active and steady advancement of minority nationality education.

CSO: 4004/124

STUDY ECONOMIC THEORY IN LIGHT OF ACTUAL CONDITIONS IN CONSTRUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 81 pp 39-42

[Article by Gong Shiqi [7895 1102 0366]]

[Text] At its 3d Plenary Session, the 11th party Central Committee resolved to shift the focus of the work of the whole party to socialist economic construction, and established the party's political line for the present stage, which takes the achievement of the four modernizations as the central task. Over the past 2 years, and in particular during this year, the vast numbers of cadres have exhibited great enthusiasm in studying economic theory. The party committees at all levels have taken the study of economic theory as the main content of theoretical studies for cadres. Some leading economic departments have organized various types of study classes and rotational training classes and have achieved marked success. This shows that the new historical era has given us a new study task. To satisfactorily carry out our modernization construction and economic readjustment, we must study hard.

As we study economic theory, we must put the study of political economics in first place. Political economics occupies a particularly important position among the three component parts of Marxism. According to Lenin, political economics is the main content of Marxism. He said: "The main point in Marxist theory is to elaborate on the global and historical role of the proletariat as the creators of the socialist society." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 437) This main point is precisely explained in political economics. To raise the standard of Marxist theory of the whole party, to completely and accurately understand the scientific theoretical system of Marxism, and to deeply understand Marxist philosophy and scientific socialism, we must concentrate our efforts on conscientiously studying political economics.

The subject of study in Marxist political economics is the production relations peculiar to the modes of production in certain societies. Marxist political economics is a science which elaborates on the laws concerning the nature and development of the production relations peculiar to certain societies. Production relations constitute the foundation of a society, on which is established the corresponding superstructure. The nature of a society is determined by the production relations which predominate in that society. Therefore, to understand the laws concerning the nature and development of a society, we must rely on political economics. Marx said: "We should look for the analysis of the urban society in political economics." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 82)

He was referring to the capitalist society. The same applies to the socialist society. Today, to build socialism, we must master the laws concerning the nature and development of the socialist economic system. This requires us to conscientiously study political economics, in particular that part of political economics dealing with socialism.

Studying political economics is an urgent need in bringing order out of chaos and eliminating the erroneous "leftist" ideology. For many years, many erroneous economic theoretical viewpoints have been the basis for implementing a series of "leftist" principles and policies. For example, in guiding economic work, we did not proceed from our country's actual conditions, the objectivity of socialist economic laws were disregarded and subjective initiative was greatly exaggerated. After the socialist transformation of the means of production was basically accomplished in 1956, the emphasis on class struggle was continuously stepped up and the focus of the party's work could not be shifted. In transforming the production relations, the level and requirements of the development of our country's productive forces were disregarded. It was thought that the purer the socialist form of economy, the better. The necessity for retaining a definite amount of individual economy was denied. It was also thought that for the collective economy, "the larger its scale and the higher the degree of public ownership, the better." Our socialist construction, marked by blind endeavors to achieve high growth rates, was divorced from the people's material and cultural needs. The scale of capital construction surpassed our country's available financial and material resources, resulting in a serious imbalance in the proportional relationships among various sectors of the national economy. According to an economic model for self-sufficiency, an economy marked by "large and complete" as well as "small and complete" units was established. The socialization of production and the development of the production of commodities were disregarded. Attempts were made to restrict or even put an end to the commodity system. In distributing daily consumer goods, absolute egalitarianism was regarded as an element of communism and obstinate attempts were made to restrict or even eliminate distribution according to work done, and so on and so forth. To overcome the influences of the erroneous "leftist" ideology, we are urgently compelled to arm ourselves with knowledge of economic laws.

Studying political economics is also urgently necessary for raising the consciousness in implementing the political line of the party laid down at the 3d Plenary Session, anf for unifying the ideology of the whole party on the basis of this line. The Marxist political economics theory has been the theoretical basis on which the party Central Committee formulated the political line. To unify our thinking and action, we must in the first place master the knowledge of economic laws and unify the theoretical understanding of the whole party.

Historical experiences have proved that to accomplish its own great historical tasks and to achieve anticipated results in socialist construction, our party must be guided by Marxist-Leninist economic theory. During the democratic revolution period, our party committed right deviationist and "leftist" errors. In particular, during the second revolutionary civil war period, Wang Ming's left deviationist adventurism dominated the party for as long as 5 years. This was closely related to our party's inadequate knowledge of Marxist theory. After the Zunyi meeting, the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong integrated Marxism-Leninism with the actual conditions in China, systematically analyzed the economic relations pertinent to a semicolonial, semifeudal society, and put forth the theory of new democracy. On this theoretical basis, our party formulated a series of correct lines, principles and policies, and thus ensured the great victory of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and of the liberation war. After the founding of new China, in the light of our national conditions, our party specifically applied the Marxist-Leninist theory to the period of transition, and again achieved great success in the socialist industrialization of our country and in the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production. However, after 1957, because we lacked experience in and theoretical knowledge about building socialism, and mainly because there were grave "leftist" errors in the guiding ideology, our country's cause of socialist construction repeatedly met with serious setbacks. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and in particular since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party Central Committee has proceeded from the actual conditions of our country, integrated the general truths of Marxism-Leninism with the specific practices of China, rectified the "leftist" errors, which have existed for many years, in our guiding ideology on the basis of conscientiously summing up historical experiences, and put forth a series of correct lines, principles and policies in order to clearly point out the direction of the road toward Chinese-style modernization. There is an urgent need for us to study Marxist economic theory so that we can deeply understand and conscientiously implement the principle of the 3d Plenary Session. We must pay attention to integrating Marxism with the actual conditions of China. We must integrate the study of Marxist political economics with the study of the series of principles and policies concerning economic construction put forth by the party Central Committee since the 3d Plenary Session. We must pay attention to integrating Marxism with the actual conditions of China.

In studying economic theory, we must first read books.

Many of our comrades have abundant work experience and good practical working abilities, but many of them lack theoretical understanding, in particular the basic understanding of theories concerning the socialist economy. Therefore, we need to conscientiously read books. When we read books, we must proceed in an orderly way and go from step to step. If we have the spirit of seeking truth and overcoming difficulties in tackling key problems, we will be able to master the basic principles of Marxist economic theory and thus acquire boundless wisdom and strength.

In the light of current practical needs, we must study volume 2 of Marx' "Das Kapital," which expounds on social reproduction. When Marx examined the reproduction and circulation of the total social capital, he also analyzed and revealed the universal substance and common laws of reproduction movements in socialized large-scale production. Socialist production is also a form of socialized large-scale production, and in this respect it is the same as capitalist production. Many basic Marxist principles concerning reproduction are applicable to socialist production. Studying the Marxist principles of reproduction can help us to understand questions concerning socialized large-scale production, such as why its development must be planned and proportionate, why production and circulation must be unified, why supply, production and marketing must be coordinated, why expanded reproduction must be based on simple reproduction, and so on.

When we study and apply the Marxist principles of reproduction, aside from knowing the characteristic common to socialist production and capitalist production, namely, that they are both socialized large-scale production, we must also pay attention to their essential differences. For example, on the basis of the capitalist system of private ownership, the circulation and turnover of individual items of capital as well as the reproduction of social capital can be accomplished only through the capitalist market and can be regulated only spontaneously by the law of value. However, in socialism, the means of production are owned in common by the workers and the funds of the enterprises are a direct and organic component part of the total social funds. The aims of employing funds are, first, to satisfy the common needs of all members of society, and second, to realize the specific material benefits of the enterprises and individual workers. Therefore, the circulation and turnover of the funds of enterprises as well as the reproduction of social funds must be based on regulation by planning mechanism and must be accomplished on the basis of integrating regulation by planning mechanism with regulation by market mechanism.

We must conscientiously study many important expositions by Comrade Chen Yun on economic problems. Between 1956 and 1962, our country experienced a new and major historical change. During that period, the socialist transformation of the means of production had basically been completed, and the prominent question of what road our country had to take in building socialism was put before us. Because our country had achieved great success in socialist transformation, some comrades could not remain cool-headed. In 1955, impatience began to affect the guiding ideology. Persistent attempts were made to quicken the speed of the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production as well as the speed of socialist construction. In 1956, a rash advance on a small scale occurred. In 1958, a great rash advance occurred amid an atmosphere marked by more severe criticisms of so-called right conservatism. Comrade Chen Yun's articles of this period were mostly written to analyze these two rash advances and to propose remedial measures. They were the products of rectifying erroneous "leftist" ideology.

On the basis of analyzing our country's economic situation at that time, Comrade Chen Yun provided a Marxist answer to the question of how our country should carry out socialist construction, and rather systematically elaborated on the major theoretical issues concerning our socialist economic construction. His expositions include the following areas. First, expositions on the economic structure of and forms of operation in our socialist society. He said that after the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production in our country had basically been completed, the main body in our social economic structure should be state-run and collective run units, but there should be a definite number of individual businesses as a supplement to them. Concerning production planning, the majority of industrial and agricultural products should be produced according to plans, but a portion of the products should be freely produced according to market changes within the scope permitted by state planning. In production, centralized production and operation should be integrated with individual production and operation. In circulation, state monopoly in purchasing and marketing should be integrated with selective purchasing and marketing by individuals or individual units. In the socialist unified market, the state market should be the main body, but within certain limits there should be a free market operating under state leadership to serve as a supplement. Second, expositions on socialist reproduction. He said that socialist economic construction should proceed from satisfying the people's material and cultural needs, and that due consideration must be given to both economic construction and the people's livelihood. The relationship between simple reproduction and expanded reproduction must be correctly handled. In distributing the national income, the relationships between livelihood and production, between production and capital construction, as well as between building new enterprises and tapping the potentials of, innovating in and transforming the existing enterprises must be satisfactorily handled. In planning for livelihood and production, we must in the first place pay attention to the needs of the peasants, who account for 80 percent of the population, as well as the development of agriculture, which is the foundation of our national economy. In particular, we must pay attention to the production of grain. Agriculture exerts powerful efforts by limiting capital construction and improvements in the people's livelihood. The scale of capital construction must be compatible with our national strength, with the production of the means of production and with the growth in the production of the means of subsistence. The basic task in national economic planning is to bring about equilibrium in the national economy, mainly equilibrium in revenue and expenditures and goods and materials. If planning work can satisfactorily handle two key areas--capital construction and the labor force--there will not be any serious problems, and so on. Third, expositions on the socialist economic management system. He said that the unified state planning must leave some margin for local governments, factories, mines and other enterprises to exercise power in order to suit their measures to local conditions. The state and the enterprise should share among them all the profits of an enterprise. Power should be appropriately delegated to smaller units such as cooperative shops and handicrafts cooperatives, which should carry out production individually and should be operated individually. The calculation of profits or losses with the whole commune taken as the unified accounting unit should be replaced by the method whereby each cooperative group or family assumes sole responsibility for its profits or losses. The enterprises must be managed democratically, Worker representative councils should have the power to elect or propose the dismissal of factory managers. Fourth, expositions on the methods of economic work. He said that the methods of economic work are embodied in materialist dialectics. We must in the first place proceed from reality and conduct thorough and systematic investigations. We "must not regard the reading of books or forging ahead as of primary importance, but must stress the unique importance of reality. We must spend more than 90 percent of our time on investigations and studies of practical problems, and less than 10 percent of our time on policymaking. On the basis of mastering a vast amount of information, we must use the weapon of materialist dialectics to analyze things scientifically, that is, "comprehensively, compatatively and repeatedly."

The spirit of seeking truth from facts runs through Comrade Chen Yun's articles. He proceeded from the actual conditions of China and put forth his views on socialist construction, which have been tested and proved to be correct in practice over the past 20 years and more. Now that we are vigorously bringing order out of chaos, eliminating the erroneous "leftist" ideology, and carrying out economic readjustment and reform, we more deeply feel the applicability and appropriateness of Comrade Chen Yun's expositions when we restudy them. Although the current situation differs from that of the late 1950's and early 1960's, these basic views of Comrade Chen Yun's are still of great significance in guiding our current economic work.

"A Study of the Problems of the Socialist Economy in China" by Comrade Xue Muqiao is an important theoretical work, which treats socialism as a subject of political economics. Its special feature is that it proceeds from the actual conditions of our country and provides Marxist theoretical explanations for the practical experiences and existing problems in China's socialist economic construction. This book will greatly help us when we study our country's current economic problems.

Second, we must conscientiously sum up experiences as well as study new circumstances and new problems when we study economic theory.

In our study, conscientiously summing up the experiences of our country's socialist construction is an important method of integrating theory with practice. Over the past 30 years and more, our country has achieved great success in socialist construction, but the progress has been far from smooth. There have been advances as well as retrogressions. There have been high tides as well as low ebbs in production. The experiences over the past 30 years and more are plentiful. If we conscientiously sum it up, we may rather deeply understand the economic laws concerning our country's socialist construction.

Summing up historical experiences serves current needs and helps us to study new circumstances and problems, particularly problems arising from economic readjustment and reform. Examples include the problem of the necessity of the existence of many varied economic sectors, which are integrated with the economy governed by the system of public ownership, under the condition that the socialist system of public ownership predominates; the problem of the road which our country must take to modernize agriculture and industry; and problems concerning the readjustment of socialist economic relations and the reform of the economic management system, which are currently underway in our country. Guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, we must proceed from reality and make thorough investigations on as well as carefully study and discuss these problems. Only thus will our subjective understanding become more compatible with objective reality.

Third, we must eliminate the influence of the erroneous "leftist" ideology when we study economic theory.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, the main errors in economic construction have been "leftist" errors. After 1958, "leftist" errors in economic construction became more serious. They have caused huge losses to our cause of socialist construction. We have been influenced by the erroneous "leftist" ideology to various degrees. Therefore, in our study we must eliminate the influence of such an erroneous ideology in the light of reality. During the democratic revolution period and after the Zunyi meeting of 1935, in particular after the thorough rectification of Wang Ming's "leftist" errors through the Yanan rectification movement, the revolution developed unexpectedly rapidly. Nowadays, if we rectify the "leftist" errors and vigorously do a good job in carrying out the current economic readjustment and reform, a very fine new economic situation is surely in store for us.

In this new historical period, our party shoulders very heavy responsibilities. Therefore, we must very vigorously strengthen our theoretical work. However, our current theoretical study is still very weak; it is far from able to satisfy the requirements of the new situation and new tasks. We must create a habit in the whole party and in the whole country of conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. In the light of the actual conditions of our country's modernization construction, we must sum up historical experiences and rectify left deviationist errors. In the light of the actual conditions of economic theory. In building socialism, if the vast numbers of our cadres are armed with Marxism, then we will more far-sightedly display greater initiative, will be able to overcome all difficulties and will advance bravely!

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24 August 1981

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 13, 1 July 1981

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JPRS 78817

24 August 1981

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 13, 1 July 1981

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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COMMUNIQUE OF THE SIXTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE ELEVENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (Adopted on 29 June 1981)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 81 p 2

[Text] The Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its Sixth Plenary Session in Beijing from June 27 to 29, 1981. It was attended by 195 members and 114 alternate members of the Central Committee and 53 non-voting members of the Central Committee and 53 non-voting participants. Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Comrades Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun and Hua Guofeng, presided at the session.

Items on the agenda of the plenary session were:

1. Discussion and approval of "The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China";

2. Reelection of principal leading members of the Central Committee and election of new ones.

The above-mentioned agenda was thoroughly deliberated and conscientiously discussed at a preparatory meeting held before the plenary session. This session is another meeting of great significance in the history of our party following the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, a meeting for summing up experience and closing the ranks to press forward. This session will go down in history for fulfilling the historic mission of setting to right things which have been thrown into disorder in the guiding ideology of the party.

Applying Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism, "The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" unanimously adopted by the plenary session correctly sums up the major historical events of the party in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, particularly the "Great Cultural Revolution." The resolution scientifically analyzes the rights and wrongs in the party's guiding ideology during these events, analyzes the subjective factors and social causes that gave rise to mistakes, realistically evaluates the historical role played by Comrade Mao Zedong, the great leader and teacher, in the Chinese Revolution and fully elaborates the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our party. The resolution affirms the correct path for building a modern and powerful socialist country, a path which has been gradually established since the Third Plenary Session and which confirms to the realities in China, and further points out the orientation for the continued advance of our country's socialist cause and the work of our party. The plenary session believes that the adoption and publication of the resolution will exert great and far-reaching influence on unifying the thinking and understanding of the party, the army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country so that they will strive with one heart and one mind to carry out our new historical task.

The plenary session unanimously approved Comrade Hua Guofeng's request to resign his posts as chairman of the Central Committee and chairman of its Military Commission. The plenary session reelected the principal leading members of the Central Committee and elected new ones by secret ballot. The results of the elections are:

1. Comrade Hu Yaobang--chairman of the Central Committee;

2. Comrade Zhao Ziyang--vice-chairman of the Central Committee;

3. Comrade Hua Guofeng--vice-chairman of the Central Committee;

4. Comrade Deng Xiaoping--chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee;

5. A standing committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee made up of the chairman and vice-chairmen of the Central Committee. They are Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun and Hua Guofeng;

6. Comrade Xi Zhongxun--member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

The plenary session holds that the election and reelection of the principal leading members of the Central Committee will play an important part in strengthening the Central Committee's collective leadership and unity on the basis of Marxism and ensuring the full implementation of the party's correct line and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session.

The plenary session gave full play to democracy. All comrades present spoke out freely, adopted the scientific approach of seeking truth from facts and displayed the spirit of criticism and self-criticism in summing up historical experience and discussing and deciding the choice of persons as leading members of the Central Committee. This restored and carried forward the fine tradition formed by our party during the Yanan rectification period. The session vividly demonstrated our party's strong unity and fully reflects the growing and flourishing of our cause.

The plenary session believes that, just as the party's correct summing up of historical experience in the period of the democratic revolution brought great revolutionary victories, the correct summing up of the party's historical experience since the founding of the People's Republic of China will help bring about new great victories in our future socialist construction. The plenary session calls on the party, the army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, rally more closely around the party Central Committee, carry forward the spirit of "the foolish old man who removed the mountain," be resolute, surmount all difficulties and work hard to turn China step by step into a modern and powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization.

CSO: 4004/126

RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (Adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on 27 June 1981)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 81 pp 3-27

[Text] Review of the History of the Twenty-Eight Years Before the Founding of the People's Republic

1. The Communist Party of China has traversed 60 years of glorious struggle since its founding in 1921. In order to sum up its experience in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic, we must briefly review the previous 28 years in which the party led the people in waging the revolutionary struggle for new democracy.

2. The Communist Party of China was the product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese workers' movement and was founded under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia and the May 4th movement in China and with the help of the Communist International led by Lenin. The revolution of 1911 led by Dr Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary forerunner, overthrew the Qing Dynasty, thus bringing to an end over 2,000 years of feudal monarchical rule. However, the semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of Chinese society remained unchanged. Neither the Kuomintang nor any of the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois political groupings and factions found any way out for the country and the nation, nor was it possible for them to do so. The Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of China alone was able to show the people that China's salvation lay in overthrowing once and for all the reactionary rule of imperialism and feudalism and then switching over to socialism. When the Communist Party of China was founded, it had less than 60 members. But it initiated the vigorous workers' movement and the people's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle and grew rapidly and soon became a leading force such as the Chinese people had never before known.

3. In the course of leading the struggle of the Chinese people with its various nationalities for new democracy, the Communist Party of China went through four stages: the northern expedition (1924-1927) conducted with the cooperation of the Kuomintang, the agrarian revolutionary war (1927-1937), the war of resistance against Japan (1937-1945) and the nationwide war of liberation (1946-1949). Twice,

first in 1927 and then in 1934, it endured major setbacks. It was not until 1949 that it finally triumphed in the revolution, thanks to the long years of armed struggle in conjunction with other forms of struggle in other fields closely coordinated with it.

In 1927, regardless of the resolute opposition of the left wing of the Kuomintang with Soong Ching Ling as its outstanding representative, the Kuomintang controlled by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei betrayed the policies of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation and of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism decided on by Dr Sun Yat-sen and in collusion with the imperialists, massacred communists and other revolutionaries. The party was still quite inexperienced and, moreover, was dominated by Chen Duxiu's right capitulationism, so that the revolution suffered a disastrous defeat under the surprise attack of a powerful enemy. The total membership of the party, which had grown to more than 60,000, fell to a little over 10,000.

However, our party continued to fight tenaciously. Launched under the leadership of Zhou Enlai and several other comrades, the Nanchang uprising of 1927 fired the opening shot for armed resistance against the Kuomintang reactionaries. The meeting of the Central Committee of the party held on August 7, 1927 decided on the policy of carrying out agrarian revolution and organizing armed uprisings. Shortly afterwards, the autumn harvest and Guangzhou uprisings and uprisings in many other areas were organized. Led by Comrade Mao Zedong, the Autumn Harvest Uprising in the Hunan-Jiangxi border area gave birth to the first division of the Chinese workers' and peasants' revolutionary army and to the first rural revolutionary base area in the Jinggang Mountains. Before long, the insurgents led by Comrade Zhu De arrived at the Jinggang Mountains and joined forces with it. With the progress of the struggle, the party set up the Jiangxi central revolutionary base area and the western Hunan-Hubei, the Haifeng-Lufeng, the Hubei-Henan-Anhui, the Qiongya, the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi, the Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi, the Hunan-Jiangxi, the Zuojiang-Youjiang, the Sichuan-Shaanxi, the Shaanxi-Gansu and the Hunan-Hubei-Sichuan-Guizhou and other base areas. The First, Second and Fourth Front Armies of the workers' and peasants Red Army were also born, as were many other Red Army units. In addition, party organizations and other revolutionary organizations were established and revolutionary mass struggles unfolded under difficult conditions in the Kuomintang areas. In the agrarian revolutionary war, the First Front Army of the Red Army and the central revolutionary base area under the direct leadership of Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De played the most important role. The front armies of the Red Army defeated in turn a number of "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the Kuomintang troops. But because of Wang Ming's "left" adventurist leadership, the struggle against the Kuomintang's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign ended in failure. The First Front Army was forced to embark on the 25,000-li Long March and made its way to northern Shaanxi to join forces with units of the Red Army which had been persevering in struggles there and with its Twenty-Fifth Army which had arrived earlier. The Second and Fourth Front Armies also went on their Long March, first one and then the other arriving in northern Shaanxi. Guerrilla warfare was carried on under difficult conditions in the base areas in south China from which the main forces of the Red Army had withdrawn. As a result of the defeat caused by Wang Ming's "left" errors, the revolutionary base areas and the revolutionary forces in the Kuomintang areas sustained enormous losses. The Red Army of 300,000 men was reduced to about 30,000 and the Communist Party of 300,000 members to about 40,000.

In January 1935, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party convened a meeting in Zunyi during the Long March, which established the leading position of Comrade Mao Zedong in the Red Army and the Central Committee of the party. This saved the Red Army and the Central Committee of the party which were then in critical danger and subsequently made it possible to defeat Zhang Guotao's splittism, bring the Long March to a triumphant conclusion and open up new vistas for the Chinese revolution. It was a vital turning point in the history of the party.

At a time of national crisis of unparalleled gravity when the Japanese imperialists were intensifying their aggression against China, the Central Committee of the party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong decided on and carried out the correct policy of forming an anti-Japanese national united front.

Our party led the students' movement of 9 December 1935 and organized the powerful mass struggle to demand an end to the civil war and resistance against Japan so as to save the nation. The Xian incident organized by Generals Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng on 12 December 1936 and its peaceful settlement which our party promoted played a crucial historical role in bringing about renewed cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and in achieving national unity for resistance against Japanese aggression. During the war of resistance, the ruling clique of the Kuomintang continued to oppose the Communist Party and the people and was passive in resisting Japan. As a result, the Kuomintang suffered defeat after defeat in front operations against the Japanese invaders. Our party persevered in the policy of maintaining its independence and initiative within the united front, closely relied on the masses of the people, conducted guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines and set up many anti-Japanese base areas. The Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army--the reorganized Red Army--grew rapidly and became the mainstay in the war of resistance. The northeast anti-Japanese united army sustained its operations amid formidable difficulties. Diverse forms of anti-Japanese struggle were unfolded on a broad scale in areas occupied by Japan or controlled by the Kuomintang. Consequently, the Chinese people were able to hold out in the war for 8 long years and win final victory, in cooperation with the people of the Soviet Union and other countries in the anti-fascist war.

During the anti-Japanese war, the party conducted a rectification movement, a movement of Marxist education. Launched in 1942, it was a tremendous success. It was on this basis that the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the party in 1945 adopted the resolution on certain questions in the history of our party and soon afterwards the party's Seventh National Congress was convened. These meetings summed up our historical experience and laid down our correct line, principles and policies for building a new-democratic new China, enabling the party to attain an unprecedented ideological, political and organizational unity and solidarity. After the conclusion of the war of resistance against Japan, the Chiang Kai-shek government, with the aid of U.S. imperialism, flagrantly launched an all-out civil war, disregarding the just demand of our party and the people of the whole country for peace and democracy. With the wholehearted support of the people in all the liberated areas, with the powerful backing of the students' and workers' movements and the struggles of the people of various strata in the

Kuomintang areas and with the active cooperation of the democratic parties and non-party democrats, our party led the People's Liberation Army in fighting the three-year war of liberation and in wiping out 8 million Chiang Kai-shek troops in the Liaoxi-Shenyang, Beiping-Tianjin and Huai-Hai campaigns and in the successful crossing of the Chang Jiang River. The end result was the overthrow of the reactionary Kuomintang government and the establishment of the great People's Republic of China. The Chinese people had stood up.

4. The victories gained in the 28 years of struggle fully show that:

1) Victory in the Chinese revolution was won under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. Our party had creatively applied the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and integrated them with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. In this way, the great system of Mao Zedong Thought came into being and the correct path to victory for the Chinese revolution was charted. This is a major contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism.

2) As the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat, the Communist Party of China is a party serving the people wholeheartedly, with no selfish aim of its own. It is a party with both the courage and the ability to lead the people in their indomitable struggle against any enemy. Convinced of all this through their own experience, the Chinese people of whatever nationality came to rally around the party and form a broad united front, thus forging a strong political unity unparalleled in Chinese history.

3) The Chinese revolution was victorious mainly because we relied on a people's army led by the party, an army of a completely new type and enjoying flesh-and-blood ties with the people, to defeat a formidable enemy through protracted people's war. Without such an army, it would have been impossible to achieve the liberation of our people and the independence of our country.

4) The Chinese revolution had the support of the revolutionary forces in other countries at every stage, a fact which the Chinese people will never forget. Yet it must be said that, fundamentally, victory in the Chinese revolution was won because the Chinese Communist Party adhered to the principles of independence and self-reliance and depended on the efforts of the whole Chinese people, whatever their nationality, after they underwent untold hardships and surmounted innumerable difficulties and obstacles together.

5) The victorious Chinese revolution put an end to the rule of a handful of exploiters over the masses of the working people and to the enslavement of the Chinese people of all nationalities by the imperialists and colonialists. The working people have become the masters of the new state and the new society. While changing the balance of forces in world politics, the people's victory in so large a country having nearly one-quarter of the world's population has inspired the people in countries similarly subjected to imperialists and colonialist exploitation and oppression with heightened confidence in their forward march. The triumph of the Chinese revolution is the most important political event since World War II and has exerted a profound and far-reaching impact on the international situation and the development of the people's struggle throughout the world.

5. Victory in the new-democratic revolution was won through long years of struggle and sacrifice by countless martyrs, party members and people of all nationalities. We should by no means give all the credit to the leaders of the revolution, but at the same time we should not underrate the significant role these leaders have played. Among the many outstanding leaders of the party, Comrade Mao Zedong was the most prominent. Prior to the failure of the revolution in 1927, he had clearly pointed out the paramount importance of the leadership of the proletariat over the peasants' struggle and the danger of a right deviation in this regard. After its failure, he was the chief representative of those who succeeded in shifting the emphasis in the party's work from the city to the countryside and in preserving, restoring and promoting the revolutionary forces in the countryside. In the 22 years from 1927 to 1949, Comrade Mao Zedong and other party leaders managed to overcome innumerable difficulties and gradually worked out an over-all strategy and specific policies and directed their implementation, so that the revolution was able to switch from staggering defeats to great victory. Our party and people would have had to grope in the dark much longer had it not been for Comrade Mao Zedong, who more than once rescued the Chinese revolution from grave danger, and for the Central Committee of the party which was headed by him and which charted the firm, correct political course for the whole party, the whole people and the people's army.

Just as the Communist Party of China is recognized as the central force leading the entire people forward, so Comrade Mao Zedong is recognized as the great leader of the Chinese Communist Party and the whole Chinese people, and Mao Zedong Thought, which came into being through the collective struggle of the party and the people, is recognized as the guiding ideology of the party. This is the inevitable outcome of the 28 years of historical development preceding the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Basic Appraisal of the History of the 32 Years Since the Founding of the People's Republic

6. Generally speaking, the years since the founding of the People's Republic of China are years in which the Chinese Communist Party, guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, has very successfully led the whole people in carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction. The establishment of the socialist system represents the greatest and most profound social change in Chinese history and is the foundation for the country's future progress and development.

7. Our major achievements in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic are the following:

1) We have established and consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a new type of state power, unknown in Chinese history, in which the people are the masters of their own house. It constitutes the fundamental guarantee for the building of a modern socialist country, prosperous and powerful, democratic and culturally advanced.

2) We have achieved and consolidated nationwide unification of the country, with the exception of Taiwan and some other islands, and have thus put an end to the state of disunity characteristic of old China. We have achieved and consolidated the great unity of the people of all nationalities and have forged and expanded a socialist relationship of equality and mutual help among the more than 50 nationalities. And we have achieved and consolidated the great unity of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and people of other strata and have strengthened and expanded the broad united front which is led by the Chinese Communist Party in full cooperation with the patriotic democratic parties and people's organizations, and comprises all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism and patriots who stand for the unification of the motherland, including our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese citizens overseas.

3) We have defeated aggression, sabotage and armed provocations by the imperialists and hegemonists, safeguarded our country's security and independence and fought successfully in defense of our border regions.

4) We have built and developed a socialist economy and have in the main completed the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production into public ownership and put into practice the principle of "to each according to his work." The system of exploitation of man by man has been eliminated, and exploiters no longer exist as classes since the overwhelming majority have been remoulded and now live by their own labour.

5) We have scored signal successes in industrial construction and have gradually set up an independent and fairly comprehensive industrial base and economic system. Compared with 1952 when economic rehabilitation was completed, fixed industrial assets, calculated on the basis of their original price, were more than 27 times greater in 1980, exceeding 410 billion yuan; the output of cotton yarn was 4.5 times as great, reaching 2.93 million tons; that of coal 9.4 times, reaching 620 million tons; that of electricity 41 times, exceeding 300 billion kWh; and the output of crude oil exceeding 105 million tons and that of steel 37 million tons, the output value of the engineering industry was 54 times as great, exceeding 127 billion yuan. A number of new industrial bases have been built in our vast hinterland and the regions inhabited by our minority nationalities. National defense industry started from scratch and is being gradually built up. Much has been done in the prospecting of natural resources. There has been a tremendous growth in railway, highway, water and air transport and post and telecommunications.

6) The conditions prevailing in agricultural production have experienced a remarkable change, giving rise to big increases in production. The amount of land under irrigation has grown from 300 million mu in 1952 to over 670 million mu. Flooding by big rivers such as the Chang Jiang, Huang He (Yellow River), Huai He, Hai He, Zhu Jiang, Liao He and Songhua Jiang has been brought under initial control. In our rural areas, where farm machinery, chemical fertilizers and electricity were practically non-existent before liberation, there is now a big increase in the number of agriculture-related tractors and irrigation and drainage equipment and in the quantity of chemical fertilizers applied, and the amount of electricity

consumed is 7.5 times that generated in the whole country in the early years of liberation. In 1980, the total output of grain was nearly double that in 1952 and that of cotton more than double. Despite the excessive rate of growth in our population, which is now nearly a billion, we have succeeded in basically meeting the needs of our people in food and clothing by our own efforts.

7) There has been a substantial growth in urban and rural commerce and in foreign trade. The total value of commodities purchased by enterprises owned by the whole people rose from 17.5 billion yuan in 1952 to 226.3 billion yuan in 1980, registering an increase nearly 13-fold; retail sales rose from 27.7 billion yuan to 214 billion yuan, an increase of 7.7 times. The total value of the state's foreign trade in 1980 was 8.7 times that of 1952. With the growth in industry, agriculture and commerce, the people's livelihood has improved very markedly, as compared with pre-liberation days. In 1980, average consumption per capita in both town and country was nearly twice as much as in 1952, allowing for price changes.

8) Considerable progress has been made in education, science, culture, public health and physical culture. In 1980, enrollment in the various kinds of full-time schools totaled 204 million, 3.7 times the number in 1952. In the past 32 years, the institutions of higher education and vocational schools have turned out nearly 9 million graduates with specialized knowledge or skills. Our achievements in nuclear technology, man-made satellites, rocketry, etc., represent substantial advances in the field of science and technology. In literature and art, large numbers of fine works have appeared to cater for the needs of the people and socialism. With the participation of the masses, sports have developed vigorously, and records have been chalked up in quite a few events. Epidemic diseases with their high mortality rates have been eliminated or largely eliminated, the health of the rural and urban populations has greatly improved, and average life expectancy is now much higher.

9) Under the new historical conditions, the People's Liberation Army has grown in strength and in quality. No longer composed only of ground forces, it has become a composite army, including the naval and air forces and various technical branches. Our armed forces, which are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia, have been strengthened. Their quality is now much higher and their technical equipment much better. The PLA is serving as the solid pillar of the people's democratic dictatorship in defending and participating in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

10) Internationally, we have steadfastly pursued an independent socialist foreign policy, advocated and upheld the five principles of peaceful coexistence, entered into diplomatic relations with 124 countries and promoted trade and economic and cultural exchanges with still more countries and regions. Our country's place in the United Nations and the Security Council has been restored to us. Adhering to proletarian internationalism, we are playing an increasingly influential and active role in international affairs by enhancing our friendship with the people of other countries, by supporting and assisting the oppressed nations in their cause of liberation, the newly-independent countries in their national construction

and the people of various countries in their just struggles and by staunchly opposing imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism in defense of world peace. All of which has served to create favorable international conditions for our socialist construction and contributed to the development of a world situation favorable to the people everywhere.

8. New China has not been in existence for very long, and our successes are still preliminary. Our party has made mistakes owing to its meager experience in leading the cause of socialism and subjective errors in the party leadership's analysis of the situation and its understanding of Chinese conditions. Before the "Cultural Revolution" there were mistakes of enlarging the scope of class struggle and of impetuosity and rashness in economic construction. Later, there was the comprehensive, long-drawn out and grave blunder of the "Cultural Revolution." All these errors prevented us from scoring the greater achievements of which we should have been capable. It is impermissible to overlook or whitewash mistakes, which in itself would be a mistake and would give rise to more and worse mistakes. But after all our achievements in the past 32 years are the main thing. It would be a no less serious error to overlook or deny our achievements of our successful experiences in scoring these achievements. These achievements and successful experiences of ours are the product of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism by our party and people, the manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system and the base from which the entire party and people will continue to advance. Uphold truth and rectify error--this is the basic stand of dialectical-materialism our party must take. It was by taking this stand that we saved our cause from danger and defeat and won victory in the past. By taking the same stand, we will certainly win still greater victories in the future.

The Seven Years of Basic Completion of the Socialist Transformation

9. From the inception of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 to 1956, our party led the whole people in gradually realizing the transition from new democracy to socialism, rapidly rehabilitating the country's economy, undertaking planned economic construction and in the main accomplishing the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production in most of the country. The guidelines and basic policies defined by the party in this historical period were correct and led to brilliant successes.

10. In the first 3 years of the People's Republic, we cleared the mainland of bandits and the remnant armed forces of the Kuomintang reactionaries, peacefully liberated Tibet, established people's governments at all levels throughout the country, confiscated bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises and transformed them into state-owned socialist enterprises, unified the country's financial and economic work, stabilized commodity prices, carried out agrarian reform in the new liberated areas, suppressed counterrevolutionaries, and unfolded the movements against the "three evils" of corruption, waste and bureaucracy and against the "five evils" of bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing of economic information, the latter being a movement to beat back the attack mounted by the bourgeoisie. We effectively

transformed the educational, scientific and cultural institutions of old China. While successfully carrying out the complex and difficult task of social reform and simultaneously undertaking the great war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, protect our homes and defend the country, we rapidly rehabilitated the country's economy which had been devastated in old China. By the end of 1952, the country's industrial and agricultural production had attained record levels.

11. On the proposal of Comrade Mao Zedong in 1952, the Central Committee of the party advanced the general line for the transition period, which was to realize the country's socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce step by step over a fairly long period of time. This general line was a reflection of historical necessity.

1) Socialist industrialization is an indispensable prerequisite to the country's independence and prosperity.

2) With nationwide victory in the new-democratic revolution and completion of the agrarian reform, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road became the principal internal contradiction. The country needed a certain expansion of capitalist industry and commerce which were beneficial to its economy and to the people's livelihood. But in the course of their expansion, things detrimental to the national economy and the people's livelihood were bound to emerge. Consequently, a struggle between restriction and opposition to restriction was inevitable. The conflict of interests became increasingly apparent between capitalist enterprises on the one hand and the economic policies of the state, the socialist state-owned economy, the workers and staff in these capitalist enterprises and the people as a whole on the other. An integrated series of necessary measures and steps, such as the fight against speculation and profiteering, the readjustment and restructuring of industry and commerce, the movement against the "five evils," workers' supervision of production and state monopoly of the purchase and marketing of grain and cotton, were bound to gradually bring backward anarchic, lop-sided and profit-oriented capitalist industry and commerce into the orbit of socialist transformation.

3) Among the individual peasants, and particularly the poor and lower-middle peasants who had just acquired land in the agrarian reform but lacked other means of production, there was a genuine desire for mutual aid and cooperation in order to avoid borrowing at usurious rates and even mortgaging or selling their land again with consequent polarization, and in order to expand production, undertake water conservancy projects, ward off natural calamities and make use of farm machinery and new techniques.

The progress of industrialization, while demanding agricultural products in ever increasing quantities, would provide stronger and stronger support for the technical transformation of agriculture, and this also constituted a motive force behind the transformation of individual into cooperative farming.

As is borne out by history, the general line for the transition period set forth by our party was entirely correct.

12. During the period of transition our party creatively charted a course for socialist transformation that suited China's specific conditions. In dealing with capitalist industry and commerce, we devised a whole series of transitional forms of state capitalism from lower to higher levels, such as the placing of state orders with private enterprises for the processing of materials or the manufacture of goods, state monopoly of the purchasing and marketing of the products of private enterprise, the marketing of products of state-owned enterprises by private shops, and joint state-private ownership of individual enterprises or enterprise of a whole trade, and we eventually realized the peaceful redemption of the bourgeoisie, a possibility envisaged by Marx and Lenin. In dealing with individual farming, we devised transitional forms of cooperation, proceeding from temporary or all-the-year-round mutual-aid teams, to elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives of a semi-socialist nature and then to advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives of a fully socialist nature, always adhering to the principles of voluntariness and mutual benefit, demonstration through advanced examples, and extension of state help. Similar methods were used in transforming individual handicraft industries. In the course of such transformation, the state-capitalist and cooperative economies displayed their unmistakable superiority. By 1956, the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production had been largely completed in most regions. But there had been shortcomings and errors. From the summer of 1955 onwards, we were over-hasty in pressing on with agricultural cooperation and the transformation of private handicraft and commercial establishments; we were far from meticulous, the changes were too fast, and we did our work in a somewhat summary, stereotypes manner, leaving open a number of questions for a long time. Following the basic completion of the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in 1956, we failed to do a proper job in employing and handling some of the former industrialists and businessmen. But on the whole, it was definitely a historic victory for us to have effected, and to have effected fairly smoothly, so difficult, compled and profound a social change in so vast a country with its several hundred million people, a change, moreover, which promoted the growth of industry, agriculture and the economy as a whole.

13. In economic construction under the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957), we likewise scored major successes through our own efforts and with the assistance of the Soviet Union and other friendly countries. A number of basic industries, essential for the country's industrialization and yet very weak in the past, were built up. Between 1953 and 1956, the average annual increases in the total value of industrial and agricultural output were 19.6 and 4.8 percent respectively. Economic growth was quite fast, with satisfactory economic results, and the key economic sectors were well-balanced. The market prospered, prices were stable. The people's livelihood improved perceptively. In April 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong made his speech "On the Ten Major Relationships," in which he initially summed up our experiences in socialist construction and set forth the task of exploring a way of building socialism suited to the specific conditions of our country.

14. The first National People's Congress was convened in September 1954, and it enacted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. In March 1955, a national conference of the party reviewed the major struggle against the plots of the careerists Gao Gang and Rao Shushi to split the party and usurp supreme power in the party and the state; in this way it strengthened party unity. In January 1956, the Central Committee of the party called a conference on the question of the intellectuals. Subsequently, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" was advanced. These measures spelled out the correct policy regarding intellectuals and the work in education, science and culture and thus brought about a significant advance in these fields. Owing to the fact that the party enjoyed high prestige among the people for its correct policies and fine style of work, the vast numbers of cadres, masses, youth and intellectuals earnestly studied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and participated enthusiastically in revolutionary and construction activities under the leadership of the party, so that a healthy and virile revolutionary morality prevailed throughout the country.

15. The eighth national congress of the party held in September 1956 was very successful. The congress declared that the socialist system had been basically established in China, that while we must strive to liberate Taiwan, thoroughly complete socialist transformation, ultimately eliminate the system of exploitation and continue to wipe out the remnant forces of counterrevolution, the principal contradiction within the country was no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie but between the demand of the people for rapid economic and cultural development and the existing state of our economy and culture which fell short of the needs of the people; that the chief task confronting the whole nation was to concentrate all efforts on developing the productive forces, industrializing the country and gradually meeting the people's incessantly growing material and cultural needs; and that although class struggle still existed and the people's democratic dictatorship had to be further strengthened, the basic task of the dictatorship was now to protect and develop the productive forces in the context of the new relations of production. The congress adhered to the principle put forward by the Central Committee of the party in May 1956, the principle of opposing both conservatism and rash advance in economic construction, that is, of making steady progress by striking an over-all balance. It emphasized the problem of the building of the party in office and the need to uphold democratic centralism and collective leadership, oppose the personality cult, promote democracy within the party and among the people and strengthen the party's ties with the masses. The line laid down by the Eighth National Congress of the party was correct and it charted the path for the development of the cause of socialism and for party building in the new period.

The 10 Years of Initially Building Socialism in All Spheres

16. After the basic completion of socialist transformation, our party led the entire people in shifting our work to all-round, large-scale socialist construction. In the 10 years preceding the "Cultural Revolution" we achieved very big

successes despite serious setbacks. By 1966, the value of fixed industrial assets, calculated on the basis of their original price, was 4 times that in 1956. The output of such major industrial products as cotton yarn, coal, electricity, crude oil, steel and mechanical equipment all recorded impressive increases.

Beginning in 1965, China became self-sufficient in petroleum. New industries such as the electronic and petrochemical industries were established one after another. The distribution of industry over the country became better balanced. Capital construction in agriculture and its technical transformation began on a massive scale and yielded better and better results. Both the number of tractors for farming and the quantity of chemical fertilizers applied increased over 7 times and rural consumption of electricity 71 times. The number of graduates from institutions of higher education was 4.9 times that of the previous 7 years. Educational work was improved markedly through consolidation. Scientific research and technological work, too, produced notable results.

In the 10 years from 1956 to 1966, the party accumulated precious experience in leading socialist construction. In the spring of 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed the necessity of correctly handling and distinguishing between the two types of social contradictions differing in nature in a socialist society, and made the correct handling of contradictions among the people the main content of the country's political life. Later, he called for the creation of "a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness." In 1958, he proposed that the focus of party and government work be shifted to technical revolution and socialist construction. All this was the continuation and development of the line adopted by the Eighth National Congress of the party and was to go on serving as a valuable guide. While leading the work of correcting the errors in the "Great Leap Forward" and the movement to organize people's communes, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that there must be no expropriation of the peasants; that a given stage of social development should not be skipped; that egalitarianism must be opposed; that we must stress commodity production, observe the law of value and strike an over-all balance in economic planning; and that economic plans must be arranged with the priority proceeding from agriculture to light industry and then to heavy industry. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said that a variety of means of production could be put into circulation as commodities and that there should be a double-track system for labor as well as for education in socialist society. The double-track system for labor refers to a combination of the system of the 8-hour day in factories, rural areas and government offices with a system of part-time work and part-time study in factories and rural areas. The double-track system for education means a system of full-time schooling combined with a system of part-time work and part-time study. Comrade Zhou Enlai said, among other things, that the overwhelming majority of Chinese intellectuals had become intellectuals belonging to the working people and that science and technology would play a key role in China's modernization. Comrade Chen Yun held that plan targets should be realistic, that the scale of construction should correspond to national capability, considerations should be given to both the people's livelihood and the needs of state construction, and that the material, financial and credit balances should be maintained in drawing up plans. Comrade Deng Xiaoping held that industrial enterprises should be consolidated and their management approved and strengthened, and that the system of workers' conferences should be introduced. Comrade Zhu De stressed the need to pay attention to the development of handicrafts and of diverse undertakings in agriculture. Deng Zihui and other comrades pointed out that a system of production responsibility should be introduced in agriculture. All these views were not only of vital significance then, but have remained so ever since.

In the course of economic readjustment, the Central Committee drew up draft rules governing the work of the rural people's communes and work in industry, commerce, education, science and literature and art. These rules which were a more or less systematic summation of our experience in socialist construction and embodied specific policies suited to the prevailing conditions remain important as a source of reference for us to this very day.

In short, the material and technical basis for modernizing our country was largely established during that period. It was also largely in the same period that the core personnel for our work in the economic, cultural and other spheres were trained and that they gained their experience. This was the prinicipal aspect of the party's work in that period.

17. In the course of this decade, there were serious faults and errors in the guidelines of the party's work, which developed through twists and turns.

The year 1957 was one of the years that saw best results in economic work after the founding of the People's Republic owing to the conscientious implementation of the correct line formulated at the Eighth National Congress of the party. To start a rectification campaign throughout the party in that year and urge the masses to offer criticisms and suggestions were normal steps in developing socialist democracy. In the rectification campaign a handful of bourgeois rightists seized the opportunity to advocate what they called "speaking out and airing views in a big way" and to mount a wild attack against the party and the nascent socialist system in an attempt to replace the leadership of the Communist Party. It was therefore entirely correct and necessary to launch a resolute counterattack. But the scope of this struggle was made far too broad and a number of intellectuals, patriotic people and party cadres were unjustifiably labeled "rightists," with unfortunate consequences.

In 1958, the second plenum of the Eighth National Congress of the party adopted the general line for socialist construction. The line and its fundamental aspects were correct in that it reflected the masses' pressing demand for a change in the economic and cultural backwardness of our country. Its shortcoming was that it overlooked the objective economic laws. Both before and after the plenum, all comrades in the party and people of all nationalities displayed high enthusiasm and initiative for socialism and achieved certain results in production and construction. However, "left" errors, characterized by excessively high targets, the issuing of arbitrary directions, boastfulness and the stirring up of a "communist wind," spread unchecked throughout the country. This was due to our lack of experience in socialist construction and inadequate understanding of the laws of economic development and of the basic economic conditions in China. More important, it was due to the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong and many leading comrades, both at the centre and in the localities, had become smug about their successes, were impatient for quick results and overestimated the role of man's subjective will and efforts. After the general line was formulated, the "Great Leap Forward" and the movement for rural people's communes were initiated without careful investigation and study and without prior experimentation. From the end of 1958 to the early stage of the Lushan meeting of the Political Bureau of the party's Central Committee in July 1959, Comrade Mao Zedong and the Central Committee led the whole party in energetically rectifying the errors which had already been recognized. However, in the latter part of the meeting, he erred in initiating criticism of Comrade Peng Dehuai and then in launching a partywide struggle against "right opportunism."

The resolution passed by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the party concerning the so-called anti-party group of Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou was entirely wrong. Politically, this struggle gravely undermined inner-party democracy from the central level down to the grass-roots; economically, it cut short the process of rectification of the "left" errors, thus prolonging their influence. It was mainly due to the errors of the Great Leap Forward and of the struggle against "right opportunism" together with a succession of natural calamities and the perfidious scrapping of contracts by the Soviet Government that our economy encountered serious difficulties between 1959 and 1961, which caused serious losses to our country and people.

In the winter of 1960, the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong set about rectifying the "left" errors in rural work and decided on the principle of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards" for the economy as a whole. A number of correct policies and resolute measures were worked out and put into effect with Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun and Deng Xiaoping in charge. All this constituted a crucial turning point in that historical phase. In January 1962, the enlarged central work conference attended by 7,000 people made a preliminary summing-up of the positive and negative experience of the "Great Leap Forward" and unfolded criticism and self-criticism. A majority of the comrades who had been unjustifiably criticized during the campaign against "right opportunism" were rehabilitated before or after the conference. In addition, most of the "rightists" had their label removed. Thanks to these economic and political measures, the national economy recovered and developed fairly smoothly between 1962 and 1966.

Nevertheless, "left" errors in the principles guiding economic work were not only not eradicated, but actually grew in the spheres of politics, ideology and culture. At the Tenth Plenary Session of the party's Eighth Central Committee in September 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong widened and absolutized the class struggle existing only within certain limits in a socialist society and carried forward the viewpoint he had advanced after the anti-rightist struggle in 1957 that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie remained the principal contradiction in our society. He went a step further and asserted that, throughout the historical period of socialism, the bourgeoisie would continue to exist and would attempt a comeback and become the source of revisionism inside the party. The socialist education movement unfolded between 1963 and 1965 in some rural areas and at the grassroots level in a small number of cities did help to some extent to improve the cadres' style of work and economic management. But, in the course of the movement, problems differing in nature were all treated as forms of class struggle or its reflections inside the party. As a result, quite a number of the cadres at the grassroots level were unjustly dealt with in the latter half of 1964, and early in 1965 the erroneous thesis was advanced that the main target of the movement should be "those party persons in power taking the capitalist road." In the ideological sphere, a number of literary and art works and schools of thought and a number of representative personages in artistic, literary and academic circles were subjected to unwarranted, inordinate political criticism. And there was an increasingly serious "left" deviation on the question of intellectuals and on the question of education, science and culture. These errors eventually culminated in the "Cultural Revolution," but they had not yet become dominant.

Thanks to the fact that the whole party and people had concentrated on carrying out the correct principle of economic readjustment since the winter of 1960, socialist construction gradually flourished again. The party and the people were united in sharing weal and woe. They overcame difficulties at home, stood up to the pressure of the Soviet leading clique and repaid all the debts owed to the Soviet Union, which were chiefly incurred through purchasing Soviet arms during the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. In addition, they did what they could to support the revolutionary struggles of the people of many countries and assist them in their economic construction. The Third National People's Congress, which met between the end of 1964 and the first days of 1965, announced that the task of national economic readjustment had in the main been accomplished and that the economy as a whole would soon enter a new stage of development. It called for energetic efforts to build China step by step into a socialist power with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. This call was not fulfilled owing to the "Cultural Revolution."

18. All the successes in these 10 years were achieved under the collective leadership of the Central Committee of the party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong. Likewise, responsibility for the errors committed in the work of this period rested with the same collective leadership. Although Comrade Mao Zedong must be held chiefly responsible, we cannot lay the blame on him alone for all those errors. During this period, his theoretical and practical mistakes concerning class struggle in a socialist society became increasingly serious, his personal arbitrariness gradually undermined democratic centralism in party life, and the personality cult grew graver and graver. The Central Committee of the party failed to rectify these mistakes in good time. Careerists like Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng, harbouring ulterior motives, made use of these errors and inflated them. This led to the inauguration of the "Cultural Revolution."

The Decade of the "Cultural Revolution"

19. The "Cultural Revolution," which lasted from May 1966 to October 1976, was responsible for the most severe setback and the heaviest losses suffered by the party, the state and the people since the founding of the People's Republic. It was initiated and led by Comrade Mao Zedong. His principal theses were that many representatives of the bourgeoisie and counterrevolutionary revisionists had sneaked into the party, the government, the army and cultural circles, and leadership in a fairly large majority of organizations and departments was no longer in the hands of Marxists and the people; that party persons in power taking the capitalist road had formed a bourgeois headquarters inside the Central Committee which pursued a revisionist political and organizational line and had agents in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, as well as in all central departments; that since the forms of struggle adopted in the past had not been able to solve this problem, the power usurped by the capitalist-roaders could be recaptured only by carrying out a Great Cultural Revolution, by openly and fully mobilizing the broad masses from the bottom up to expose these sinister phenomena; and that the Cultural Revolution was in fact a great political revolution in which one class would overthrow another, a revolution that would have to be waged time and again. These theses appeared mainly in the "May 16 circular," which served as the programmatic document of the "Cultural Revolution," and in the political report to the Ninth National Congress of the party in April 1969.

They were incorporated into a general theory--the "theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat"--which then took on a specific meaning. These erroneous "left" theses, upon which Comrade Mao Zedong based himself in initiating the "Cultural Revolution," were obviously inconsistent with the system of Mao Zedong Thought, which is the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. These theses must be thoroughly distinguished from Mao Zedong Thought. As for Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others, who were placed in important positions by Comrade Mao Zedong, the matter is of an entirely different nature. They rigged up two counterrevolutionary cliques in an attempt to seize supreme power and, taking advantage of Comrade Mao Zedong's errors, committed many crimes behind his back, bringing disaster to the country and the people. As their counterrevolutionary crimes have been fully exposed, this resolution will not go into them at any length.

20. The history of the "Cultural Revolution" has proved that Comrade Mao Zedong's principal theses for initiating it conformed neither to Marxism-Leninism nor to Chinese reality. They represent an entirely erroneous appraisal of the prevailing class relations and political situation in the party and state.

1) The "Cultural Revolution" was defined as a struggle against the revisionist line or the capitalist road. There were no grounds at all for this definition. It led to the confusing of right and wrong on a series of important theories and policies. Many things denounced as revisionist or capitalist during the "Cultural Revolution" were actually Marxist and socialist principles, many of which had been set forth or supported by Comrade Mao Zedong himself. The

"Cultural Revolution" negated many of the correct principles, policies and achievements of the 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic. In fact, it negated much of the work of the Central Committee of the party and the people's government, including Comrade Mao Zedong's own contribution. It negated the arduous struggles the entire people had conducted in socialist construction.

2) The confusing of right and wrong inevitably led to confusing the people with the enemy. The "capitalist-roaders" overthrown in the "Cultural Revolution" were leading cadres of party and government organizations at all levels, who formed the core force of the socialist cause. The so-called bourgeois headquarters inside the party headed by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping simply did not exist. Irrefutable facts have proved that labeling Comrade Liu Shaoqi a "renegade, hidden traitor and scab" was nothing but a frame-up by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their followers. The political conclusion concerning Comrade Liu Shaoqi drawn by the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the party and the disciplinary measure it meted out to him were both utterly wrong. The criticism of the so-called reactionary academic authorities in the "Cultural Revolution" during which many capable and accomplished intellectuals were attacked and persecuted also badly muddled up the distinction between the people and the enemy.

3) Nominally, the "Cultural Revolution" was conducted by directly relying on the masses. In fact, it was divorced both from the party organizations and from the masses. After the movement started, party organizations at different levels were attacked and became partially or wholly paralyzed, the party's leading cadres at various levels were subjected to criticism and struggle, inner-party life came to a standstill, and many activists and large numbers of the basic masses whom the party has long relied on were rejected.

At the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution," the vast majority of participants in the movement acted out of their faith in Comrade Mao Zedong and the party. Except for a handful of extremists, however, they did not approve of launching ruthless struggles against leading party cadres at all levels. With the lapse of time, following their own circuitous paths, they eventually attained a heightened political consciousness and began to adopt a sceptical or wait-and-see attitude towards the "Cultural Revolution," or even resisted and opposed it. Many people were assailed either more or less severely for this very reason. Such a state of affairs could not but provide openings to be exploited by opportunists, careerists and conspirators, not a few of whom were escalated to high or even key positions.

4) Practice has shown that the "Cultural Revolution" did not in fact constitute a revolution or social progress in any sense, nor could it possibly have done so. It was we and not the enemy at all who were thrown into disorder by the "Cultural Revolution." Therefore, from beginning to end, it did not turn "great disorder under heaven" into "great order under heaven," nor could it conceivably have done so. After the state power in the form of the people's democratic dictatorship was established in China, and especially after socialist transformation was basically completed and the exploiters were eliminated as classes, the socialist

revolution represented a fundamental break with the past in both content and method, even its tasks remained to be completed. Of course, it was essential to take proper account of certain undesirable phenomena that undoubtedly existed in party and state organisms and to remove them by correct measures in conformity with the constitution, the laws and the party constitution. But on no account should the theories and methods of the "Cultural Revolution" have been applied. Under socialist conditions, there is no economic or political basis for carrying out a great political revolution in which "one class overthrow another." It decidedly could not come up with any constructive programme, but could only bring grave disorder, damage and retrogression in its train. History has shown that the "Cultural Revolution," initiated by a leader laboring under a misapprehension and capitalized on by counterrevolutionary cliques, led to domestic turmoil and brought catastrophe to the party, the state and the whole people.

21. The "Cultural Revolution" can be divided into three stages.

1) From the initiation of the "Cultural Revolution" to the Ninth National Congress of the party in April 1969. The convening of the enlarged Political Bureau meeting of the Central Committee of the party in May 1966 and the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee in August of that year marked the launching of the "Cultural Revolution" on a full scale. These two meetings adopted the "May 16 circular" and the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" respectively. They launched an erroneous struggle against the so-called anti-party clique of Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi and Yang Shangkun and the so-called headquarters of Lui Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. They wrongly reorganized the central leading organs, set up the "Cultural Revolution group under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" and gave it a major part of the power of the Central Committee. In fact, Comrade Mao Zedong's personal leadership characterized by "left" errors took the place of the collective leadership of the Central Committee, and the cult of Comrade Mao Zedong was frenziedly pushed to an extreme.

Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao and others, acting chiefly in the name of the "Cultural Revolution group," exploited the situation to incite people to "overthrow everything and wage full-scale civil war." Around February 1967, at various meetings, Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen and other Political Bureau members and leading comrades of the Military Commission of the Central Committee sharply criticized the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution." This was labeled the "February adverse current," and they were attacked and repressed. Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yun were also wrongly criticized. Almost all leading party and government departments in the different spheres and localities were stripped of their power or reorganized. The chaos was such that it was necessary to send in the People's Liberation Army to support the left, the workers and the peasants and to institute military control and military training. It played a positive role in stabilizing the situation, but it also produced some negative consequences. The ninth congress of the party legitimatized the erroneous theories and practices of the "Cultural Revolution," and so reinforced the positions of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others in the Central Committee of the party. The guidelines of the ninth congress were wrong, ideologically, politically and organizationally.

2) From the Ninth National Congress of the party to its Tenth National Congress in August 1973. In 1970-1971 the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao clique plotted to capture supreme power and attempted an armed counterrevolutionary coup d'etat. This was the outcome of the "Cultural Revolution" which overturned a series of fundamental party principles. Objectively, it announced the failure of the theories and practices of the "Cultural Revolution." Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai ingeniously thwarted the plotted coup. Supported by Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai took charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee and things began to improve in all fields. During the criticism and repudiation of Lin Biao in 1972, he correctly proposed criticism of the ultra-left trend of thought. In fact, this was an extension of the correct proposals put forward around February 1967 by many leading comrades of the Central Committee who had called for the correction of the errors of the "Cultural Revolution." Comrade Mao Zedong, however, erroneously held that the task was still to oppose the "ultra-right." The tenth congress of the party perpetuated the "left" errors of the ninth congress and made Wang Hongwen a vice-chairman of the party. Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen formed a gang of four inside the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, thus strengthening the influence of the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique.

3) From the tenth congress of the party to October 1976. Early in 1974 Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen and others launched a campaign to "criticize Lin Biao and Confucius." Jiang Qing and the others directed the spearhead at Comrade Zhou Enlai, which was different in nature from the campaign conducted in some localities and organizations where individuals involved in and incidents connected with the conspiracies of the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao clique were investigated. Comrade Mao Zedong approved the launching of the movement to "criticize Lin Biao and Confucius." When he found that Jiang Qing and the others were turning it to their advantage in order to seize power, he severely criticized them. He declared that they had formed a "gang of four" and pointed out that Jiang Qing harbored the wild ambition of making herself chairman of the Central Committee and "forming a cabinet" by political manipulation.

In 1975, when Comrade Zhou Enlai was seriously ill, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, with the support of Comrade Mao Zedong, took charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee. He convened an enlarged meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and several other important meetings with a view to solving problems in industry, agriculture, transport and science and technology, and began to straighten out work in many fields so that the situation took an obvious turn for the better. However, Comrade Mao Zedong could not bear to accept systematic correction of the errors of the "Cultural Revolution" by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and triggered the movement to "criticize Deng and counter the right devisionist trend to reverse correct verdicts," once again plunging the nation into turmoil. In January of that year, Comrade Zhou Enlai passed away. Comrade Zhou Enlai was utterly devoted to the party and the people and stuck to his post till his dying day. He found himself in an extremely difficult situation throughout the "Cultural Revolution," he always kept the general interest in mind, bore the heavy burden of office without complaint, racking his brains and untiringly endeavouring to keep the normal work of the party and the state going, to minimize the damage caused by the "Cultural Revolution" and to protect many party and non-party cadres. He waged all forms of struggle to counter sabotage by the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques. His death left the whole party and people in the most profound grief. In April of the same year, a powerful movement of protest signalled by the Tiananmen incident swept the whole country, a movement to mourn for the late Premier Zhou Enlai and oppose the "gang of four." In essence, the movement was a demonstration of support for the party's correct leadership as represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. It laid the ground for massive popular support for the subsequent overthrow of the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong wrongly assessed the nature of the Tiananmen incident and dismissed Comrade Deng Xiaoping from all his posts inside and outside the party. As soon as Comrade Mao Zedong passed away in September 1976, the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique stepped up its plot to seize supreme party and state leadership. Early in October of the same year, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, executing the will of the party and the people, resolutely smashed the clique and brought the catastrophic "Cultural Revolution" to an end. This was a great victory won by the entire party, army and people after prolonged struggle. Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian and other comrades played a vital part in the struggle to crush the clique.

22. Chief responsibility for the grave "left" error of the "Cultural Revolution," an error comprehensive in magnitude and protracted in duration, does indeed lie with Comrade Mao Zedong. But after all it was the error of a great proletarian revolutionary. Comrade Mao Zedong paid constant attention to overcoming shortcomings in the life of the party and state. In his later years, however, far from making a correct analysis of many problems, he confused right and wrong and the people with the enemy during the "Cultural Revolution." While making serious mistakes, he repeatedly urged the whole people to study the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin conscientiously and imagined that his theory and practice were Marxist and that they were essential for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Herein lies his tragedy. While persisting in the comprehensive error of the "Cultural Revolution," he checked and rectified some of its specific mistakes, protected some leading party cadres and non-party public figures and enabled some leading cadres to return to important leading posts. He led the struggle to smash the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao clique. He made major criticisms and exposures of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and others, frustrating their sinister ambition to seize supreme leadership. All this was crucial to the subsequent and relatively painless overthrow of the "gang of four" by our party. In his later years, he still remained alert to safeguarding the security of our country, stook up to the pressure of the social-imperialists, pursued a correct foreign policy, firmly supported the just struggles of all peoples, outlined the correct strategy of the three worlds and advanced the important principle that China would never seek hegemony. During the "Cultural Revolution" our party was not destroyed, but maintained its unity. The State Council and the People's Liberation Army were still able to do much of their essential work. The Fourth National People's Congress which was attended by deputies from all nationalities and all walks of life was convened and it determined the composition of the State Council with Comrades Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping as the core of its leadership. The foundation of China's socialist system remained intact and

it was possible to continue socialist economic construction. Our country remained united and exerted a significant influence on international affairs. All these important facts are inseparable from the great role played by Comrade Mao Zedong. For these reasons, and particularly for his vital contributions to the cause of the revolution over the years, the Chinese people have always regarded Comrade Mao Zedong as their respected and beloved great leader and teacher.

23. The struggle waged by the party and the people against "left" errors and against the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques during the "Cultural Revolution" was arduous and full of twists and turns, and it never ceased. Rigorous tests throughout the "Cultural Revolution" have proved that standing on the correct side in the struggle were the overwhelming majority of members of the Eighth Central Committee of the party and the members it elected to its Political Bureau, Standing Committee and Secretariat. Most of our party cadres, whether they were wrongly dismissed or remained at their posts, whether they were rehabilitated early or late, are loyal to the party and people and steadfast in their belief in the cause of socialism and communism. Most of the intellectuals, model workers, patriotic democrats, patriotic Overseas Chinese and cadres and masses of all strata and all nationalities who had been wronged and persecuted, did not waver in their love for the motherland and in their support for the party and socialism. Party and state leaders such as Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai, He Long and Tao Zhu and all other party and non-party comrades who were persecuted to death in the "Cultural Revolution" will live forever in the memories of the Chinese people. It was through the joint struggles waged by the entire party and the masses of workers, peasants, PLA officers and men, intellectuals, educated youth and cadres that the havoc wrought by the "Cultural Revolution" was somewhat mitigated. Some progress was made in our economy despite tremendous losses. Grain output increased relatively steadily. Significant achievements were scored in industry, communications and capital construction and in science and technology. New railways were built and the Changjiang River bridge at Nanjing was completed; a number of large enterprises using advanced technology went into operation; hydrogen bomb tests were successfully undertaken and man-made satellites successfully launched and retrieved; and new hybrid strains of long-grained rice were developed and popularized. Despite the domestic turmoil, the People's Liberation Army bravely defended the security of the motherland. And new prospects were opened up in the sphere of foreign affairs. Needless to say, none of these successes can be attributed in any way to the "Cultural Revolution," without which we would have scored far greater achievements for our cause.

Although we suffered from sabotage by the counterevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques during the "Cultural Revolution," we won out over them in the end. The party, the people's political power, the people's army and Chinese society on the whole remained unchanged in nature. Once again history has proved that our people are a great people and that our party and socialist system have enormous vitality.

24. In addition to the above-mentioned immediate cause of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistake in leadership, there are complex social and historical causes underlying the "Cultural Revolution" which dragged on for as long as a decade. The main causes are as follows:

1) The history of the socialist movement is not long and that of the socialist countries even shorter. Some of the laws governing the development of socialist society are relatively clear, but many more remain to be explored. Our party had long existed in circumstances of war and fierce class struggle. It was not fully prepared, either ideologically or in terms of scientific study, for the swift advent of the new-born socialist society and for socialist construction on a national scale. The scientific works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are our guide to action, but can in no way provide ready-made answers to the problems we may encounter in our socialist use. Even after the basic completion of socialist transformation, given the guiding ideology, we were liable, owing to the historical circumstances in which our party grew, to continue to regard issues unrelated to class struggle as its manifestations when observing and handling new contradictions and problems which cropped up in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres in the course of the development of socialist society. And when confronted with actual class struggle under the new conditions, we habitually fell back on the familiar methods and experiences of the large-scale, turbulent mass struggle of the past, which should no longer have been mechanically followed. As a result, we substantially broadened the scope of class struggle. Moreover, this subjective thinking and practice divorced from reality seemed to have a "theoretical basis" in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin because certain ideas and arguments set forth in them were misunderstood or dogmatically interpreted. For instance, it was thought that equal right, which reflects the exchange of equal amounts of labor and is applicable in the distribution of the means of consumption in socialist society, or "bourgeois right" as it was designated by Marx, should be restricted and criticized, and so the principle of "to each according to his work" and that of material interest should be restricted and criticized; that small production would continue to engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie daily and hourly on a large scale even after the basic completion of socialist transformation, and so a series of "left" economic policies and policies on class struggle in urban and rural areas were formulated; and that all ideological differences inside the party were reflections of class struggle in society, and so frequent and acute inner-party struggles were conducted. All this led us to regard the error in magnifying class struggle as an act in defense of the purity of Marxism. Furthermore, Soviet leaders started a polemic between China and the Soviet Union, and turned the arguments between the two parties on matters of principle into a conflict between the two nations, bringing enormous pressure to bear upon China politically, economically and militarily. So we were forced to wage a just struggle against the big-nation chauvinism of the Soviet Union.

In these circumstances, a campaign to prevent and combat revisionism inside the country was launched, which spread the error of broadening the scope of class struggle in the party, so that normal difference among comrades inside the party came to be regarded as manifestations of the revisionist line or of the struggle between the two lines. This resulted in growing tension in inner-party relations. Thus it became difficult for the party to resist certain "left" views put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong and others, and the development of these views led to the outbreak of the protracted "Cultural Revolution."

2) Comrade Mao Zedong's prestige reached a peak and he began to get arrogant at the very time when the party was confronted with the new task of shifting the focus of its work to socialist construction, a task for which the utmost caution was required. He gradually divorced himself from practice and from the masses, acted more and more arbitrarily and subjectively, and increasingly put himself above the Central Committee of the party. The result was a steady weakening and even undermining of the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the party and the country. This state of affairs took shape only gradually and the Central Committee of the party should be held partly responsible. From the Marxist viewpoint, this complex phenomenon was the product of given historical conditions. Blaming this on only one person or on only a handful of people will not provide a deep lesson for the whole party or enable it to find practical ways to change the situation. In the communist movement, leaders play quite an important role. This has been borne out by history time and again and leaves no room for doubt. However, certain grievous deviations, which occurred in the history of the international communist movement owing to the failure to handle the relationship between the party and its leader correctly, had an adverse effect on our party, too. Feudalism in China has had a very long history. Our party fought in the firmest and most thorough-going way against it and particularly against the feudal system of land ownership and the landlords and local tyrants, and fostered a fine tradition of democracy in the anti-feudal struggle. But it remains difficult to eliminate the evil ideological and political influence of centuries of feudal autocracy. And for various historical reasons, we failed to institutionalize and legalize inner-party democracy and democracy in the political and social life of the country, or we drew up the relevant laws but they lacked due authority. This meant that conditions were present for the over-concentration of party power in individuals and for the development of arbitrary individual rule and the personality cult in the party. Thus, it was hard for the party and state to prevent the initiation of the "Cultural Revolution" or check its development.

A Great Turning Point in History

25. The victory won in overthrowing the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique in October 1976 saved the party and the revolution from disaster and enabled our country to enter a new historical period of development. In the 2 years from October 1976 to December 1978 when the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party was convened, large numbers of cadres and other people most enthusiastically devoted themselves to all kinds of revolutionary work and the task of construction. Notable results were achieved in exposing and repudiating the crimes of the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique and uncovering their factional setup. The consolidation of party and state organizations and the redress of wrong suffered by those who were unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged began in some places. Industrial and agricultural production was fairly swiftly restored. Work in education, science and culture began to return to normal. Comrades inside and outside the party demanded more and more strongly that the errors of the "Cultural Revolution" be corrected, but such demands met with serious resistance.

This, of course, was partly due to the fact that the political and ideological confusion created in the decade-long "Cultural Revolution" could not be eliminated overnight, but it was also due to the "left" error in the guiding ideology that Comrade Hua Guofeng continued to commit in his capacity as chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. On the proposal of Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Hua Guofeng had become first vice chairman of the Central Committee of the party and concurrently premier of the State Council during the "movement to criticize Deng Xiaoping" in 1976. He contributed to the struggle to overthrow the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique and did useful work after that. But he promoted the erroneous "two-whatever's" policy, that is, "we firmly uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and we unswervingly adhere to whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave," and he took a long time to rectify the error. He tried to suppress the discussions on the criterion of truth unfolded in the country in 1978, which were very significant in setting things right. He procrastinated and obstructed the work of reinstating veteran cadres in their posts and redressing the injustices left over from the past (including the case of the "Tiananmen incident" of 1976). He accepted and fostered the personality cult around himself while continuing the personality cult of the past. The 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party convened in August 1977 played a positive role in exposing and repudiating the "gang of four" and mobilizing the whole party for building China into a powerful modern socialist state. However, owing to the limitations imposed by the historical conditions then and the influence of Comrade Hua Guofeng's mistakes, it reaffirmed the erroneous theories, policies and slogans of the "Cultural Revolution" instead of correcting them. He also had his share of responsibility for impetuously seeking quick results in economic work and for continuing certain other "left" policies. Obviously, under his leadership it is impossible to correct "left" errors within the party, and all the more impossible to restore the party's fine traditions.

26. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee in December 1978 marked a crucial turning point of far-reaching significance in the history of our party since the birth of the People's Republic. It put an end to the situation in which the party had been advancing haltingly in its work since October 1976 and began to correct conscientiously and comprehensively the "left" errors of the "Cultural Revolution" and earlier. The plenary session resolutely criticized the erroneous "two-whatever's" policy and fully affirmed the need to grasp Mao Zedong Thought comprehensively and accurately as a scientific system. It highly evaluated the forum on the criterion of truth and decided on the guiding principle of emancipating the mind, using our brains, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one in looking forward to the future. It firmly discarded the slogan "take class struggle as the key link" which had become unsuitable in a socialist society, and made the strategic decision to shift the focus of work to socialist modernization. It declared that attention should be paid to solving the problem of serious imbalances between the major branches of the economy and drafted decisions on the acceleration of agricultural development. It stressed the task of strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. It examined and redressed a number of major unjust, false and wrong cases in the history of the party and settled the controversy on the merits and demerits, the rights and wrongs, of some prominent leaders. The plenary session also elected additional members to the party's central leading organs. These momentous changes in the work of leadership signify

that the party has reestablished the correct line of Marxism ideologically, politically and organizationally. Since then, it has gained the initiative in setting things right and is able to solve step by step many problems left over since the founding of the People's Republic and the new problems cropping up in the course of practice and carry out the heavy tasks of construction and reform, so that things are going very well in both the economic and political sphere.

1) In response to the call of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party for emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts, large numbers of cadres and other people have freed themselves from the spiritual shackles of the personality cult and the dogmatism that prevailed in the past. This has stimulated thinking inside and outside the party, giving rise to a lively situation where people try their best to study new things and seek solutions to new problems. To carry out the principle of emancipating the mind properly, the party reiterated in good time the four fundamental principles of upholding the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat), the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It reaffirmed the principle that neither democracy nor centralism can be practiced at eath other's expense and pointed out the basic fact that, although the exploiters had been eliminated as classes, class struggle continued to exist within certain limits. In his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, which was approved by the 4th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party, Comrade Ye Jianying fully affirmed the gigantic achievements of the party and people since the inauguration of the People's Republic while making self-criticism on behalf of the party for errors in its work and outlined our country's bright prospects. This helped to unify the thinking of the whole party and people. At its meeting in August 1980, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee set the historic task of combating corrosion by bourgeois ideology and eradicating the evil influence of feudalism in the political and ideological fields which is still present. A work conference convened by the Central Committee in December of the same year resolved to strengthen the party's ideological and political work, make greater efforts to build a socialist civilization, criticize the erroneous ideological trends running counter to the four fundamental principles and strike at the counterrevolutionary activities disrupting the cause of socialism. This exerted a most salutary countrywide influence in fostering a political situation characterized by stability, unity and liveliness.

2) At a work conference called by the Central Committee in April 1979, the party formulated the principle of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving" the economy as a whole in a decisive effort to correct the shortcomings and mistakes of the previous 2 years in our economic work and eliminate the influence of "left" errors that had persisted in this field. The party indicated that economic construction must be carried out in the light of China's conditions and in conformity with economic and natural laws; that it must be carried out within the limits of our own resources, step by step, after due deliberation and with emphasis on practical results, so that the development of production will be closely connected with the improvement of the people's livelihood; and that active efforts must be made to promote economic and technical cooperation with

other countries on the basis of independence and self-reliance. Guided by these principles, light industry has quickened its rate of growth and the structure of industry is becoming more rational and better coordinated. Reforms in the system of economic management, including extension of the decision-making powers of enterprises, restoration of the workers' congresses, strengthening of democratic management of enterprises and transference of financial management responsibilities to the various levels, have gradually been carried out in conjunction with economic readjustment. The party has worked conscientiously to remedy the errors in rural work since the later stage of the movement for agricultural cooperation, with the result that the purchase prices of farm and sideline products have been raised, various forms of production responsibility introduced whereby remuneration is determined by farm output, family plots have been restored and appropriately extended, village fairs have been revived, and sideline occupations and diverse undertakings have been developed.

All these have greatly enhanced the peasants' enthusiasm. Grain output in the last 2 years reached an all-time high, and at the same time industrial crops and other farm and sideline products registered a big increase. Thanks to the development of agriculture and the economy as a whole, the living standards of the people have improved.

3) After detailed and careful investigation and study, measures were taken to clear the name of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, former vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and chairman of the People's Republic of China, those of other party and state leaders, national·minority leaders and leading figures in different circles who had been wronged, and to affirm their historical contributions to the party and the people in protracted revolutionary struggle.

4) Large numbers of unjust, false and wrong cases were reexamined and their verdicts reversed. Cases in which people had been wrongly labeled bourgeois rightists were also corrected. Announcements were made to the effect that former businessmen and industrialists, having undergone remoulding, are now working people; that small tradespeople, pedlars and handicraftsmen, who were originally laborers, have been differentiated from businessmen and industrialists who were members of the bourgeoisie; and that the status of the vast majority of former landlords and rich peasants, who have become working people through remoulding, has been redefined. These measures have appropriately resolved many contradictions inside the party and among the people.

5) People's congresses at all levels are doing their work better and those at the provincial and county levels have set up permanent organs of their own. The system according to which deputies to the people's congresses at and below the county level are directly elected by the voters is now universally practiced. Collective leadership and democratic centralism are being perfected in the party and state organizations. The powers of local and primary organizations are steadily being extended. The so-called right to "speak out, air views and hold debates in a big way and write big-character posters," which actually obstructs the promotion of socialist democracy, was deleted from the constitution. A number of important laws, decrees and regulations have been reinstated, enacted or enforced, including the

criminal law and the law of criminal procedure which had never been drawn up since the founding of the People's Republic. The work of the judicial, procuratorial and public security departments has improved and telling blows have been dealt at all types of criminals guilty of serious offenses. The 10 principal members of the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques were publicly tried according to law.

6) The party has striven to readjust and strengthen the leading bodies at all levels. The 5th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party, held in February 1980, elected additional members to the Standing Committee of its Political Bureau and reestablished the Secretariat of the Central Committee, greatly strengthening the central leadership. Party militancy has been enhanced as a result of the establishment of the central commission for inspecting discipline and of discipline inspection commissions at the lower levels, the formulation of the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" and other related inner-party regulations, and the effort made by leading party organizations and discipline inspection bodies at the different levels to rectify unhealthy practices. The party's mass media have also contributed immensely in this respect. The party has decided to put an end to the virtually lifelong tenure of leading cadres, change the over-concentration of power and, on the basis of revolutionization, gradually reduce the average age of the leading cadres at all levels and raise their level of education and professional competence, and has initiated this process. With the reshuffling of the leading personnel of the State Council and the division of labor between party and government organizations, the work of the central and local governments has improved.

In addition, there have been significant successes in the party's effort to implement our policies in education, science, culture, public health, physical culture, nationality affairs, united front work, Overseas Chinese affairs and military and foreign affairs.

In short, the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought and the correct policies of the party have been revived and developed under new conditions and all aspects of party and government work have been flourishing again since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. Our work still suffers from shortcomings and mistakes, and we are still confronted with numerous difficulties. Nevertheless, the road of victorious advance is open, and the party's prestige among the people is rising day by day.

Comrade Mao Zedong's Historical Role and Mao Zedong Thought

27. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theorist. It is true that he made gross mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution," but, if we judge his activities as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes. His merits are primary and his errors secondary. He rendered indelible meritorious service in founding and building up our party and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, in winning victory for the cause of liberation of the Chinese people, in founding the People's Republic of China and in advancing our socialist cause. He made major contributions to the liberation of the oppressed nations of the world and to the progress of mankind.

28. The Chinese communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative, made a theoretical synthesis of China's unique experience in its protracted revolution in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. This synthesis constituted a scientific system of guidelines befitting China's conditions, and it is this synthesis which is Mao Zedong Thought, the product of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Making revolution in a large eastern semi-colonial, semi-feudal country is bound to meet with many special, complicated problems, which cannot be solved by reciting the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, or by copying foreign experience in every detail. An erroneous tendency of making Marxism a dogma and deifying Comintern resolutions and the experience of the Soviet Union prevailed in the international communist movement and in our party mainly in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and this tendency pushed the Chinese revolution to the brink of total failure. It was in the course of combating this wrong tendency and making a profound summary of our historical experience in this respect that Mao Zedong Thought took shape and developed. It was systematized and extended in a variety of fields and reached maturity in the latter part of the agrarian revolutionary war and the war of resistance against Japan, and it was further developed during the war of liberation and after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism applied and developed in China; it constitutes a correct theory, a body of correct principles and a summary of the experiences that have been confirmed in the practice of the Chinese revolution, a crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party. Many outstanding leaders of our party made important contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought, which are synthesized in the scientific works of Comrade Mao Zedong.

29. Mao Zedong Thought is wide-ranging in content. It is an original theory which has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism in the following respects:

1) On the new-democratic revolution. Proceeding from China's historical and social conditions, Comrade Mao Zedong made a profound study of the characteristics and laws of the Chinese revolution, applied and developed the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, and established the theory of new-democratic revolution--a revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the masses of the people on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat. His main works on this subject include: "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," "Report on the Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," "Introducing 'The Communist,'" "On New Democracy," "On Coalition Government" and "The Present Situation and Our Tasks." The basic points of this theory are:

I) China's bourgeoisie consisted of two sections, the big bourgeoisie (that is, the comprador bourgeoisie, or the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie) which was dependent on imperialism, and the national bourgeoisie which had revolutionary leanings but wavered. The proletariat should endeavour to get the national bourgeoisie to join in the united front under its leadership and, in special circumstances, to include even part of the big bourgeoisie in the united front, so as to isolate the main enemy to the greatest possible extent. When forming a united front with the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must preserve its own independence and pursue the policy of "unity, struggle, unity through struggle"; when forced to split with the bourgeoisie, chiefly the big bourgeoisie, it should have the courage and ability to wage a resolute armed struggle against the big bourgeoisie, while continuing to win the sympathy of the national bourgeoisie or keep it neutral.

II) Since there was no bourgeois democracy in China and the reactionary ruling classes enforced their terroristic dictatorship over the people by armed force, the revolution could not but essentially take the form of protracted armed struggle. China's armed struggle was a revolutionary war led by the proletariat with the peasants as the principal force. The peasantry was the most reliable ally of the proletariat. Through its vanguard, it was possible and necessary for the proletariat, with its progressive ideology and its sense of organization and discipline, to raise the political consciousness of the peasant masses, establish rural base areas, wage a protracted revolutionary war and build up and expand the revolutionary forces.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that "the united front and armed struggle are the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy." Together with party building, they constituted the "three magic weapons" of the revolution. They were the essential basis which enables the Chinese Communist Party to become the core of leadership of the whole nation and to chart the course of encircling the cities from the countryside and finally winning countrywide victory.

2) On the socialist revolution and socialist construction. On the basis of the economic and political conditions for the transition to socialism ensuing on victory in the new-democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party followed the path of effecting socialist industrialization simultaneously with socialist transformation and adopted concrete policies for the gradual transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, thereby providing a theoretical as well as practical solution of the difficult task of building socialism in a large country such as China, a country which was economically and culturally backward, with a population accounting for nearly one-fourth of the world's total. By putting forward the thesis that the combination of democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries constitutes the people's democratic dictatorship, Comrade Mao Zedong enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the establishment of the socialist system, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that, under socialism, the people had the same fundamental interests, but that all kinds of contradictions still existed among them, and that contradictions between the enemy and the people and contradictions among the people should be strictly distinguished from each other and correctly handled. He proposed that among the people we should follow a set of correct policies. We should follow the policy of "unity--criticism--unity" in political matters, the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" in the party's relations with the democratic parties, the policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" in science and culture, and, in the economic sphere the policy of over-all arrangement with regard to the different strata in town and country and of consideration for the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, all three. He repeatedly stressed that we should not mechanically transplant the experience of foreign countries, but should find our own way to industrialization, a way suited to China's conditions, by proceeding from the fact that China is a large agricultural country, taking agriculture as the foundation of the economy, correctly handling the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and agriculture and light industry on the other and attaching due importance to the development of the latter. He stressed that in socialist construction we should properly handle the relationships between economic construction and building national defense, between large-scale enterprises and small and medium-scale enterprises, between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities, between the coastal regions and the interior, between the central and the local authorities, and between self-reliance and learning from foreign countries, and that we should properly handle the relationship between accumulation and consumption and pay attention to over-all balance. Moreover, he stressed that the workers were the masters of their enterprises and that cadres must take part in physical labor and workers in management, that irrational rules and regulations must be reformed and that the three-in-one combination of technical personnel, workers and cadres must be effected. And he formulated the strategic idea of bringing all positive factors into play and turning negative factors into positive ones so as to unite the whole Chinese people and build a powerful socialist country. The important ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong concerning the socialist revolution and socialist construction are mainly contained in such major works as "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," "On the Ten Major Relationships," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Talk at an Enlarged Work Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China."

3) On the building of the revolutionary army and military strategy. Comrade Mao Zedong methodically solved the problems of how to turn a revolutionary army chiefly made up of peasants into a new type of people's army which is proletarian in character, observes strict discipline and forms close ties with the masses. He laid it down that the sole purpose of the people's army is to serve the people wholeheartedly. He put forward the principle that the party commands the gun and not the other way round. He advanced the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention and stressed the practice of political, economic and military democracy and the principles of the unity of officers and soldiers, the unity of army and people and the disintegration of the enemy forces. Thus he formulated by way of summation a set of policies and methods concerning work in the army. In his military writings such as "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," "On Protracted War" and "Problems of War and Strategy," Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the experience of China's protracted revolutionary war and advanced the comprehensive concept of building a people's army and of building rural base areas and waging people's war by employing the people's army as the main force and relying on the masses.

Raising guerrilla war to the strategic plane, he maintained that guerrilla warfare and mobile warfare of a guerrilla character would for a long time be the main forms of operation in China's revolutionary war. He explained that it would be necessary to effect an appropriate change in military strategy simultaneously with the changing balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves and with the progress of the war. He worked out a set of strategies and tactics for the revolutionary army to wage people's war in conditions when the enemy was strong and we were weak. These strategies and tactics including fighting a protracted war strategically and campaigns and battles of quick decision, turning strategic inferiority into superiority in campaigns and battles and concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one. During the war of liberation, he formulated the celebrated 10 major principles of operation. All these ideas constitute Comrade Mao Zedong's outstanding contribution to the military theory of Marxism-Leninism. After the founding of the People's Republic, he put forward the important guideline that we must strengthen our national defense and build modern revolutionary armed forces (including the navy, the air force and technical branches) and develop modern defense technology (including the making of nuclear weapons for self-defense).

4) On policy and tactics. Comrade Mao Zedong penetratingly elucidated the vital importance of policy and tactics in revolutionary struggles. He pointed out that policy and tactics were the life of the party, that they were both the starting-point and the end-result of all the practical activities of a revolutionary party and that the party must formulate its policies in the light of the existing political situation, class relations, actual circumstances and the changes in them, combining principle and flexibility. He made many valuable suggestions concerning policy and tactics in the struggle against the enemy, in the united front and other questions. He pointed out among other things:

That, under changing subjective and objective conditions, a weak revolutionary force could ultimately defeat a strong reactionary force;

That, we should despise the enemy strategically and take the enemy seriously tactically;

That, we should keep our eyes on the main target of the struggle and not hit out in all directions;

That, we should differentiate between and disintegrate our enemies, and adopt the tactic of making use of contradictions, winning over the many, opposing the few and crushing our enemies one by one;

That, in areas under reactionary rule, we should combine legal and illegal struggle and, organizationally, adopt the policy of assigning picked cadres to work underground;

That, as for members of the defeated reactionary classes and reactionary elements, we should give them a chance to earn a living and to become working people living by their own labor, so long as they did not rebel or create trouble; and

That the proletariat and its party must fulfill two conditions in order to exercise leadership over their allies: A) lead their followers in waging resolute struggles against the common enemy and achieving victories; B) bring material benefits to their followers or at least avoid damaging their interests and at the same time give them political education.

These ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong's concerning policy and tactics are embodied in many of his writings, particularly in such works as "Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front," "On Policy," "Conclusions on the Repulse of the Second Anti-Communist Onslaught," "On Some Important Problems of the Party's Present Policy," "Don't Hit Out in All Directions" and "On the Question of Whether Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Real Tigers."

5) On ideological and political work and cultural work. In his "On New Democracy," Comrade Mao Zedong stated:

Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter; economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics.

In accordance with this basic view, he put forward many significant ideas of far-reaching and long-term significance. For instance, the theses that ideological and political work is the life-blood of economic and all other work and that it is necessary to unite politics and economics and to unite politics and professional skills, and to be both Red and expert; the policy of developing a national, scientific and mass culture and of letting a hundred flowers blossom, weeding through the old to bring forth the new, and making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China; and the thesis that intellectuals have an important role to play in revolution and construction, that intellectuals should identify themselves with the workers and peasants and that they should acquire the proletarian world outlook by studying Marxism-Leninism, by studying society and through practical work. He pointed out that "this question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle" and stressed that we should serve the people wholeheartedly, be highly responsible in revolutionary work, wage arduous struggle and fear no sacrifice. Many notable works written by Comrade Mao Zedong on ideology, politics and culture, such as "The Orientation of the Youth Movement," "Recruit Large Numbers of Intellectuals," "Talks at the Yanan Forum of Literature and Art," "In Memory of Norman Bethune," "Serve the People" and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," are of tremendous significance even today.

6) On party building. It was a most difficult task to build a Marxist, proletarian party of a mass character in a country where the peasantry and other sections of the petty bourgeoisie constituted the majority of the population, while the proletariat was small in number yet strong in combat effectiveness. Comrade Mao Zedong's theory on party building provided a successful solution to this question. His main works in this area include "Combat Liberalism," "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing," "Our Study and the Current Situation," "On Strengthening the Party Committee System" and "Methods of Work of Party Committees." He laid particular stress on building the party ideologically, saying that a party member should join the party not only organizationally but also ideologically and should constantly try to reform his non-proletarian ideas and replace them with proletarian ideas. He indicated that the style of work which entailed integrating

theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practicing self-criticism was the hallmark distinguishing the Chinese Communist Party from all other political parties in China. To counter the erroneous "left" policy of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" once followed in inner-party struggle, he proposed the correct policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," emphasizing the need to achieve the objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades in inner-party struggle. He initiated the rectification campaign as a form of ideological education in Marxism-Leninism throughout the party, which applied the method of criticism and self-criticism.

In view of the fact that our party was about to become and then became a party in power leading the whole country, Comrade Mao Zedong urged time and again, first on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic and then later, that we should remain modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness and keep to plain living and hard struggle in our style of work and that we should be on the lookout against the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and should oppose bureaucratism which would alienate us from the masses.

30. The living soul of Mao Zedong Thought is the stand, method and viewpoint embodied in its component parts mentioned above. This stand, viewpoint and method boil down to three basic points: to seek truth from facts, the mass line, and independence. Comrade Mao Zedong applied dialectical and historical materialism to the entire work of the proletarian party, giving shape to this stand, viewpoint and method so characteristic of Chinese communists in the course of the Chinese revolution and its arduous, protracted struggles and thus enriching Marxism-Leninism. They find expression not only in such important works as "Oppose Book Worship," "On Practice," "On Contradiction," "Preface and Postscript to 'Rural Surveys,'" "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" and "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?", but also in all his scientific writings and in the revolutionary activities of the Chinese communists.

1) Seeking truth from facts. This means proceeding from reality and combining theory with practice, that is, integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong was always against studying Marxism in isolation from the realities of Chinese society and the Chinese revolution. As early as 1930, he opposed blind book worship by emphasizing that investigation and study is the first step in all work and that one has no right to speak without investigation. On the eve of the rectification movement in Yanan, he affirmed that subjectivism is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, a manifestation of impurity in party spirit. These brilliant theses helped people break through the shackles of dogmatism and greatly emancipate their own minds. While summarizing the experience and lessons of the Chinese revolution in his philosophical works and many other works rich in philosophical content, Comrade Mao Zedong showed great profundity in expounding and enriching the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics. He stressed that the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge is the dynamic, revolutionary theory of reflection and that full scope should be given to man's conscious dynamic role which is based on and is in conformity with objective reality. Basing himself on social practice, he comprehensively and systematically elaborated the

dialectical materialist theory on the sources, the process and the purpose of knowledge and the criterion of truth. He said that as a rule, correct knowledge can be arrived at and developed only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. He pointed out that truth exists by contrast with falsehood and grows in struggle with it, that truth is inexhaustible and that the truth of any piece of knowledge, namely, whether it corresponds to objective reality, can ultimately be decided only through social practice. He further elaborated the law of the unity of opposites, the nucleus of Marxist dialectics. He indicated that we should not only study the universality of contradiction in objective existence, but, what is more important, we should study the particularity of contradiction, and that we should resolve contradictions which are different in nature by different methods. Therefore, dialectics should not be viewed as a formula to be learned by rote and applied mechanically, but should be closely linked with practice and with investigation and study and should be applied flexibly.

He forged philosophy into a sharp weapon in the hands of the proletariat and the people for knowing and changing the world. His distinguished works on China's revolutionary war, in particular, provide outstandingly shining examples of applying and developing the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics in practice. Our party must always adhere to the above ideological line formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong.

2) The mass line means everything for the masses, reliance on the masses in everything and "from the masses, to the masses." The party's mass line in all its work has come into being through the systematic application in all its activities of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the people are the makers of history. It is a summation of our party's invaluable historical experience in conducting revolutionary activities over the years under difficult circumstances in which the enemy's strength far outstripped ours. Comrade Mao Zedong stressed time and again that as long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, no enemy can crush us while we can eventually crush every enemy and overcome every difficulty. He also pointed out that in leading the masses in all practical work, the leadership can form its correct ideas only by adopting the masses and combining the general call with particular guidance. This means concentrating the ideas of the masses and turning them into systematic ideas, then going to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through, and testing the correctness of these ideas in the practice of the masses. And this process goes on, over and over again, so that the understanding of the leadership becomes more correct, more vital and richer each time. This is how Comrade Mao Zedong united the Marxist theory of knowledge with the party's mass line. As the vanguard of the proletariat, the party exists and fights for the interests of the people. But it always constitutes only a small part of the people, so that isolation from the people will render all the party's struggles and ideals devoid of content as well as impossible of success. To persevere in the revolution and advance the socialist cause, our party must uphold the mass line.

3) Independence and self-reliance are the inevitable corollary of carrying out the Chinese revolution and construction by proceeding from Chinese reality and relying on the masses. The proletarian revolution is an internationalist cause which calls for the mutual support of the proletariats of different countries. But for the cause of triumph, each proletariat should primarily base itself on its own country's realities, rely on the efforts of its own masses and revolutionary forces, integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of its own revolution and achieve victory. Comrade Mao Zedong always stressed that our policy should rest on our own strength and that we should find our own road of advance in accordance with our own conditions. In a vast country like China, we must all the more rely mainly on our own efforts to promote the revolution and construction. We must be determined to carry the struggle through to the end and must have faith in the hundreds of millions of Chinese people and rely on their wisdom and strength. Otherwise, it will be impossible for our revolution and construction to succeed or to be consolidated even if success is won. Of course, China's revolution and national construction are not and cannot be carried on in isolation from the rest of the world. It is always necessary for us to try to win foreign aid and, in particular, to learn all that is advanced and beneficial from other countries.

The closed-door policy, blind opposition to everything foreign and any theory or practice of great-nation chauvinism are all entirely wrong. At the same time, although China is still comparatively backward economically and culturally, we must maintain our own national dignity and confidence and there must be no slavishness or submissiveness in any form in dealing with big, powerful or rich countries. Under the leadership of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong, we never wavered, whether before or after the founding of new China, in our determination to remain independent and self-reliant and, no matter what difficulty we encountered, we never submitted to any pressure from outside; we showed the dauntless and heroic spirit of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people. We stand for the peaceful coexistence of the people of all countries and their mutual assistance on an equal footing. While upholding our own independence, we respect other people's right to independence. The road of revolution and construction suited to the characteristics of a country has to be explored, decided on and blazed by its own people. No one has the right to impose his views on others. Only under these conditions can there be genuine internationalism. Otherwise, there can only be hegemonism. We will always adhere to this principled stand in our international relations.

31. Mao Zedong Thought is the valuable spiritual asset of our party. It will be our guide to action for a long time to come. The party leaders and the large group of cadres nurtured by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought were the backbone forces in winning great victories for our cause; they are and will remain our treasured mainstay in the cause of socialist modernization. While many of Comrade Mao Zedong's important works were written during the periods of new-democratic revolution and of socialist transformation, we must still constantly study them. This is not only because one cannot cut the past off from the present and failure to understand the past will hamper our understanding of present-day problems, but also because many of the basic theories, principles and methodology

set forth in these works are of universal significance and provide us with valuable guidance now and will continue to do so in the future. Therefore, we must continue to uphold Mao Zedong Thought, study it in earnest and apply its stand, viewpoint and method in studying the new situation and solving the new problems arising in the course of practice. Mao Zedong Thought has added much that is new to the treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist theory. We must combine our study of the scientific works of Comrade Mao Zedong with that of the scientific writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It is entirely wrong to try to negate the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought and to deny its guiding role in our revolution and construction, just because Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years. And it is likewise entirely wrong to adopt a dogmatic attitude towards the sayings of Comrade Mao Zedong, to regard whatever he said as the unalterable truth which must be mechanically applied everywhere, and to be unwilling to admit honestly that he made mistakes in his later years, and even try to stick to them in our new activities. Both these attitudes fail to make a distinction between Mao Zedong Thought--a scientific theory formed and tested over a long period of time--and the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years. And it is absolutely necessary that this distinction should be made. We must treasure all the positive experience obtained in the course of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution and construction over 50 years or so, apply and carry forward this experience in our new work, enrich and develop party theory with new principles and new conclusions corresponding to reality, so as to ensure the continued progress of our cause along the scientific course of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Unite and Strive To Build a Powerful, Modern Socialist China

32. The objective of our party's struggle in the new historical period is to turn China step by step into a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology and with a high level of democracy and culture. We must also accomplish the great cause of reunification of the country by getting Taiwan to return to the embrace of the motherland. The fundamental aim of summing up the historical experience of the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic is to accomplish the great objective of building a powerful and modern socialist country by further rallying the will and strength of the whole party, the whole army and the whole people on the basis of upholding the four fundamental principles, namely, upholding the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat), the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These four principles constitute the common political basis of the unity of the whole party and the unity of the whole people as well as the basic guarantee for the realization of socialist modernization. Any word or deed which deviates from these four principles is wrong. Any word or deed which denies or undermines these four principles cannot be tolerated.

33. Socialism and socialism alone can save China. This is the unalterable conclusion drawn by all our people from their own experience over the past century or so; it likewise constitutes our fundamental historical experience in the 32 years

since the founding of our People's Republic. Although our socialist system is still in its early phase of development, China has undoubtedly established a socialist system and entered the stage of socialist society. Any view denying this basic fact is wrong. Under socialism, we have achieved successes which were absolutely impossible in old China. This is a preliminary and at the same time convincing manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system. The fact that we have been and are able to overcome all kinds of difficulties through our own efforts testifes to its great vitality. Of course, our system will have to undergo a long process of development before it can be perfected. Given the premise that we uphold the basic system of socialism, therefore, we must strive to reform those specific features which are not in keeping with the expansion of the productive forces and the interests of the people, and to staunchly combat all activities detrimental to socialism. With the development of our cause, the immense superiority of socialism will become more and more apparent.

34. Without the Chinese Communist Party, there would have been no new China. Likewise, without the Chinese Communist Party, there would be no modern socialist China. The Chinese Communist Party is a proletarian party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and imbued with a strict sense of discipline and the spirit of self-criticism, and its ultimate historical mission is to realize communism. Without the leadership of such a party, without the flesh-and-blood ties it has formed with the masses through protracted struggles and without its painstaking and effective work among the people and the high prestige it consequently enjoys, our country--for a variety of reasons, both internal and external--would inexorably fall apart and the future of our nation and people would inexorably be forfeited. The party leadership cannot be free from mistakes, but there is no doubt that, by relying on the close unity between the party and the people, it can correct its mistakes, and in no case should one use the party's mistakes as a pretext for weakening, breaking away from or even sabotaging its leadership. That would only lead to even greater mistakes and court grievous disasters. We must improve party leadership in order to uphold it. We must resolutely overcome the many shortcomings that still exist in our party's style of thinking and work, in its system of organization and leadership and in its contacts with the masses. So long as we earnestly uphold and constantly improve party leadership, our party will definitely be better able to undertake the tremendous tasks entrusted to it by history.

35. Since the 3d Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee, our party has gradually mapped out the correct path for socialist modernization suited to China's conditions. In the course of practice, the path will be broadened and become more clearly defined, but, in essence, the key pointers can already be determined on the basis of the summing up of the negative as well as positive experience since the founding of the People's Republic, and particularly of the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution."

1) After socialist transformation was fundamentally completed, the principal contradiction our country has had to resolve is that between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of social production. It was imperative that the focus of party and government work be shifted to socialist

modernization centering on economic construction and that the people's material and cultural life be gradually improved by means of an immense expansion of productive forces. In the final analysis, the mistake we made in the past was that we failed to persevere in making this strategic shift. What is more, the preposterous view opposing the so-called "theory of the unique importance of productive forces," a view diametrically opposed to historical materialism, was put forward during the "Cultural Revolution." We must never deviate from this focus, except in the event of large-scale invasion by a foreign enemy (and even then it will still be necessary to carry on such economic construction as wartime conditions require and permit). All our party work must be subordinated to and serve this central task--economic construction. All our party cadres, and particularly those in economic departments, must diligently study economic theory and economic practice as well as science and technology.

2) In our socialist economic construction, we must strive to reach the goal of modernization systematically and in stages, according to the conditions and resources of our country. The prolonged "left" mistakes we made in our economic work in the past consisted chiefly in departing from Chinese realities, trying to exceed our actual capabilities and ignoring the economic returns of construction and management as well as the scientific confirmation of our economic plans, policies and measures, with their concomitants of colossal waste and losses. We must adopt a scientific attitude, gain a thorough knowledge of the realities and make a deep analysis of the situation, earnestly listen to the opinions of the cadres, masses and specialists in the various fields and try our best to act in accordance with objective economic and natural laws and bring about a proportionate and harmonious development of the various branches of economy. We must keep in mind the fundamental fact that China's economy and culture are still relatively backward. At the same time, we must keep in mind such favorable domestic and international conditions as the achievements we have already scored and the experience we have gained in our economic construction and the expansion of economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries, and we must make full use of these favorable conditions. We must oppose both impetuosity and passivity.

3) The reform and improvement of the socialist relations of production must be in conformity with the level of the productive forces and conducive to the expansion of production. The state economy and the collective economy are the basic forms of the Chinese economy.

The working people's individual economy within certain prescribed limits is a necessary complement to public economy. It is necessary to establish specific systems of management and distribution suited to the various sectors of the economy. It is necessary to have planned economy and at the same time give play to the supplementary, regulatory role of the market on the basis of public ownership. We must strive to promote commodity production and exchange on a socialist basis. There is no rigid pattern for the development of the socialist relations of production. At every stage our task is to create those specific forms of the relations of production that correspond to the needs of the growing productive forces and facilitate their continued advance.

4) Class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction after the exploiters have been eliminated as classes. However, owing to certain domestic factors and influences from abroad, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions. It is necessary to oppose both the view that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out. It is imperative to maintain a high level of vigilance and conduct effective struggle against all those who are hostile to socialism and try to sabotage it in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields and in community life. We must correctly understand that there are diverse social contradictions in Chinese society which do not fall within the scope of class struggle and that methods other than class struggle must be used for their appropriate revolution. Otherwise, social stability and unity will be jeopardized. We must unswervingly unite all forces that can be united with and consolidate and expand the patriotic united front.

5) A fundamental task of the socialist revolution is gradually to establish a highly democratic socialist political system. Inadequate attention was paid to this matter after the founding of the People's Republic, and this was one of the major factors contributing to the initiation of the "Cultural Revolution." Here is a grievous lesson for us to learn. It is necessary to strengthen the building of state organs at all levels in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, make the people's congresses at all levels and their permanent organs authoritative organs of the people's political power, gradually realize direct popular participation in the democratic process at the grassroots of political power and community life and, in particular, stress democratic management by the working masses in urban and rural enterprises over the affairs of their establishments. It is essential to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, improve our constitution and laws and ensure their strict observance and inviolability. We must turn the socialist legal system into a powerful instrument for protecting the rights of the people, ensuring order in production, work and other spheres, punishing criminals and cracking down on the disruptive activities of class enemies. The kind of chaotic situation that was obtained in the "Cultural Revolution" must never be allowed to happen again in any sphere.

6) Life under socialism must attain a high ethical and cultural level. We must firmly eradicate such utterly fallacious views as denigrate education, science and culture and discriminate against intellectuals, views which had long existed and found extreme expression during the "Cultural Revolution"; we must strive to raise the status and expand the role of education, science and culture in our drive for modernization. We unequivocally affirm that, together with the workers and peasants, the intellectuals are a force to rely on in the cause of socialism and that it is impossible to carry out socialist construction without culture and the intellectuals.

It is imperative for the whole party to engage in a more diligent study of Marxist theories, of the past and present in China and abroad, and of the different branches of the natural and social sciences. We must strengthen and improve ideological and political work and educate the people and youth in the Marxist world outlook and communist morality; we must persistently carry out the educational policy which calls for an all-round development morally, intellectually and physically, for being both Red and expert, for integration of the intellectuals with the workers and peasants and the combination of mental and physical labor; and we must counter the influence of decadent bourgeois ideology and the decadent remnants of feudal ideology, overcome the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology and foster the patriotism which puts the interests of the motherland above everything else and the pioneer spirit of selfless devotion to modernization.

7) It is of profound significance to our multi-national country to improve and promote socialist relations among our various nationalities and strengthen national unity. In the past, particularly during the "Cultural Revolution," we committed, on the question of nationalities, the grave mistake of widening the scope of class struggle and wronged a large number of cadres and masses of the minority nationalities. In our work among them, we did not show due respect for their right to autonomy. We must never forget this lesson. We must have a clear understanding that relations among our nationalities today are, in the main, relations among the working people of the various nationalities. It is necessary to persist in their regional autonomy and enact laws and regulations to ensure this autonomy and their decision-making power in applying party and government policies according to the actual conditions in their regions. We must take effective measures to assist economic and cultural development in regions inhabited by minority nationalities, actively train and promote cadres from among them and resolutely oppose all works and deeds undermining national unity and equality. It is imperative to continue to implement the policy of freedom of religious belief. To uphold the four fundamental principles does not mean that religious believers should renounce their faith but that they must not engage in propaganda against Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and that they must not interfere with politics and education in their religious activities.

8) In the present international situation in which the danger of war still exists, it is necessary to strengthen the modernization of our national defense. The building up of national defense must be in keeping with the building up of the economy. The People's Liberation Army should strengthen its military training, political work, logistic service and study of military science and further raise its combat effectiveness so as gradually to become a still more powerful modern revolutionary army. It is necessary to restore and carry forward the fine tradition of unity inside the army, between the army and the government and between the army and the people. The building of the people's militia must also be further strengthened.

9) In our external relations, we must continue to oppose imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism, and safeguard world peace. We must actively promote relations and economic and cultural exchanges with other countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We must uphold proletarian internationalism and support the cause of the liberation of oppressed nations, the national construction of newly independent countries and the just struggles of the peoples everywhere.

10) In the light of the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution" and the present situation in the party, it is imperative to build up a sound system of democratic centralism inside the party. We must carry out the Marxist principle of the exercise of collective party leadership by leaders who have emerged from mass struggles and who combine political integrity with professional competence, and we must prohibit the personality cult in any form. It is imperative to uphold the prestige of party leaders and at the same time ensure that their activities come under the supervision of the party and the people. We must have a high degree of centralism based on a high degree of democracy and insist that the minority is subordinate to the majority, the individual to the organization, the lower to the higher level and the entire membership to the Central Committee. The style of work of a political party in power is a matter that determines its very existence. Party organizations at all levels and all party cadres must go deep among the masses, plunge themselves into practical struggle, remain modest and prudent, share weal and woe with the masses and firmly overcome bureaucratism. We must properly wield the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, overcome erroneous ideas that deviate from the party's correct principles, uproot factionalism, oppose anarchism and ultra-individualism and eradicate such unhealthy tendencies as the practice of seeking perks and privileges. We must consolidate the party organization, purify the party ranks and weed out degenerate elements who oppress and bully the people. In exercising leadership over state affairs and work in the economic and cultural fields as well as in community life, the party must correctly handle its relations with other organizations, ensure by every means the effective functioning of the organs of state power and administrative, judicial and economic and cultural organizations and see to it that trade unions, the youth league, the women's federation, the science and technology association, the federation of literary and art circles and other mass organizations carry out their work responsibly and on their own initiative. The party must strengthen its cooperation with public figures outside the party, give full play to the role of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, hold conscientious consultations with democratic parties and personages without party affiliation on major issues of state affairs and respect their opinions and the opinions of specialists in various fields. As required of other social organizations, the party's organizations at all levels must conduct their activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the law.

36. In firmly correcting the mistake of the so-called "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," a slogan which was advanced during the "Cultural Revolution" and which called for the overthrow of one class by another, we absolutely do not mean that the tasks of the revolution have been accomplished and that there is no need to carry on revolutionary struggles with determination. Socialism aims not just at eliminating all systems of exploitation and all exploiting classes but also at greatly expanding the productive forces, improving and developing the socialist relations of production and the superstructure and, on this basis, gradually eliminating all class differences and all major social distinctions and inequalities which are chiefly due to the inadequate development of the productive forces until communism is finally realized. This is a great revolution, unprecedented in human history. Our present endeavour to build a modern socialist China constitutes but one stage of this great revolution. Differing from the revolutions before the overthrow of the system of exploitation,

this revolution is carried out not through fierce class confrontation and conflict, but through the strength of the socialist system itself, under leadership, step by step and in an orderly way. This revolution which has entered the period of peaceful development is more profound and arduous than any previous revolution and will not only take a very long historical period to accomplish but also demand the unswerving and disciplined hard work and heroic sacrifices of many generations.

In this historical period of peaceful development, revolution can never be plain sailing. There are still overt and covert enemies and other saboteurs who watch for opportunities to create trouble. We must maintain high revolutionary vigilance and be ready at all times to come out boldly to safeguard the interests of the revolution. In this new historical period, the whole membership of the Chinese Communist Party and the whole people must never cease to cherish lofty revolutionary ideals, maintain a dynamic revolutionary fighting spirit and carry China's great socialist revolution and socialist construction through to the end.

37. Repeated assessment of our successes and failures of our correct and incorrect practices of the 32 years after the founding of our People's Republic, and particularly deliberation over and review of the events of the past few years, have helped to raise immensely the political consciousness of all party comrades and of all patriots. Obviously, our party now has a higher level of understanding of socialist revolution and construction than at any other period after liberation. Our party has both the courage to acknowledge and correct its mistakes and the determination and ability to prevent repetition of the serious mistakes of the past. After all, from a long-term historical point of view the mistakes and setbacks of our party were only temporary whereas the consequent steeling of our party and people, the greater maturity of the core force formed among our party cadres through protracted struggle, the growing superiority of our socialist system and the increasingly keen and common aspiration of our party, army and people for the prosperity of the motherland will be decisive factors in the long run. A great future is in store for our socialist cause and for the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions.

38. Inner-party unity and unity between the party and the people are the basic guarantee for new victories in our socialist modernization. Whatever the difficulties, as long as the party is closely united and remains closely united with the people, our party and the cause of socialism it leads will certainly prosper day by day.

The resolution on certain questions in the history of our party unanimously adopted in 1945 by the enlarged 7th Plenary Session of the 6th Central Committee of the party unified the thinking of the whole party, consolidated its unity, promoted the rapid advance of the people's revolutionary cause and accelerated its eventual triumph. The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party believes that the present resolution it has unanimously adopted will play a similar historical role. This session calls upon the whole party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities to act under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, closely rally around the Central Committee of the party, preserve the spirit of the legendary foolish old man who removed mountains and work together as one in defiance of all difficulties so as to turn China step by step into a powerful modern socialist country which is highly democratic and highly cultured. Our goal must be attained! Our goal can unquestionably be attained!

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SPEECH AT THE MEETING IN CELEBRATION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (1 July 1981)

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[By Hu Yaobang]

[Text] Comrades and friends:

We are gathered here today to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. At this moment, we are all deeply aware that our party and state are in an important historical period, a period in which we are bringing order out of chaos, carrying on our cause and forging ahead.

To bring order out of chaos, carry on our cause and forge ahead, we must undo all the negative consequences of the "Cultural Revolution," advance the great cause pioneered by the party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and pave the way further to socialism and communism for the Chinese people.

The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which has just ended, adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China." The resolution reviews the party's 60 years of struggle, sums up the basic experience it has gained in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic, makes a concrete and realistic evaluation of a whole train of crucial historical events, analyzes what was right and what was wrong in the ideology behind these events and the subjective factors and social roots giving rise to them, evaluates Comrade Mao Zedong's role in history and expounds Mao Zedong Thought scientifically, and indicates our way forward more clearly. The plenary session also took decisions on other important matters. History will prove that it too was a meeting of paramount importance for our party--a new milestone for our party and state in the course of bringing order out of chaos, carrying on our cause and forging ahead.

Looking back over the path our party has traversed, we are keenly conscious of the fact that the Chinese revolution has not been smooth sailing. We can say that the 60 years since the founding of the Communist Party of China have been years of unflinching, heroic struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation and the happiness of the Chinese people, years of ever closer integration, through repeated application, of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, and years when right prevailed over wrong and positive aspects prevailed over negative aspects in the party. They have been years during which we marched on to a number of victories despite untold hardships and setbacks.

Why do we say that the history of the Chinese Communist Party is one of unflinching, heroic struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation and the happiness of the Chinese people?

In modern Chinese history, between the Opium War of 1840-1842 and the outbreak of the May 4th movement of 1919, the Chinese people waged protracted, heroic struggles against imperialism and feudalism. The 1911 revolution led by the great revolutionary Dr Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Qing Dynasty monarchy, thus bringing to an end more than 2,000 years of feudal autocracy. However, the way to China's salvation was not discovered through any of these struggles. It was not until the Communist Party of China was born after the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the May 4th movement in China that new vistas were opened up for the Chinese revolution, as a result of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the rising workers' movement in China, and with the help of the international proletariat.

The enemy of the Chinese revolution was formidable and ferocious. But none of the hardships overwhelmed the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China. In a dauntless revolutionary spirit, our party led the people in rising up to fight the enemy. We communists and the people depended on each other for survival; we relied closely on the people, and the people had deep faith in us. Our party steeled itself in the grim struggle and became the most advanced and most powerful leading force in the history of the Chinese revolution and built a new and well-trained people's army. After 28 years of arduous struggle in four great people's revolutionary wars (the northern expedition, 1924-1927, the agrarian revolutionary war, 1927-1937, the war of resistance against Japan, 1937-1945, and the war of liberation, 1946-1949), our party led the people of all our nationalities in finally overthrowing in 1949 the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and winning the great victory of the new-democratic revolution, a victory which led to the founding of the People's Republic of China, a state of the people's democratic dictatorship.

After the founding of the People's Republic, our party led the entire people in sustained advance. We thwarted the threats, attempts at subversion, sabotage and armed provocations of the imperialists and hegemonists, and safeguarded the independence and security of our great motherland. Except for Taiwan Province and a few other islands, we have achieved and consolidated the unification of our country. We have achieved and strengthened the great unity of the Chinese people of whatever nationality and of the workers, peasants and intellectuals throughout the country. We have formed and consolidated the broadest possible united front of all socialist workers, patriots who support socialism and other patriots who uphold the reunification of the motherland--a united front led by the Chinese Communist Party in full cooperation with all the democratic parties. And we smoothly effected the decisive transition of our society from new democracy to socialism. Thanks to the arduous struggle of the whole party and people, we in the main completed the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and embarked on large-scale, planned socialist economic construction. Thus, our economy and culture registered an advance unparalleled in Chinese history. However numerous the shortcomings and mistakes in our work and however imperfect some aspects of our social system, we have eliminated the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes and have established the socialist system. Hence, with nearly a quarter of the world's population, China has entered upon a socialist state of society, a state of society new in the history of mankind. Beyond a shadow of a doubt, this is the most radical social change in Chinese history. It is a leap of the most far-reaching significance in the progress of mankind and a tremendous victory for and a further development of Marxism.

The change is indeed striking. In the 80 years before the Opium War and the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, the ceaseless struggles of the people had all failed despite their heroism, and their hopes and lofty aspirations were sadly frustrated. The picture has been altogether different in the 60 years since the birth of the Chinese Communist Party. A new epoch in Chinese history was ushered in. The Chinese people have taken their destiny into their own hands; they have stood up in the East. Never again will the Chinese nation be bullied and oppressed.

In celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, it is with deep emotion that we feel that the splendid fruits of the Chinese people's revolution have been truly hard-won. They have been won by the Chinese people in 60 long years of hard struggle under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. They have been nurtured with the blood of millions of communists and non-party revolutionaries who died before the firing squad, on the battlefield or at their posts.

Let us rise and pay our sincere tribute to the memory of all the revolutionary martyrs: All the revolutionary leaders and cadres, communists and Communist Youth League members, veteran revolutionaries and young fighters, non-party comrades-in-arms and foreign friends who laid down their lives for the Chinese people at different stages of the Chinese revolution over the past six decades.

Why do we say that the history of the Chinese Communist Party is one of ever closer integration, through repeated application, of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution?

From the moment of its inception, our party adopted Marxism-Leninism as its guiding ideology. However, the general principles of Marxism provide no ready-made recipe for revolution in a particular country, especially a big, oriental, semi-feudal and semi-colonial country like China. During its formative years, the 1920's and the 1930's, our party suffered again and again from the "infantile malady" of turning Marxism into a dogma and deifying foreign experience--a malady which could not but leave the Chinese revolution groping in the dark and even lead it into a blind alley. Comrade Mao Zedong's great contribution lies in the fact that, in the course of combating this erroneous tendency and in the struggles waged collectively by the party and the people, he succeeded in integration the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and in summing up freshly gained experiences. In this way Mao Zedong Thought took shape as the guiding scientific ideology conforming to Chinese conditions. It is this scientific ideology that has guided the sweeping advance of the Chinese revolution from one triumph to another.

Mao Zedong Thought, coming into being and developing in the course of the Chinese revolution, is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of our party and a summing-up of the victories in the gigantic struggles of the Chinese people. Its theories on the new-democratic revolution, on the socialist revolution and socialist construction, on the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle, on the building of a revolutionary army, on military strategy, on ideological and political work, on cultural work, and on the building of the party, as well as its theories concerning scientific modes of thought, work and leadership which will be even more important in guiding all our work in the future, have all added new and original ideas to the treasure-house of Marxism. As a theory and as the summing-up of experiences verified in practice, as the application and development of Marxism in China, Mao Zedong Thought has been and will remain the guiding ideology of our party.

However, Comrade Mao Zedong had his shortcomings and mistakes just like many other outstanding figures in the forefront of the march of history. Chiefly in his later years, having been admired and loved for so long by the whole party and people, he became over-confident and more and more divorced from reality and the masses and, in particular, from the party's collective leadership, and often rejected and even suppressed correct opinions that differed from his. Thus, he inevitably made mistakes, including the comprehensive, long-drawn-out and gross blunder of initiating the "Cultural Revolution"; this was a tremendous misfortune for the party and the people. Of course, it must be admitted that both before the "Cultural Revolution" and at the time of its inception, the party failed to prevent Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous tendency from growing more serious but, instead, accepted and approved some of his wrong theses. We veterans who had been working together with him for a long time as his comrades-in-arms, or who had long been following him in revolutionary struggle as his disciples, are keenly aware of our own responsibility in this matter, and we are determined never to forget this lesson.

Although Comrade Mao Zedong made grave mistakes in his later years, it is clear that if we consider his life work as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his errors. He had dedicated himself to the Chinese revolution since his youth and had fought for it all his life. He was one of the founders of our party and the chief architect of the glorious Chinese People's Liberation Army. At the most trying times in the Chinese revolution, he was the first to discover the correct road for the revolution, work out a correct over-all strategy and gradually formulate a whole set of correct theories and tactics, thus guiding the revolution from defeat to victory. After the founding of the People's Republic, under the leadership of the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, new China quickly consolidated its position and embarked on the great cause of socialism. Even in the last few years of his life, when his errors had become very serious, Comrade Mao Zedong still remained alert to the nation's independence and security and had a correct grasp of the new developments in the world situation. He led the party and people in standing up to all pressures from hegemonism and instituted a new pattern for our foreign relations. In the long years of struggle, all comrades in our party drew wisdom and strength from Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought which nurtured successive generations of our party's leaders and large numbers of its cadres and educated the whole Chinese people. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary, theorist and strategist, and the great national hero in Chinese history. He made major contributions to the cause of the liberation of the world's oppressed nations and to the cause of human progress. His immense contributions are immortal.

While celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we deeply cherish the memory of Comrade Mao Zedong. We deeply cherish the memory of the great Marxists, Comrades Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De, and the memory of Comrades Ren Bishi, Dong Biwu, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Chen Yi, Luo Ronghuan, Lin Boqu, Li Fuchun, Wang Jiaxiang, Zhang Wentian, Tao Zhu and others, all of whom were outstanding leaders of our party and, together with Comrade Mao Zedong, made important contributions to the victorious Chinese revolution and to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrades Li Dazhao, Qu Qiubai, Cai Hesen, Xiang Jingyu, Deng Zhongxia, Su Zhaozheng, Peng Pai, Chen Yannian, Yun Daiying, Zhao Shiyan, Zhang Tailei, Li Lisan and other prominent leaders of our party in its formative years. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrades Fang Zhimin, Liu Zhidan, Huang Gonglue, Xu Jishen, Wei Baqun, Zhao Bosheng, Dong Zhentang, Duan Dechang, Yang Jingyu, Zuo Quan, Ye Ting and other outstanding commanders of the people's army who early laid down their lives for the party and the country. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, a great contemporary woman fighter who fought together with us over a long period of time and became a member of the glorious Chinese Communist Party before her death, of Cai Yuanpei, the prominent Chinese intellectual forerunner, and of Lu Xun, the great standard-bearer of our proletarian revolutionary culture. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrades Liao Zhongkai, He Xiangning, Deng Yanda, Yang Xingfo, Shen Junru and other close non-party comrades-in-arms of ours who consistently supported our party. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrades Zou Taofen, Wen Yiduo, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Li Siguang and other distinguished fighters in the fields of science and culture. We deeply cherish the memory of Yang Hucheng, Tan Kah Kee, Zhang Zhizhong, Fu Zuoyi and other renowned patriots who made important contributions to the victorious Chinese people's revolution. We deeply cherish the memory of Norman Bethune, Agnes Smedley, Anna Louise Strong, Dwarkanath S. Kotnis, Edgar Snow, Inejiro Asanuma, Kenzo Nakajima and other close friends of the Chinese people and eminent internationalist fighters.

Why do we say that the history of the Chinese Communist Party is also the history of the triumph of right over wrong and of the triumph of the party's positive aspects over its negative ones?

The revolutionary cause our party has embarked upon is a sacred cause involving the radical transformation of Chinese society, a completely new cause never undertaken by our forefathers. The enemy of the revolution was formidable and the social conditions under which the revolution took place were extremely complex. Therefore, it was only natural that we should make mistakes of one kind or another, and even grievous ones, in the course of our revolutionary struggles. The important thing is to be good at learning through practice once a mistake has been made, to wake up in good time and endeavour to correct it, to strive to avoid a blunder which is long-drawn-out and comprehensive in character, and to avoid repetition of the same grievous blunder.

Our party was born and grew to maturity in the old society. At the high tide of the revolution, large numbers of revolutionaries joined our ranks. This boosted our strength, but a few careerists and opportunists, too, wormed their way into the party. This could hardly be avoided. The point is that while transforming society, our party must pay attention to remoulding itself, and be good at educating and remoulding those who have diverse non-proletarian ideas when they join our party and good at recognizing careerists and conspirators for what they are, so as to be able to foil their schemes and conspiracies.

The greatness of the party does not lie in any readiness to guarantee complete freedom from any negative phenomena but in its ability to overcome shortcomings and rectify errors and to defeat sabotage by all alien forces. Let us look back: Isn't this precisely how our party has fought in the past? Its history contains the grave errors of Chen Duxiu's right capitulationism and Wang Ming's "left" dogmatism. There were also conspiracies to split the party hatched by Zhang Guotao and by Gao Gang and Rao Shushi. There were even the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. However, none succeeded in destroying our party. The extremely treacherous careerists and conspirators Lin Biao and Jiang Qing exploited the "Cultural Revolution" to seize supreme power; they committed every conceivable sin against our nation and people, with the gravest consequences. Yet they were finally unmasked and swept into the garbage bin of history by the party and the people. Isn't this an incontrovertible historical fact? Instead of being destroyed by sabotage or crippled by reverses of one kind of another, our party has emerged each time refreshed and reinvigorated from the struggle to overcome mistakes and prevail over what is negative. It is our party that is invincible.

The past 60 years prove that our party is indeed a proletarian party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and a party wholeheartedly serving the people, entirely dedicated to their interests and with no particular interest of its own. It is truly a long-tested party which has acquired rich experience, learned many lessons and is capable of leading the people in braving difficulties to win victory after victory in the revolution. The role of this great party as the force at the core of the Chinese people's revolutionary cause and its leadership in this cause are the dictates of history and of the will and interests of the people of all our nationalities, dictates which no force on earth can change or shake.

Comrades and friends:

With widespread popular support, our party smashed at one stroke the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in October 1976. This saved the revolution and our socialist state and ushered in a new period of historical development. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee held in December 1978 marked a decisive turning point in the post-1949 history of our party.

The tremendous significance of this plenary session lies in the fact that it really started to correct matters in an all-round, determined and well-considered way by relying on the masses. Since then, right through the fourth, fifth and sixth plenary sessions, our party has been working hard with concentrated energy and attention and under difficult and complex conditions, and has adopted and implemented step by step a series of major policy decisions in ideological, political and organizational matters and all aspects of socialist construction, thus correcting the erroneous "left" orientation. Moreover, in the light of the new historical conditions, our party has gradually charted a correct course for socialist modernization that is suited to China's conditions.

The most striking change of all is the shift of the focus of work of the whole party and nation after the liquidation and repudiation of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. The leading organs from the central down to local levels are now concentrating their energy and attention on socialist modernization. Now that liquidation of the long prevalent "left" deviationist guiding ideology is under way, our socialist economic and cultural construction has been shifted to a course of development that takes into account the basic conditions of the country and the limits of our ability, proceeds step by steps, and seeks practical results and steady advance. With the implementation of the party's policies, the introduction of the system of production responsibilities and the development of a diversified economy, an excellent situation has developed in the vast rural areas in particular, a dynamic and progressive situation seldom seen since the founding of the People's Republic.

In sociopolitical relations, our party has resolutely and appropriately solved many important issues which had been wrongly handled over a long period of time, eliminated a number of major factors detrimental to stability and unity and put an end to the social unrest and upheaval fomented in the "Cultural Revolution." We are now striving to foster socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system and reform and perfect the socialist political system. This gives a powerful impetus to the consolidation and development of a political situation of stability, unity and liveliness.

Through organizational consolidation and rectification of the style of work, tangible progress has been made in the normalization of party life, the development of inner-party democracy and the strengthening of the party's ties with the masses. The party's prestige, grievously damaged during the "Cultural Revolution," is gradually being restored.

To ensure the proper implementation of the principle of emancipating the mind, our party has reiterated that it is necessary to uphold the four fundamental principles of the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat), the Communist Party's leadership, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These principles constitute the common political basis for the unity of the whole party and the unity of the entire people and provide the fundamental guarantee for the success of socialist modernization.

The great change which began with the 3d Plenary Session of the party's 11th Central Committee and our correct line and policies fulfill the common aspirations of the people and the party. Speaking of the general orientation and major policy decisions taken since the session, many comrades have said, "they suit us fine." These words reflect the thoughts and feelings of the masses and of the majority of cadres. They explain why the change is so dynamic and irresistible.

Needless to say, many difficulties confront us. We have yet to finish the process of correction, and in various fields many problems remain to be resolved. Our material resources, expertise and experience are far from adequate for the achievement of the four modernizations. The people's living standards are still very low and many pressing problems demand solution. We have yet to introduce further improvements in the party's leadership and style of work. It is wrong to take these difficulties lightly. Only by taking them into full account will we be invincible. The road before us is still long and tortuous. It is like climbing the Taishan Mountain; when we have reached the half-way gate to heaven, we find that the three "eighteen bends" lie ahead of us, demanding Herculean efforts. Until we have negotiated these bends, however, we won't be able to reach the south gate to heaven. Still climbing, we will find it relatively easy to mount the Peak of the Jade Emperor, our destination, and only then can we claim to have accomplished the splendid cause of socialist modernization. Once at the south gate to heaven, we shall be in a position to appreciate the great Tang Dynasty poet Du Fu's well-known lines, "Viewed from the topmost summit, all mountains around are dwarfed." The hardships that once towered like "mountains" will then look small and we will be able to negotiate the obstacles on the way to the "topmost summit" more or less easily. In the course of our long journey, we will certainly be able to conquer the eighteen bends, reach the south gate of heaven and then ascend the Peak of the Jade Emperor. Once there, we shall push towards new summits.

Comrades and friends:

The historical experience of the past 60 years can be summed up in one sentence: There must be a Marxist, revolutionary line and a proletarian party capable of formulating and upholding this line. Faced with the gigantic task of socialist modernization centering around economic construction in the new historical period, we are deeply aware that the key to the fulfillment of this task lies in our party.

Now, the entire people has placed its hopes on our party, and other peoples of the world are closely watching it. Whether or not we can steer the ship of the Chinese revolution onward through storm and stress in the new historical period, whether or not we can modernize our agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology fairly smoothly, avoid suffering such serious setbacks and paying such huge price as in the past, and achieve results that will satisfy the people and win the praise of posterity, all depend on the efforts of all comrades in the party in the next decade or two. We must not let our people down.

With higher political awareness, we must make our party a solid core which is more mature politically, more unified ideologically and more consolidated organizationally, and more able to unite with all our nationalities and lead them in socialist modernization.

1. All members of the party must work with selfless devotion for China's socialist modernization and in the service of the people.

We Chinese communists must always proceed from our basic standpoint with the objective of wholeheartedly serving the people. Serving the people in essence means that our party must rally the masses round it and, by virtue of its correct guidelines and policies, its close ties with the masses, its members' exemplary role and its propaganda and organizational work, help them to see where their fundamental interests lie and to get united to strive for them.

The people are the makers of history. Both the people's revolution and the construction of socialism led by our party are the people's very own cause. At all times party members comprise only a small minority of the population; so we must rely on the people in all our work, have faith in them, draw wisdom from them, set store by their creativeness and subject ourselves to their supervision. Otherwise, we will accomplish nothing, we will fail. Since victory was won in the revolution, the people have become the masters of the country and society. To organize and support them in fulfilling this role and building a new life under socialism is the very essence of the party's leadership over affairs of state.

For us communists, serving the people means primarily dedication to the cause of communism and readiness to sacrifice ourselves for the interests of the people. In the years of war, many of our party members were the first to charge at the enemy and the last to pull back; they remained staunch and unyielding in captivity, dying as martyrs; and they were invariably the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. What an inspiration and encouragement they were to millions upon millions of our people! Today, in peacetime construction, and particularly after the decade of havoc of the "Cultural Revolution," we need this revolutionary spirit even more. Although our party's fine style of work was corroded by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, there are still large numbers of fine party members who have maintained and carried forward this revolutionary spirit, a spirit characterized by readiness to sacrifice one's individual interests and even one's own life, for the interests of the people. They have won high praise from the people, and they have earned it. It is utterly wrong to think and act as though the revolutionary spirit may be discarded in peacetime construction and party members no longer need to share weal and woe with the masses whose interests they may subordinate to their own. That would be to debase our party spirit.

The style of work of a party in power vitally affects its very existence. As Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in 1942, "Once our party's style of work is put completely right, the people all over the country will learn from our example. Those outside the party who have the same kind of bad style will, if they are good and honest people, learn from our example and correct their mistakes, and thus the whole nation will be influenced. So long as our communist ranks are in good order and march in step, so long as our troops are picked troops and our weapons are good weapons, any enemy, however powerful, can be overthrown." Let us firmly resolve to strive to our utmost to restore and carry forward the fine style of work which our party and Comrade Mao Zedong cultivated, and to lead the whole Chinese nation in building a high level of socialist civilization.

2. We must be good at carrying forward Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in the light of the new historical conditions.

We have obtained great successes in revolution and construction in the past under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We will obtain new and greater successes in our long march into the future by relying on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought for guidance. If we communists have any family heirlooms to speak of, by far the most important one is Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It has always been our basic and unshakable principle to uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and persist in taking the tenets of Marxism as our guideline.

Marxism is the crystallization of scientific thinking on proletarian revolution; it is our most powerful weapon for understanding and transforming the objective world. Its tenets are truths that have been repeatedly verified in practice. However, it does not embrace all the truths in the unending course of human history, nor can it possibly do so. For us revolutionaries, the theory of Marxism is the guide to action and by no means a rigid dogma to be followed unthinkingly. All revolutionaries true to Marxism have the responsibility to ensure that it does not become divorced from social life and does not stagnate, wither or ossify; they must enrich it with fresh revolutionary experiences so that it will remain full of vitality. Therefore, our fundamental approach to Marxism is that we should apply and advance Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; such is our unshirkable historical duty as Chinese communists. This is not easy of course. It requires us to make an arduous, lifelong effort to achieve a better integration of the tenets of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's socialist modernization.

We must continue to apply ourselves to the study and investigation of the history of the Chinese revolution. For the China of today has grown out of the China of yesterday, a China about which we know, not too much, but too little. We should especially study present-day China because our efforts to create a radiant future must first of all be based on a comparatively correct understanding of the present. And the trouble is that we don't know much; in fact we still know very little about Chinese realities today and the objective laws governing the building of socialism.

Our cause is an integral whole and has a single goal. Yet, ours is a vast country with extremely diverse conditions. Therefore our study and understanding of the overall situation and of the situation in different regions must be closely coordinated. If we overlook the whole and disregard uniformity, we shall make the mistake of acting blindly and thoughtlessly and with no consideration for the whole in directing the work in specific regions. If we ignore the regions' specific conditions in directing the work of the whole country, we shall make the mistake of being guided by our own conjectures and fancies which may have no relation to reality. We Chinese communists should be revolutionaries who are at once far-sighted and realistic in our approach.

We lay stress on self-reliance and strive to solve our problems by our own efforts and treasure our own experience. But we must never be conceited and underrate the experience of others. We should through analysis absorb whatever is useful in others' experience and lessons. We must therefore earnestly study and analyze the experience of other countries, other regions and other people while studying and summing up our own.

The integration of the universal truth of Marxism with Chinese reality is a long process of repeated cycles of practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge. In the new historical period, we should emancipate our minds and constantly identify and grapple with the new conditions and problems in our practice and thus equip ourselves with rich, varied and living perceptual knowledge. At the same time, we must set our minds to work and learn more social and natural sciences and their methods in order to raise perceptual knowledge to the plane of rational knowledge, logical knowledge that is more or less systematic, and verify it again and again in practice. We must therefore study diligently, learn from specialists and heed differing views and opinions and, at the same time, delve deep into reality and carry out thorough, systematic investigation and study so as to successfully synthesize our direct and indirect experience.

So long as we proceed in study and work in accordance with this stand, viewpoint and method, we shall be able to put all our party work on a scientific foundation, make discoveries and function creatively for socialist modernization, thus ensuring the triumphant advance of our great cause.

3. We must put democratic life in the party on a sounder basis and strengthen party organization and discipline.

One of the fundamental reasons why the grievous errors of the "Cultural Revolution" remained unrectified for so long is that the regular political life of our party, inner-party democratic centralism and the collective leadership of the Central Committee in particular, had been disrupted. As a result, the personality cult, anarchism and ultra-individualism all prevailed. This afforded the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and other scoundrels an opportunity they exploited to the full. No comrade in the party must ever forget this bitter lesson and we must all take warning from it.

We are historical materialists. We do not deny the significant role that outstanding individuals play in history or the significant role of outstanding leaders in a proletarian party. But at the same time we maintain that our party must be placed under collective leadership to be exercised by those who combine ability with political integrity and who have emerged in the course of mass struggles, and that we must ban all forms of the personality cult. Party organizations should commend all comrades, irrespective of their personality cult. Party organizations should commend all comrades, irrespective of their rank or position, who have made special contributions and achieved outstanding results in their work, so as to encourage other party members and people to learn from their example. But such public commendation must be truthful and unvarnished.

Appropriate relationships should be established between the leaders and the led in our party organizations at all levels. Comrades at a lower level must respect and obey the leadership of comrades at a higher level. They must not feign compliance while actually violating or resisting instructions from the higher level. On the other hand, comrades at a higher level must heed the opinions of their subordinates, respect their functions and powers and accept their supervision. Leaders should take part in inner-party activities just like ordinary party members, abide by party rules and discipline and the law of the state, and maintain their ties with the rank-and-file and the masses in general; they must not put themselves in a special category just because they are in leading positions.

Decisions concerning important matters must be made after collective discussions by the appropriate party committee, and no one individual is allowed to have the final say. All members of a party committee must abide by its decisions. Party committees at all levels must practice a division of labor and responsibilities to be discharged under the collective leadership of the party committee, with each member doing his share conscientiously and responsibly and in the best and most efficient way possible.

All party members are entitled to criticize, at party meetings, any individuals within the party, including leading members of the Central Committee; retaliation is impermissible. Party organizations at all levels and all party members should give full play to their initiative and dare to work independently and conscientiously in a spirit characterized by boldness in thinking and action. But no party member is allowed to impair the party's interests and the common goal by turning the department or unit entrusted to him by the party into his own independent kingdom.

Our party's fighting strength lies in its vitality and strict discipline. Now that we are committed to the socialist modernization of the country and our task is most challenging and difficult, we have still greater need to promote this fine party tradition.

4. We must be good at keeping ourselves politically pure and healthy and under all circumstances maintain our revolutionary vigor as members of a party in power.

Ours is a large party with a membership of 39 million and it is a party in power. This can easily make some of our comrades feel conceited and succumb to bureaucratic practices. Confronted as we are with so many new things and new problems, we can hardly avoid making mistakes. Besides, class struggle continues to exist to a certain extent in our society, and the ideological influences of the exploiting and other non-proletarian classes still survive. These facts, combined as they are with the complexities of contemporary international relations, put us in daily contact with the undesirable phenomena of capitalism, feudalism and small production. The contradictions between proletarian and non-proletarian ideology and between correct and erroneous thinking within our party demand that we make more effective use of the best weapon communists have for remoulding themselves, namely, the practice of criticism and self-criticism.

Communists should take a clear-cut stand on questions of principle and should uphold truth. Every party member should uphold the party spirit and be unequivocal in his position on questions of right and wrong which involve the interests of the party and the people and should show clearly what he is for and what he is against. The rotten and vulgar practice of trying to be on good terms with everybody at the expense of principle is incompatible with the proletarian character of our party.

Our party's fine tradition of criticism and self-criticism, gravely undermined in previous years, is now being revived and carried forward, and some new and useful experience has been gained in this respect. In making either criticism or self-criticism, one should base oneself on facts and rectify existing mistakes without trying to hide or magnify them. Criticisms should be offered in a well-reasoned way and should be instructive so that they can help the comrades concerned raise their level of political consciousness; they must not be based on speculation or aimed at intimidating others. We should induce the comrades concerned voluntarily to examine themselves and correct their mistakes. In our criticisms we must not make far-fetched interpretations and unduly involve other comrades at a higher or lower level. So long as the comrades concerned have recognized their mistakes and are willing to correct them, we should encourage them to go on working boldly. Our main mistake in the past was to engage in excessive struggle that yielded results contrary to our expectations; people became reluctant to make self-criticism and were afraid to criticize others. We must change this unhealthy tendency.

We communists need to practice criticism and self-criticism so that our party will become more, not less, united and militant. Provided we fully revive and carry forward this fine tradition, our party will undoubtedly continue to show inexhaustible vitality and will never show signs of decay.

5. We must select more cadres who combine ability and political integrity and who are in the prime of life and appoint them to leading posts at all levels.

Insofar as experience in struggle is concerned, it may be said that our party's cadres belong to three or four generations, which shows that ours is a long-standing and well-established cause. It is indeed fortunate that our leading cadres at all fronts are largely veterans who have been tempered in prolonged revolutionary struggle. If cadres can be called valuable party assets, then these numerous senior comrades are most valuable.

But the laws of nature cannot be changed and, after all, most of our senior comrades are physically not as strong and active as before. In order to make sure that there is an adequate number of successors to carry on our cause and guarantee continuity in our party's guidelines and policies, we must devote much of our energy from now on to the selection and training of thousands upon thousands of cadres who combine ability and political integrity and are in their prime and give these comrades the opportunity to take part in leadership in various fields so that they may be better and more effectively tempered through practice. It is now a pressing strategic task facing the whole party to build up a large contingent of revolutionary, well-educated, professionally competent and younger cadres.

The older comrades have an especially significant role to play in fulfilling this strategic task. Comrades Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun and Li Xiannian have said more than once that although the old comrades may be pardoned for other mistakes, they would be committing an unforgivable historical error if they did not redouble their efforts to train younger successors. The old comrades should work personally with the organizational departments of the party and the masses in the selection and training of younger cadres and eagerly and enthusiastically guide them to front line posts of leadership. At the same time, they should free themselves from the onerous pressure of day-to-day work and advance their views and judgments on key and long-range problems. The Central Committee of the party earnestly hopes that all veteran party comrades will have the depth of insight and foresight to discharge this crucial historic responsibility to the best of their ability. Meanwhile, it hopes that party organizations at all levels and all comrades in their prime who have been selected for higher posts will respect and take good care of our veterans and learn as much as possible from them.

At present, we are facing the major task of learning anew. It is the hope of the Central Committee of the party that all party comrades and the younger comrades in particular will brace up, strengthen their party spirit, enhance their political consciousness, set stricter demands on themselves, diligently study Marxist-Leninist works and works by Mao Zedong and the history of the party, our nation and the world, acquire more theoretical and practical knowledge, and learn more about management and technology as required by their own occupations and specific jobs. The results of our study will determine the quality of our leadership and work and will have a direct bearing on the progress of the socialist modernization of our country. Since we have successfully learned to destroy the old world, we can surely learn even more successfully how to build a new one.

6. We must forever uphold internationalism and cast in our lot with the proletariat and the people of the whole world.

We Chinese communists have always integrated patriotism with internationalism.

We are patriots. We have invariably fought might and main for our national liberation, for the well-being of our people and the unification and prosperity of our motherland. We have never knuckled under to any pressure from any foreign power. We have never flinched in our determination to be independent and to rely on ourselves, no matter how formidable the difficulties we have faced. Our country is still relatively backward economically and culturally; but we have always maintained out national self-respect in the face of hegemonist threats of force or in our relations with all stronger and richer countries, and will not tolerate any servility in thought or deed. As it is, Taiwan still stands apart from its reunified motherland and we are resolved to strive together with the people of the whole country, not least including those in Taiwan, for its return and for the sacred cause of the complete reunification of our motherland.

At the same time we are proletarian internationalists. We have always cast in our own lot with the other peoples of the world in their just struggles and with the cause of human progress. Our struggles have throughout enjoyed the support of the other peoples of the world, and we on our part have always supported the struggles of the world's oppressed nations and people for emancipation, the cause of world peace and the cause of human progress, and we have consistently opposed imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism. Our cause of socialist modernization is at once patriotic and internationalist. Its success will be a tremendous contribution to the cause of world peace and human progress. We hereby wish solemnly to proclaim once again that the Communist Party of China will always live in friendship and cooperation and on an equal footing with all the political parties and organizations in the world which are dedicated to human progress and to national liberation and will learn from their useful experience, and that we will never interfere in the internal affairs of any foreign political party. Even when it becomes stronger and more prosperous, socialist China will belong to the Third World and forever stand by the other peoples of the world, strive for world peace and friendly intercourse among peoples, abide faithfully by the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and continue to promote more economic, cultural, scientific and technological exchange and cooperation with other nations; it will never seek advantage at the expense of others or bully weaker nations and will never under any circumstances seek hegemony.

Comrades and friends:

The decisions of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party were adopted after ample and extensive exchanges of views and discussions both prior to and during the session. Its outcome fully testifies to our party's ability to safeguard and strengthen its unity on the basis of Marxist principles and to the fact that the political life of our party has now become much healthier.

Some well-intentioned friends at home and abroad have been worried about our party's ability to achieve complete unity, while a handful of people harboring evil designs placed their hopes on successfully sowing dissension so as to undermine the unity of our party. Now, reality has given them a clear answer: No force on earth can break the Chinese Communist Party's strong unity based on Marxist principles.

Comrades and friends:

We, the proletariat, are the class which commands the future, and our party has lofty ideals and aspirations. The best way for us to celebrate this grand festival, our party's birthday, is to learn from historical experience and thus unite and look forward, focusing our attention to unresolved problems.

Socialist modernization is a great revolution. We are undertaking this great revolution in a huge oriental nation left economically and culturally backward by ruthless imperialist oppression and plunder. The fact that China entered upon socialism before developed capitalist countries is due to its specific historical conditions, to the correct leadership exercised by our party and the arduous struggles of the entire people. It represents a development of scientific socialism and is a credit to our party and the Chinese people. On the other hand, our socialist cause is bound to meet many difficulties arising from our economic and cultural backwardness. This in turn calls for more strenuous and protracted struggle.

We are still living under the threat of aggression and sabotage from outside. Therefore, our whole party, our whole army and our whole people must more actively apply their revolutionary spirit, heighten their revolutionary vigilance and steel their revolutionary will so as to win victory in this great revolution.

We have suffered severe setbacks in our advance to socialism and paid heavily for our errors. However, these errors and setbacks have made us firmer, more experienced, more mindful of our actual conditions, more sober and more powerful. We have learned much from our reverses and mistakes and shall go on learning more.

In this sense, our grievous errors and reverses are but fleeting phenomena. We must not overlook that we have a vast contingent of cadres steeled in struggle, that we have build up a substantial material base, that the whole party, army and people fervently desire a prosperous motherland, and that we enjoy the superiority of our socialist system. All this and the fact that we now have correct ideological, political and organizational lines, constitute the decisive factor that will apply for a long time to come. There is no doubt whatsoever that our socialist cause and the hundreds of millions of Chinese people have a bright future.

The internal unity of the party and the party's unity with the people are the essential condition for the triumph of our cause. While celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we wish to pay our sincere respects to the workers, peasants and intellectuals who are fighting valiantly on the different fronts, to the glorious People's Liberation Army, the great wall of steel that defends our motherland, to the vast numbers of hard-working cadres, to our party's close aides, the Communist Youth League members who are full of vigor and vitality, and to our fellow-countrymen in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and to Chinese citizens overseas! We wish to extend our heartfelt thanks to all the democratic parties and non-party personages and friends of all circles who have cooperated with our party and rendered invaluable support to the people's revolution and to construction.

The unity of the Chinese people with the other peoples of the world is another essential condition for the triumph of our cause. In celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we wish to express our deep gratitude to all friendly countries which have entered into relations of equality and mutual assistance with us, and to all our foreign friends and comrades who have rendered our party and people invaluable help.

Let all comrades in the party and the people of all nationalities in our country unite as one under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and work hard to make China a modern and powerful socialist country which is prosperous, highly democratic and culturally advanced! Let us all strive for the supreme ideal of communism!

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UNITE UNDER THE GREAT BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT AND ADVANCE TO VICTORY

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[Editorial]

[Text] The first of July this year is the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP. Just when the comrades of the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are solemnly commemorating this glorious festival, the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee has victoriously concluded. It was yet another important meeting after the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and it will definitely have a far-reaching influence on the course of the history of our party and state. It was a meeting for summing up experiences and forging ahead in unity. It will go down in history for successfully completing the historical task of correcting past mistakes under the party's guiding thought. This plenary session is indeed of very great significance to continuing the great revolutionary cause initiated by our party under the leadership of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries represented by Comrade Mao Zedong.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee is a great document of epochmaking significance in the history of our party. The "resolution" reviews the combat journey undertaken by our party over the past 60 years, makes a correct summary of certain significant historical incidents, especially the "Great Cultural Revolution," since the founding of the PRC, and appraises in a truth-seeking way the position in history of our great leader and teacher Comrade Mao Zedong in China's revolution. It fully expounds the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought as our party's guiding thought, fully affirms the great achievements of our country in socialist revolution and construction, fully explains the course, which has been established since the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and is suited to China's situation, for building a modern powerful socialist country and further indicates the direction of progress for the development of China's socialist cause and the building of our party. The "resolution" is a strong spiritual weapon of our whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country for unifying their thinking and developing socialist modernization with one heart and one mind.

The plenary session also reelected the principal leading members of the CCP Central Committee and elected new ones. It accepted Comrade Hua Guofeng's resignation from his offices as chairman of the CCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Military Commission and elected Comrade Hu Yaobang as chairman of the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping as chairman of the Central Military Commission, Comrades Zhao Ziyang and Hua Guofeng as vice chairmen of the CCP Central Committee and Comrade Xi Znongxun as secretary of the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee. At the same time, it decided that Comrades Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun and Hua Guofeng should become members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. This important decision is of very great significance in strengthening the collective leadership of the CCP Central Committee, ensuring our party's unity and unification on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, ensuring the complete realization of the line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and ensuring the smooth carrying out of socialist modernization.

The 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee was convened on the basis of the large amounts of work carried out since the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee held in December 1978 constituted a great transition of far-reaching significance in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC. The 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee marked the end of the situation of progressing amid fluctuations after the smashing of the "gang of four" and the beginning of our correcting past mistakes in a serious, comprehensive and systematic manner. The plenary session discussed and solved a number of political, economic, organizational and theoretical problems which concerned the future and destiny of our party and state. In particular, it correctly analyzed the major contradictions in a socialist society and resolutely made the strategic policy decision of shifting the emphasis of our party's work to socialist modernization. It highly appraised the discussion on the criterion for testing truth, corrected the incorrect principle of the "two whatevers," affirmed that it is necessary to completely and accurately master the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought and established the guiding principles of emancipating people's minds, getting our brains working, seeking truth from facts and uniting and looking ahead. Later, with the aim of clearing up certain confused understandings and incorrect ideas existing in the society, the CCP Central Committee again emphatically put forth the four basic principles which the whole party and the people throughout the country must uphold as a common political foundation for unity of the whole party and among the people throughout the country. The line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee have played a decisive role in emancipating the cadres and masses from the shackles of the personality cult and dogmatism which prevailed for a time, in clearing up our party's leftist mistakes in the guiding thought over a long period of time and in establishing the road for China's socialist modernization. We can thus say that the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee provided the necessary conditions for the holding and the success of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, and that the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee is a continuation and development of the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee.

The 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee called on the whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, unite even more closely around the CCP Central Committee, continue to bring into play the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains, have great determination, surmount all difficulties and struggle hard to gradually build our country into a modern powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization! This is in fact the general spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee. After this plenary session, our party's major task is to make this spirit truly become the unified thinking and action of the whole party and army and the people throughout the country. The party organizations at all levels and all party members, and in the first place the party's leadership cadres at all levels, must seriously study the "resolution" of this plenary session and all other documents. All our comrades should understand that the basic purpose of our summing up the historical experience over the past 32 years since the establishment of the PRC is, on the basis of upholding the four basic principles, to further concentrate the will and forces of the whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country on the great target of building a modern powerful socialist country. The unity of the party and the unity between the party and the people is our invaluable asset. Upholding truth and correcting our mistakes constitute our basic stand. What our whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country must seriously achieve is to unify their thinking and understanding through studying the documents of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, uniting and looking ahead, and throwing themselves into socialist modernization with one heart and one mind.

Correctly understanding the position in history of Comrade Mao Zedong and upholding Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding thought of our party constitute a fundamental question which concerns our whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country in uniting and looking ahead. The "resolution" of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee has actually scientifically expounded this question.

In reviewing the combat journey of our party over the past 60 years and in summing up the historical experience of our party since the founding of the PRC, we must make a fair and scientific appraisal of the position in history of Comrade Mao Zedong which is in line with the actual situation. Just as in dealing with all other great personalities in history, we should adopt the scientific attitude of dialectical materialism and historical materialism in dealing with Comrade Mao Zedong. As a matter of fact, the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee adopted this scientific attitude, sought truth from facts and made an appropriate analysis of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes during his later years and also the causes of those mistakes. It not only did not put all the blame for the mistakes in the party's guiding thought on Comrade Mao Zedong alone, but it fully affirmed his significant position and magnificent role in history. It specifically pointed out: Judging from Comrade Mao Zedong's life as a whole, "his meritorious achievements rendered to China's revolution far outweighed his errors. His meritorious achievements should occupy a first position while his errors occupy only a second position." This is surely in keeping with the historical reality and with the desire of the whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country.

In his youth, Comrade Mao Zedong started searching for a truth for the salvation of the nation and the people. When he found Marxism-Leninism, this ideological weapon with which the proletariat and the oppressed people strive for their liberation, he devoted himself to integrating its basic principles with the specific practice of China's revolution and struggled all his life for its realization. Undoubtedly, judging from his whole life, Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary and theorist and a great proletarian strategist and militarist. The mistakes he made were after all the mistakes made by a great Marxist. Being a generally accepted great leader of our whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, Comrade Mao Zedong rendered great meritorious achievements to the founding and development of our party and the Chinese PLA, the victory in the liberation of the Chinese people, the founding of the PRC and the development of China's socialist revolution and construction. Being a great, world-renowned international proletarian activist, he made significant contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism, the liberation of the entire proletariat and all the oppressed people and the progress of mankind. His meritorious achievements and contributions can never be obliterated.

The greatest achievement of Comrade Mao Zedong was that he persistently applied the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific practice of China's revolution, made a scientific summation and theoretical generalization of a number of original experiences in the long period of revolutionary practice by our party and the Chinese people, and formulated a scientific guiding thought which is suited to China's situation. This is in fact Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is a crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese communists with Comrade Mao Zedong as the principal representative. It is the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China. As a scientific guiding thought, it was gradually formulated and developed through its struggle against the erroneous tendencies of dogmatizing Marxism and deifying the resolution of the Communist International and the experience of the Soviet Union which once prevailed in the international communist movement and in our party during the 1920's and 1930's. It became mature through systematic summation and practice in various aspects during the latter period of the agrarian revolutionary war and the war against Japanese aggression, and continued its development through practice during the subsequent long period of revolution and construction. With its very rich substance from various aspects and its original theories, Mao Zedong Thought has enriched the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. Historical experiences have repeatedly demonstrated that Mao Zedong Thought, which is a unification of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and China's revolutionary practice, is the banner which guides China's revolution and construction in marching from victory to victory and is the most precious spiritual wealth of our party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Mao Zedong Thought, which has been proved in practice as a scientific theory, will for a long time guide our action. We must seriously study Marxist-Leninist works and the works of Comrade Mao Zedong, study hard the new situation and new problems emerging in our practice and continuously enrich and develop our party's revolutionary theory with new principles and conclusions through practice so as to ensure that our cause will continue to advance along the scientific track of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Following the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and correctly assessing our party's historical achievements after the establishment of the PRC are also significant questions closely related to the question of our whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country uniting and looking ahead.

How should the 32 years since the establishment of the PRC be correctly assessed? Quite obviously, it is incorrect to adopt an attitude of complete affirmation or complete negation, describing the past 32 years as either having no complications or faults whatsoever, or as simply a complete failure devoid of any merit. A correct assessment should be: We do not deny that we went through some tortuous roads over the past 32 years and ran into various kinds of faults. However, in general, the history since the establishment of the PRC is actually the history of our party, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, leading the people of all nationalities throughout the country in developing socialist revolution and construction, exploring the road for developing socialist construction which is in keeping with China's situation and scoring great achievements and gaining rich experiences. This is actually a base assessment made at the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee. Only such an assessment is in line with the historical reality and only it can unify the thinking and action of the whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country.

To achieve unanimity with the "resolution" of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee in making a basic assessment of the past since the establishment of the PRC, we must look at the overall situation rather than looking merely at some isolated parts. There is really no need to conceal the fact that our party did not have much experience in leading the socialist cause and made a lot of mistakes which included the "Great Cultural Revolution"--a serious mistake which affected the overall situation over a long period of time and brought great calamities to the party, the state and the people. However, judging from the history since the establishment of the PRC as a whole, the mistakes were still only partial ones. Of course, we must not allow people to ignore and cover up past mistakes. However, it is equally wrong to ignore or negate the achievements scored over the past 32 years and the experiences gained through scoring those achievements. We must not negate the overall situation with the partial situation nor negate the entire 32 years after the establishment of the PRC with the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution." The great achievements we scored in socialist revolution and construction since the founding of the PRC have been obvious to all and recognized throughout the world. They can never be obliterated. We have victoriously realized a change from new democracy to socialism, successfully established our socialist political and economic systems, eliminated the exploitation system from the territories of our country, realized the rights of the working people in being the masters of their own affairs, carried out massive and planned socialist economic and cultural construction and established an independent and relatively complete industrial system and national economic system, thus providing a considerable material and technical foundation for our developing socialist modernization today. With the development of production, the material and cultural lives of the people of all nationalities throughout the country have been greatly improved. China's international position has been continuously enhanced and it is playing a more and more significant positive role in international affairs. At the same time, we have also made courageous explorations in opening up the road of socialist construction which is suited to China's national conditions. We have accumulated rich positive and negative experiences and enhanced our level of understanding the objective laws of socialist construction. All these are victorious results scored by all comrades of the party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country under the leadership of the party in applying and developing through practice the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on scientific socialism. Only socialism can save China; and without the Communist Party, there will be no socialist new China. This is in fact a truth generally acknowledged and proved by historical facts since the founding of the PRC.

In uniting and looking ahead and developing socialism with one heart and one mind, the most critical issue is to follow the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and, on the basis of the historical experience over the past 60 years, specifically do a good job of building our party.

At present, our party has 39 million party members and is a ruling party leading socialist revolution and construction in a great Eastern nation with a population of 1 billion. Only by realizing unity in the whole party is it possible to achieve great unity among the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Only when all the comrades of the party have firmly established their confidence in developing socialist modernization and brought into play the revolutionary spirit of the Yanan period, the war of liberation and the initial period after the founding of the PRC will it be possible to encourage the people of all nationalities throughout the country to work hard and do substantial work with confidence, one hundred percent for socialist modernization. When we do a good job of promoting party building, make an even greater effort in bringing the party's fine traditions and work style into play and further unify and consolidate our party in politics, ideology and organization, victories will be guaranteed for the affairs of the state and the people and the whole socialist modernization. All our Communist Party members and especially party cadres must seriously understand and specifically implement the "resolution" of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and achieve unanimity with the "resolution" politically and ideologically. We should stop getting ourselves entangled in all historical problems and haggling over old accounts concerning one's personal grievances. All comrades of the party should attach the most importance to the overall situation, the party's unity, the party's cause and the people's interests. All comrades should work hard to enhance their own level of Marxism, take all the revolutionary elders and martyrs in the history of our party as models, maintain and bring into play the tradition of struggling for the socialist and communist causes throughout one's life and really become the vanguards of communism. As was pointed out by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his speech at the rally marking the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, we must do a good job of building our party. All our party members must strive for China's socialist modernization regardless of one's own safety and serve the people wholeheartedly; be good at continuously pushing forward Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions; further strengthen the party's democratic life and strictly enforce the party's organizational discipline; be good at frequently brushing the dust off themselves and always keep their revolutionary spirit young even when they are in power; select and promote more cadres who have both ability and political integrity and are in their prime of life to leadership posts at all levels; and uphold internationalism forever and share a common fate with the proletariat and masses of people throughout the world. When we achieve these, our party will definitely become a strong core for uniting and leading the people of all nationalities throughout the country in developing socialist modernization.

Socialist modernization is a great revolution. It is a new stage of development in China's socialist revolution. The history of China's revolution over the past 60 years has demonstrated that the CCP has the determination and ability to lead the people throughout the country to realize this great revolutionary task. All just people can see that our party has never covered up its mistakes and has always strived to correct the mistakes itself. Our party is faithful to the people. Apart from seeking the greatest interests for the greatest number of people, it never seeks any selfish interest. The victorious holding of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee shows that our party has become even more mature politically, even more unified ideologically and even more consolidated organizationally. So long as the whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country follow the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, closely unite around the CCP Central Committee, hold aloft the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, keep on fighting in spite of all setbacks and struggle hard, we will definitely be able to thoroughly fulfill the new, great revolutionary task of socialist modernization.

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CELEBRATION AND RECOLLECTIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 81 pp 42-46

[Article by Deng Yingchao]

[Text] By Chinese tradition, people are known as having completed the "sexagenarian cycle" when they reach the age of 60. The first of July this year marks the 60th anniversary of the founding of our dear party, the CCP. Human beings generally become feeble and senile when completing the "sexagenarian cycle." However, our party has a different natural law from human beings. Thoroughly tempered over a long period of time while giving leadership to the Chinese revolution and construction, our party has become healthier, more mature, stronger and more daring to march forward. The party's 60th anniversary is a major happy event in the political life of the people of all nationalities and worthy of joyous celebrations. Along the lengthy road of revolution, countless comrades and comrades in arms in the party and patriotic, revolutionary progressive outside the party have sacrificed their lives. As we, the lucky survivors, are present in person on this grand occasion, words fail us in expressing the joy from the bottom of our hearts and the feeling of our happiness. The span of 60 years is extremely short and transient compared with mankind's lengthy history. However, the 60 years' experience of our party cannot be described in a short article. Speaking of my own personal feeling, occasionally I feel that those 60 years are too long but primarily I feel they are as short as the twinkling of an eye. What has been experienced in these 60 years appears to be a long, long movie about the revolution, full of noble, heroic and exciting contents that keep appearing before my eyes one scene after another or just lingering in mind. It is also like a long scroll of majestic and magnificent drawings not only about the great and twisted road we have traversed but about today's grand construction program and the brilliant future. This picture will continue to be drawn until we reach our party's ultimate goal--communism.

I

Past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide for the future. Talking about the past, our party advanced on the road full of difficulties and dangers from the very first day it was founded. When the first party congress was held, our party members numbered no more than a few score. It was suppressed by the reactionary rulers when it was born. The first congress was to be held in Shanghai. As the enemy was searching for us, we had to move to Nanhu Lake in Jiaxing County, Zhejiang. We held the congress in a boat, disguised as tourists. Although very small at the beginning, this party, believing in Marxism, was the vanguard of the rising proletariat. We organized and with iron discipline, it was dedicated to national independence, the people's liberation and the struggle for socialism and communism. It was the most advanced and revolutionary force in China's history and a new thing with the strongest vitality. Therefore, soon after its birth, it displayed the power and influence of this new life. When it was 3 years old, it had a membership of several thousand. Yet, it was still a baby and, as was necessary, it entered into China's much too complex political arena when it was very young. Particularly, after it entered into cooperation with the Kuomintang in 1924 after the latter was reorganized under the leadership of Dr Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese revolution experienced a new and greater development. The number of our party members rose from several thousand to several tens of thousands.

Due to the warlord separatist regimes in China at that time, the progress of the revolution was uneven. We could conduct open activities in the Guangzhou area and semi-open activities in Shanghai but we had to be completely under cover without any open activities in areas north of the Chang Jiang, in northern and northeastern China. Under these conditions, our party adopted different forms of activities in these three different zones, regardless of our work in relation to the workers, peasants, youths or women. At that time, we had party organizations in the coastal areas, Guangdong, Jiangsu and Zhejiang, Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin and Wuhan. In view of the nature of the semifeudal and semicolonial Chinese society, we correctly pur forth the task of national [minzu 3046 2469] and democratic revolution and the slogan "down with foreign powers, get rid of warlords and work for the victory of the national [kuomin 0948 3046] revolution." It was under the leadership and with the work of our party that the great revolution emerged during the period from 1924 to 1927. However, we were not very clear about how the proletariat should handle well the relations with the bourgeoisie during the democratic revolution, whether we should keep our leadership power and how to keep it because the CCP was still very young.

After our party cooperated with the Kuomintang in establishing the united front, we helped the Kuomintang build its party, government and army. After launching the eastern expedition twice in 1924-1925 to eliminate the warlords in Guangdong, the northern expedition was conducted. When the northern expedition army reached the areas north and south of the Chang Jiang after a series of victories, the worker and peasant, youth and women mass movements mushroomed throughout the country. In particular, the peasant mass movement developed most vigorously. The revolutionary situation had never been better. It was at this juncture that Chiang Kai-shek, the anticommunist chieftain representing the compradors, landlords and warlords, betrayed the revolution. Not long afterwards, Wang Jingwei, a political opportunist and sham revolutionary "leftist," collaborated with Chiang Kai-shek. They launched attacks against the Communist Party, resorted to white terror and cruelly massacred communists and patriotic progressives, thereby inflicting a tragic defeat to the great revolution when its victory was already in sight. Our party was under surprise attack and merciless suppression. The people's revolutionary movement under the leadership of our party had to go underground. There were objective reasons to this eventuality. Primarily, it was because our party was still young, inexperienced and not ideologically or organizationally prepared. What was more important, Chen Duxiu, the principal leader of the party Central Committee at that time, committed the right opportunist mistake. He kept yielding to the counterrevolutionary attacks so much that he became a capitulationist. Although the "7 August" meeting corrected this mistake and established the general line of land revolution and armed struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries, regretfully we did not sum up the experience and draw lessons. Later, we committed left mistakes. Not until Comrade Mao Zedong had written such articles as "Introducing 'The Communist'" and "The Question of Independence and Initiative Within the United Front" did we make a correct summary of such a question as how the proletariat should correctly handle the relations with the bourgeoisie during the democratic revolution. When the two parties, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, cooperated from the second time, we developed and expanded such armed forces as the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army and insisted on the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time, we correctly handled this question within the national united front against Japan, thereby winning the victory of the 8-year war of resistance against Japan.

What has been said so far deals only with how we experienced serious tests, overcame mistakes and sailed from failure to success, from the angle of the united front tactics. In the 60 years of our party's history, we made mistakes and suffered drawbacks more than once and all the serious left and right mistakes without exception originated from the party Central Committee. However, all those mistakes were corrected by the correct and healthy force within the party Central Committee. This is a characteristic that a communist party should have and that markedly distinguishes the communist party from other parties. Such a party has indomitable vitality. Having experienced successes and failures, summed up both positive and negative experiences and been repeatedly tempered, our party has become a mature Marxist party. Lenin said: "An important and reliable criterion to judge whether a party is a serious party and whether it really fulfills its obligations to its own class and the working people is the party's attitude toward its own mistakes. Openly admitting mistakes, disclosing the reasons for mistakes, analyzing the circumstances leading to mistakes and carefully studying the methods to correct mistakes, these are the hallmarks of a serious party and they show how a party is fulfilling its own duty and educating and training its class and the people in general." Our party did exactly so during the period of democratic revolution and as a result we won great victory in leading the new democratic revolution. During the period of socialism, the present party Central Committee is leading us in correcting left mistakes and taking the road of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. If only we unswervingly uphold the four basic principles and follow the principles and policies formulated after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party will doubtlessly lead the people of all nationalities in gradually building China into a powerful socialist country which is materially modernized, politically democratic to a high degree and spiritually civilized.

II

The rectification movement begun in 1942 chiefly to combat subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped party writing was in effect a continuation of the Zunyi meeting ideologically. The Zunyi meeting corrected Wang Ming's left mistakes in military affairs and established Comrade Mao Zedong's leading position in the Red Army and the party Central Committee. As we were on the Long March at that time, it was impossible to thoroughly investigate Wang Ming's mistakes. The Yanan rectification thoroughly investigated and denounced the left mistakes of which Wang Ming was the representative. This rectification had tremendous historical significance and far-reaching influence in our party's ideological and organizational building, in the war of resistance against Japan and in the entire democratic revolution. In Yanan, the various bases of the war against Japan or the areas under the Kuomintang domination, this rectification was an education for our cadres and party members in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It greatly improved our theoretical level and our methods of leadership and work. An unprecedentedly deepgoing educational movement after the founding of our party, it enabled our party's senior cadres and many party members to clearly distinguish, when summing up our party's historical experience, between what conformed to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and what were dogmatic and sectarian mistakes as well as stereotyped party writing.

At that time, the delegations from various bases and from areas under the rule of the Kuomintang who were attending the party's Seventh National Congress in Yanan and some senior cadres in Yanan or in areas of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region respectively attended the Central Party School's first, second and third branches to study and participate in the rectification movement. I had the opportunity to study at the Central Party School's first branch. The method was primarily self-study supplemented by discussion sessions to sum up experiences and lessons and conduct criticism and self-criticism. During the period of schooling, all participants systematically read the party's historical documents, assigned papers on the rectification movement and Marxist-Leninist theoretical works, combining practice with what they were studying and distinguishing right from wrong. The entire course was a self-education for ideological transformation in a gentle and mild way. This was the first opportunity for me to study in the 18 years since I joined the party. I was extremely excited and elated. But I was greatly shocked at the results of comparing myself with the documents telling us of the party's positive and negative experiences. Only then did I come to know that although a party member for 18 years, I still was subjective in thought and my world outlook was primarily nonproletarian. I had devoted myself to revolutionary tasks for a long time, strictly observed party discipline and been able to accomplish a number of missions. I indulged myself in complacency because of my achievements. In depth of mind, I was, however, still arrogant, lacking a clear understanding of the role of the individual. My impurities in party spirit and my subjective ideas toward work made the revolution and our tasks suffer. When all this came across my mind, I felt ashamed and thought that I had not yet joined the party as far as my ideology was concerned. My self-reproach and uneasiness strengthened my resolve to reform myself and to more diligently study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. I was determined to raise my theoretical level, to strictly demand a unifying of work motives and results and to make fewer or no mistakes due to subjective wishes. I truly made good progress through the rectification movement and the study course. To study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and reform one's ideology is a Communist Party member's lifetime task, however. The event mentioned above took place nearly 40 years ago, but my present self-examination has told me that I am still not qualified to be a graduate possessing a diploma. The transformation of one's world outlook takes a long time and goes through a painful process. It requires us to proceed from reality at all times and in all acts, to seek truth from facts, to work conscientiously and to earnestly use dialectical materialist and historical materialist methods to study and analyze concrete conditions and problems. This is my understanding achieved through the rectification movement. But, it does not mean that I have acted strictly according to this understanding, still less to say that I acted well. So, after studying at the party school, I carried out directives from and worked under erroneous leaderships and committed some mistakes in the course of the Chinese revolutionary struggle. For these, I shall have qualms of conscience just as we are celebrating the 60th founding anniversary of our party. We are now in a historical new period. Given this new condition, we need to unfold a study campaign more deepgoing and widespread than the Yanan rectification movement so that we can better shoulder the historical tasks for the new period. This is my message to our comrades throughout the party: Let us study hard, put strict demands on ourselves in ideology, politics and in work and constantly remold ourselves. Let us refrain from doing anything that might tarnish the prestige of our party or harm the party's discipline and work style. Let us be Communist Party members worthy of the name and give play to our exemplary role. This is the best way to commemorate and celebrate our party's 60th founding anniversary.

III

The CCP's Seventh National Congress was the best of its kind in the party's history for giving full play to democracy. At that congress, Comrade Mao Zedong was the unanimously acknowledged leader of the whole party, Mao Zedong Thought was affirmed as the guiding thinking directing the whole party's work and the whole party raised the level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Criticism and self-criticism correctly conducted at the congress further united our party ideologically and further strengthened it organizationally. It was a congress of unity, democracy and victory. Since the conclusion of that congress, the whole party rallied closely round the party Central Committee, valiantly pressed forward in a concerted pace, promptly won victories in the war of resistance against Japan and won final victory in the war for nationwide liberation in less than 4 years. The experience of success by that congress and the important documents adopted at its sessions are still assisting us and are worth our efforts at study. Reviewing the past helps one understand the present. In this sense, let me inform the public of the following events which have not been published in documents and which I consider worth mentioning.

1. Inner-party democracy was given full play in the election of the 7th party Central Committee in accordance with the conditions that existed at that time. The namelist of candidates was drawn up on the basis of extensive democracy. The names were put together by a centralized leadership and then discussed by the delegates to the congress. The candidates for the Central Committee were not nominated by a superior leadership but by the various delegations. The names of the candidates nominated by the delegates were put together by the presidium of the congress without determining beforehand the quotas for full and alternate

members to be elected. The number of full and alternate members of the Central Committee was decided by a preliminary election. Those who won more than 50 percent of the votes cast at the preliminary election were nominated candidates for full membership of the Central Committee while those who won less than 50 percent of the votes cast were nominated as candidates for alternate membership, thus accounting for the namelists of candidates for full and alternate members of the party's Central Committee. The formal elections then followed. Those who failed in the first election of full members of Central Committee were added to the namelist of candidates for alternate membership in a second voting. Those who won more than 50 percent of the votes cast in the second voting were elected alternate members of the party's Central Committee while those who won less than 50 percent of the votes case were disqualified. The namelists and quotas were not predetermined but decided by the results of the votings. This election method fully reflected the delegates' aspirations, ensuring full democracy and highly centralized leadership, it embodied the mass line, "from the masses, to the masses." Thus the election of the party's Central Committee was a concentration of the opinions of the delegates. The members of the 7th party Central Committee were therefore highly qualified and competent persons of great prestige who played important roles.

2. After the congress announced the namelists of the full and alternate members elected to the Central Committee, Chairman Mao took the floor and issued his important appeal to those elected. Speaking in a highly pitched voice, he said that those elected to the Central Committee must not look at themselves as officials elected to public office and that their election placed on them a heavier responsibility in serving the people. This teaching of Chairman Mao is still very dear to me. It reminds me at all times that I should always think of the masses, serve them heart and soul and work conscientiously and earnestly with full responsibility to the people.

Chairman Mao delivered the concluding speech, "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," at the seventh party national congress. Guided by his appeal, the whole party united closely, pressed forward valiantly, and finally removed the three big mountains that had lain like a dead weight on the Chinese people for a long time, giving birth to a new China, the PRC. In the past 32 years the PRC has stood erect in the east and has not been in the least shaken by any perilous storm. Under the party leadership, the people throughout the country are now working hard to accomplish their socialist modernization program. The Chinese people are playing an increasingly important role in maintaining world peace and pursuing human progress. I am convinced that no difficulties, no obstacles and no insidious sabotage schemes can hinder our pace of advance. The Chinese people, led by the CCP and armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, will defeat all domestic and foreign forces hostile to them. Our party has been repeatedly tested in struggles, revolutionary wars and socialist construction in the past 60 years and is more mature and stronger than ever before. By summing up the historical experience it has accumulated, our party has found the correct road to achieve socialist modernization, a road suited to the conditions in China. We will certainly be victorious and invincible so long as we persist in the four basic principles and advance along the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The entire history of its past 60 years tells us that the CCP is indeed a great, glorious and correct party.

Let us celebrate the 60th founding anniversary of our dear party, the CCP. At the same time, let us cherish the precious memory of Comrade Mao Zedong and pay boundless tribute to him. Let us shout: A long, long life to the CCP!

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INTEGRATION AND UNITY OF THE UNIVERSAL TRUTH OF MARXISM-LENINISM WITH CHINA'S CONCRETE PRACTICE SHOULD BE UPHELD--COMMEMORATING THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CCP

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 81 pp 47-54

[Article by Li Weihan]

[Text] Sixty years have elapsed since the founding of the CCP. In the long river of the history of mankind 60 years are but a brief moment, a twinkling of an eye. But, a great leap forward had taken place in the history of our country in these 60 years! Over the past 60 years, under the leadership of the CCP, the Chinese people carried out a magnificent and immensely arduous struggle and won great victories in the new democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and socialist construction. China has changed from a semicolonial and semifeudal country into a great socialist one by internally eliminating the system of man exploiting and enslaving man and externally altering its role as the aggressed and humiliated to one that stands up prodigiously among the nations in the world. Such an earth-shaking change in China, a country that accounts for one-fourth of the world's population, is bound to have a great historical significance in the world.

The 60-year history of the party, as we review it comprehensively, is a history of the successful integration and unity of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice after experiencing difficulties and setbacks. This is a pillar of development of the history of our party and of modern China. The success and failure, advance and retreat, development and stagnation of the Chinese revolution and construction in the past 60 years all revolved around this pillar. There were only three key historical changes in this process: namely, 1) from the "May 4th" movement to the founding of the party; 2) the Zunyi meeting in 1935 and the Yanan period; and 3) the period since the 3d Plenary Session in 1978.

I. The Chinese Revolution Takes on a New Appearance Following the Discovery of Marxism-Leninism

The CCP was a product of Marxism-Leninism combining with the Chinese workers' movement and was born with the help of the Communist International led by Lenin. The "May 4th" movement laid the groundwork for the founding of the CCP ideologically and provided the cadres, but the important thing was that Marxism-Leninism, the universally applicable truth, had been discovered. Some of the young comrades today fail to grasp well the significance of this event and look upon it as something very common. It was in fact an unprecedented major event in China and a big turning point in Chinese history. Looking at modern history we can see that since the Opium War, wave upon wave of progressive personalities in the disaster-ridden Chinese nation shed blood and made sacrifices in search of the truth to save the country and the people, with countless people losing their lives. Hong Xiuquan, Yan Fu, Kang Youwei and Sun Yat-sen were representative of those personages, born before the birth of the CCP, who looked to the West. But, even the great revolutionary forerunner Mr Sun Yat-sen failed to find a genuine way out for the country and the nation. Although the 1911 revolution he led brought an end to the feudal imperial system that had lasted over 2,000 years, it failed to free the Chinese people from tragic misery. It was only during the period of the "May 4th" movement, brought about by the salvos of the October Revolution in Russia, that the Chinese people discovered Marxism-Leninism, the only weapon that could save China. This was true as far as I myself was concerned. Having been raised in a poor family, I was in my youth filled with an intense patriotic passion in my search for a way to save the country and the people. However, it was only after the "May 4th" movement and after joining a work-study program in France that I moved from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism.

China took on a new appearance with the coming into being of a Marxist-Leninist political party, the CCP. A tremendous change took place among the Chinese people ideologically and as far as livelihood was concerned. After its founding, the party immediately led the working class and the masses in an anti-imperialist and antifeudalist struggle, developing very rapidly into a nucleus force unknown to the Chinese people before. After encountering repeated defeats and failing to find a way out, Mr Sun Yat-sen came across the October Revolution in Russia and the CCP. He then turned to advocating "looking upon Russia as a teacher," "alliance with Soviet Russia, alliance with the CCP and assistance to peasants and workers," and with the help of the Soviet representatives and our party, he gave a new interpretation to the three principles of the people, reorganized the Kuomintang and founded the Whampoa Military Academy. The first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CCP took place, thus launching the great revolution of 1924-1927. The working class entered the political arena as a leading force. The peasant movement, which had spread like a violent storm, formed a solid foundation for the national revolution. The victorious northern expedition overthrew a number of northern warlords. China's appearance underwent tremendous changes in a few short years! However, on "12 April" 1927, the KMT reactionaries, Chiang Kai-shek and others who represented the big landlords and big bourgeoisie openly betrayed the revolution. Many people of the national bourgeoisie chimed in with the Chiang Kai-shek camp of reaction and large numbers of Communist Party members and revolutionary people were massacred. Our party was subdued in a pool of blood. At this crucial moment it reshuffled the central leadership and established a five-member Standing Committee of the Political Bureau under the Central Committee, empowering it to act on behalf of the Political Bureau. It convened the famous "7 August" conference in which capitulationism represented by Chen Duxiu was defeated and the general principle of carrying out the agrarian revolution and stepping up armed resistance against the Kuomintang reactionaries was adopted. It launched the Nanchang Uprising and the Autumn Harvest Uprising and started the 10-year "agrarian revolutionary war" [1927-1937]. Especially noteworthy is the fact that after leading the Autumn Harvest Uprising, Comrade Mao Zedong went to the Jinggang Mountains where he established the first rural revolutionary base--the hope of the Chinese revolution. In the course of subsequent practice Comrade Mao Zedong formulated, step by step, a series of policies on party building, army building, government establishments and land reform as well as policies on running the country and giving the people peace and security. He also developed the strategy and tactics for the peasant revolutionary war. With these policies and experiences which gradually spread to other revolutionary bases, our party with Comrade Mao Zedong as its representative successfully opened up the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally seize the political power of the country. During the 10-year agrarian revolutionary war the CCP established more than 10 Red revolutionary bases from northern Shaanxi to Hainan Island and the Red Army grew to a force numbering 300,000 men. All this shows that Marxism-Leninism, once grasped by the Chinese people and the revolutionary party representing them, can demonstrate its unparalleled power.

Nevertheless, prior to the Zunyi conference in 1935 our party was still in its infancy and, immature as it was, still did not quite understand how to integrate Marxism-Leninism with practice in the Chinese revolution. Thus, in the later years of the 1924-1927 great revolution, it committed mistakes of capitulationism represented by Chen Duxiu, by handing the leadership of the revolution back to the bourgeoisie and willingly serving the bourgeoisie as their errand boy. It especially failed to understand the need to seize army leadership, did not dare to lead the peasants in carrying out the agrarian revolution and did not understand the need and was not ready to wage armed struggle when it was forced by the bourgeoisie to split from them. Therefore we were caught unprepared by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei and were so weak and incompetent that the two pointed their butcher's knives at us as they betrayed the revolution one after another and effected the "Nanjing-Hankou coalition." The once dynamic great revolution thus promptly ended in failure. At this crucial moment the "7 August" 1927 conference defeated the capitulationism represented by Chen Duxiu and saved our party, but it also left the door wide open for left mistakes. After this, our party was jolted by left-deviationist mistakes three times, especially by extremely serious ones committed by the left line represented by Wang Ming--a line which dominated the party for 4 years and did most serious damage to it. Proclaiming themselves "genuine Bolsheviks," Wang Ming and his followers donned a Marxist-Leninist cloak, took on for themselves the authority of the Communist International, and made use of the weakness of the empiricists in the party to oppose the correct principles represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, which stood for integration of Marxism-Leninism with practice in the Chinese revolution, and to oppose the correct line, principles and policies on taking the path of using the countryside to encircle the cities in the Chinese revolution. They driveled that "Marxism does not come from the gullies" and smeared Comrade Mao Zedong as having "peasant ideas," pursuing "parochial empiricism" and following the "peasant line." They expelled Comrade Mao Zedong from the party and army leadership in the central soviet district, leaving him only the post of soviet chairman which was later made a figurehead post. As a result of Wang Ming's leftist adventurism, this led to the ruin of the excellent revolutionary situation which was then developing with marked success. Consequently our party organizations in the white areas were almost totally wiped out and 90 percent of the Red Army's strength was lost. During the

Long March, Wang Ming and his followers practiced flightism [the advocacy of running away from the battlefield or from difficulties in revolutionary struggle]. This exposed the party and the Red Army to the danger of extinction. All this proves that without integrating Marxism-Leninism with practice of the Chinese revolution and without Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese revolution cannot be victorious and will ultimately meet defeat even if victories are won.

II. With Firm Strides We Are Crossing the Summit

The Zunyi meeting held in 1935 settled accounts with Wang Ming's left-deviationist adventurist mistakes in military affairs, reorganized the party's leadership and reaffirmed Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership of the whole party. At the life-and-death crucial moment, it saved the party, the Red Army and the revolution. This was also the first meeting of our party to solve major problems in the Chinese revolution by maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands. Only after the Zunyi meeting did our party, under the leadership of the party Central Committee with Mao Zedong as its head, fully achieve a complete unity of understanding about integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, lead the Chinese revolution toward victory step by step, and at the same time, enrich the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism with original contributions. This was the most important turning point in the history of our party. It signified that our party has passed the stage of infancy and entered the stage of maturity. The poem "Loushan Pass" written by Comrade Mao Zedong in February of 1935 reads: "Idle boast the strong pass is a wall of iron, With firm strides we are crossing its summit." This is the best description for this historical turning point. When we read this poem, in close connection with our party history, we fully realize that these three words "crossing its summit" are as heavy as a ton.

Why do we say that it was only from the time of the Zunyi meeting to the Yanan period that our party achieved a complete unity of understanding about integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution?

First of all, it is because "our understanding of the objective world involves a process. In the beginning we lack an understanding of the objective world, we do not completely understand it, and it is only repeated practice that leads to achievements and victories, tumbles and setbacks, and it is only through the comparison of successes and failures that it is possible to gradually develop complete or relatively complete understanding." (Mao Zedong: "Speech at the Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the CCP Central Committee") Around the time of the Zunyi meeting, our party had already accumulated rich experience and learned lessons from its successes and failures in the first and second revolutionary civil wars. From practice, many cadres had, step by step, seen through the erroneous leadership exercised by Wang Ming and his ilk and realized Comrade Mao Zedong's correctness. Only then was it possible to bring about this great historical turn at the Zunyi meeting. I personally did not attend the Zunyi meeting. However, I expressed by determination to support the meeting, as soon as I heard a report on it. This was because practice had educated me. Even after the 3d Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee had already brought an end for Li Lisan's adventurism, Wang Ming and others insisted on convening an emergency meeting of the Central Committee and refused to accept the work assignments given them by the central authorities. I disagreed with them and therefore favored action to struggle against them. Later, Mif, deputy director of the Eastern Department of the Communist International, came to China. He said that Wang Ming and others were correct and issued an instruction to convene the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee. Because of my confidence in the Communist International, I then turned around to support them. During the fifth campaign against "encirclement and annihilation" in 1933, the CCP Central Bureau decided to expand the Red Army by 30,000 people during Red May. I was assigned to shoulder the responsibility. They said that only by expanding the army by 30,000 people would it be possible to smash the "encirclement and annihilation." In this regard, it issued a military order. Due to the efforts of the party organizations in various fields and localities and the enthusiasm of emancipated peasants to vie with each other in joining the army, the result was that the army was expanded by more than 50,000 people. However, not long after that the fifth campaign against "encirclement and annihilation" failed and I was instructed to go to Jiangxi and Guangdong to relay a plan on the Long March so that people there could make early preparations. Why was that necessary? Once, I overheard a conversation between two principal responsible comrades saying that "Shanghai is finished" (meaning that organizations in Shanghai were a total loss) The history of our work in Shanghai was fairly long and there was a fairly solid foundation for such work. Shanghai was not "finished" during the "12 April" incident. It was not "finished" under the influence of putschism. It was not "finished" under the influence of the Li Lisan line. Nevertheless, it was "finished" under the influence of the "international line." What is the reason for all this? I knew nothing about the situation on the frontline or the work in the White area. Therefore, I was surprised and shocked. Also, according to the plan on the Long March a base area was supposed to be set up in the Hongjiang area in western Hunan. But, after the Long March began, people only cared about running for their lives and were unable to hold their ground. The Long March was on the verge of a fiasco. What was the reason for all this? It was because of the education I received from these harsh facts that I completely supported the Zunyi meeting and Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership. At the same time, it was because of its experience and the lessons in successes and failures that our party was able to earnestly sum up such experience and lessons in the Yanan period. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "On the eve and in the course of the war of resistance against Japan, I wrote a number of essays such as 'Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War,' 'On Protracted War,' 'On New Democracy' and 'Introducing "The Communist,"' and I drafted a number of documents of policy and tactics for the Central Committee. All of them sum up revolutionary experience. These essays and documents could only be written at that time and not before because until then we had not been through storm and stress and we could not compare our two victories and two defeats, and therefore we were not adequately experienced and could not fully understand the laws governing the Chinese revolution." ("Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the CCP Central Committee") This entirely conformed with facts and reflected his dialectical-materialist attitude.

Next, it was because after the Zunyi meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong had written a large number of articles, mainly criticizing Wang Ming's left deviationist dogmatism and at the same time also criticizing empiricism. In Yanan, he also correctly led the study on the rectification campaign from 1942 to 1945 and educated the cadres in the party to achieve a complete unity of understanding about Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution. During the rectification campaign, he led cadres, particularly the high-ranking cadres, to study Marxist-Leninist theories as well as the historical documents of the party such as "Before the Sixth National CCP Congress" and "Since the Sixth National CCP Congress"; to sum up experience and lessons; to carry out discussions among themselves; to conduct self-criticism, and to engage in investigations and study. When the rectification campaign began in Yanan, things such as the big-character posters appeared in individual schools. However, Comrade Mao Zedong did not adopt such methods at that time. He adopted democratic methods like a gentle breeze and a milk rain, the method of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and the method adhering to the formula "unity-criticism-unity." (Kang Sheng's trial of cadres by extorting confessions and believing such confessions and his "rescue movement" were something else. They are not included in the rectification campaign.) The Yanan rectification campaign initiated and led by the party Central Committee with Comrade Mao Zedong as its head was a general education movement on Marxism-Leninism. That was a movement of self-education among Communist Party members. Such a movement was also being popularized in base areas behind the enemy line. Through the study of Marxism-Leninism, the discussion of the party history in a serious and realistic manner, and the profound summation of one's experience and lessons, this movement helped the broad masses of party members to emancipate themselves from the ideological yoke of subjectivism and dogmatism, further grasp the orientation in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and bring about new unity in the whole party on a new foundation. At that time, it educated not only the middle-aged generation (the older generation today) but also the younger generation (the middle-aged generation today). After the study on the rectification campaign, the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee was held on the eve of the Seventh National CCP Congress, meritorious service laid a solid ideological and political foundation for turning the Seventh National CCP Congress into a united and victorious congress. After that, a victory was won in the war of resistance against Japan and within a short period of over 3 years a victory was won in the war of liberation. The great People's Republic of China was finally founded.

The Yanan period is a period for the maturation and development of Mao Zedong Thought. The party constitution unanimously adopted by the Seventh National CCP Congress stipulated: "The CCP takes Mao Zedong Thought--a thought that integrates Marxist-Leninist theories with the practice of the Chinese revolution--as its guide to action in all its work; and combats all doctrinaire or empiricist deviations."

As far as I myself am concerned, the Yanan period, including the period of the Yanan rectification campaign, was one in which I made a fundamental change in my world outlook under the teaching of Mao Zedong Thought. In the past, I was fettered by empiricism ideologically over a protracted period. After I had participated in the revolution, I had always worked enthusiastically, followed the leadership, observed discipline and refused to assert my independence. I also had some arguments of a principled nature with Chen Duxiu and Li Lisan, but in the end, I still obeyed them organiationally. Organizationally, this showed my merit, however, ideologically, I failed to play a conscious dynamic role and lacked the ability to ponder and solve problems independently. Therefore, when the leadership of the party Central Committee was correct, I made fairly remarkable achievements in my work; when the leadership of the party Central Committee was erroneous, my mistakes were also quite conspicuous. After Wang Ming and the others came to power during the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee in 1931, I and a number of other comrades were dismissed from our positions. I thought to myself: Why did we commit mistakes despite our long years of work experience and why were Wang Ming and the others regarded as correct despite the fact that they had no experience? I had only one answer for this: because they had a "theory." Therefore, I strongly requested to be sent to Moscow for study. After I arrived in Moscow, I requested to be admitted into a long-term class so I would be able to study more theory. In fact, I acquired little theoretical knowledge when I was in Moscow. Instead, I was influenced by dogmatism. I was ordered to return to China in 1932. I arrived in Ruijin in April 1933, just in time for the so-called struggle against the Luo Ming line. I was ordered to take part in the so-called struggle against "Luo Ming's line in Jiangxi." The Luo Ming line was headed by Deng (Xiaoping), Mao (Zetan) and Xie (Weijun), and the struggle against it was launched by the Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee. I exerted myself in this struggle and committed a serious mistake. After the Zunyi meeting, I was able to gradually realize that the struggle was actually aimed at hurting Comrade Mao Zedong's prestige among the masses and local organizations. When Dimitrov lectured on the cadre question at the seventh congress of the Comintern in 1935, he advocated independent thinking and responsibility. He said: "Those who cannot express their creativity and say 'I will do what you tell me to do' are not Bolsheviks." (Selected Works of Dimitrov," p 165) This was a great enlightenment to me. Nevertheless, I was still unable to understand what was meant by independent thinking and creativity. Not until the period of the Yanan rectification led by Comrade Mao Zedong did I understand that it meant mastering the principle of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and using this principle to reanalyze oneself, put strict demands on oneself, transform our study and work attitudes characterized by the separation of theory from practice and form a study and work attitude of seeking truth from facts. This marked a forward leap in my ideology and a change in my world outlook. Thereafer, while I paid attention to studying theory, especially philosophy, in doing my work I also paid attention to studying the methods of study and investigation taught by Comrade Mao Zedong and to analyzing the contradictions in things and their trends of development. This benefitted me a great deal. I can never forget that the Yanan rectification played the role of a school in emancipating my mind and that Comrade Mao Zedong was the teacher who emancipated my mind.

During the Yanan period and particularly after the rectification and the great production movement, a series of fine revolutionary traditions and spirit was formed in our party. Take, for example, the spirit of integrating theory with practice and of seeking truth from facts; the spirit of forming close ties with the masses and of serving the people wholeheartedly; the spirit of practicing criticism and self-criticism, upholding truth and correcting mistakes; the spirit of arduous struggle and self-reliance; the spirit of not differentiating between what is low and what is noble in revolutionary work and of treating revolutionary comrades as equals and as close as hands and feet; the spirit of uniting and of consciously observing discipline; and so on. These manifestations of the Yanan spirit are our priceless heritage and beacons that shine forever. Under no circumstances must they be abandoned.

During the Yanan period, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, our party achieved the integration and unification of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. The primary achievement scored by the party was the solution of the questions of theory and policy for a new democracy. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "These questions--what should be done with the democratic revolution of that time and how should the party's general line and various specific policies be formulated--were completely solved during this period, particularly after the rectification. ("Speech at the Enlarged Central Working Conference") Prior to this, Chen Duxiu's fundamental belief during the first revolutionary civil war period was in an old democracy because he believed that the Chinese revolution was a bourgeois democratic revolution, that "under normal circumstances the victory of the national revolution is naturally the victory of the bourgeoisie," that the working class was "more childish" than the bourgeoisie, that "in the national revolution...the working class is not an independent revolutionary force," that the working class can only assist the party in power (See Chen Duxiu's "The Chinese National Revolution and the Various Social Classes") and that proletarian socialist revolution should be launched after capitalism had developed. Only after committing many left-deviationist mistakes did Chen Duxiu hurry to transcend the democratic revolution and blur the demarcation line between democratic revolution and socialist revolution. After applying Marxist-Leninist theory to proletarian leadership in democratic revolutions and after making a thorough analysis of Chinese society, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward a comprehensive theory and a set of correct principles and policies for the new democratic revolution, thus blazing a new trail for a Chinese-style democratic revolution.

The united front and armed struggle are two strategic questions in the new democratic theory and policy. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "1) The proletariat either establishes a revolutionary national united front with the bourgeoisie, or is forced to break it up; and 2) armed struggle is the principal form of the struggle--these are the two basic features in a Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2 pp 557-568) The armed struggle he mentioned here was in essence the peasants' civil war period. The objective cause for the failure of the revolution of 1927 was the abnormal strength of the counterrevolutionary forces and the subjective cause for its failure was that our party was still not good at handling these two big questions. The party's sixth congress held in 1928 affirmed that the task for China's democratic revolution had not been completed yet. It put forward the 10 great programs for the democratic revolution and correctly solved a series of important questions for the Chinese revolution. The party's sixth congress made important contributions in the history of the party, but it not only failed to correct the two principal mistakes that began after the "7 August" meeting but continued to implement them. The two mistakes were: 1) We failed to distinguish between the national bourgeoisie and the big comprador bourgeoisie and believed that in China's bourgeois-democratic revolution, only by opposing China's national bourgeoisie could this revolution be carried out to the end, because the national bourgeoisie was one of the most dangerous enemies obstructing the victory for the revolution; 2) We upheld the theory of making urban areas the center and believed that the party's task was "to win over the masses and prepare to launch an armed uprising." (See "Resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China") All our left-deviationist mistakes thereafter also repeated these two strategic principal mistakes. In particular, the third left-deviationist mistake represented by Wang Ming developed to the extreme. Wang and the others regarded the third force, who resented the rule of

Chiang Kai-shek and demanded resistance to Japan for national salvation following the "September 18th incident," as the "most dangerous enemy"; regarded the Fujian People's Government, which was established by our 19th Route Army, as the "center where the reformist counterrevolutionaries of all those in power was assembled"; (Bo Gu's "What Has the CCP Done and What Will It Do To Realize the National Revolutionary War of Arming the Masses?") not only gave no aid to the Fujian People's Government but transferred to the west the main force of the Red Army which was active on the eastern front and was actually playing a role of assisting the 19th Route Army. Moreover, they called on the peasants and workers and the troops in Fujian to oppose the Fujian People's Government in order to "hasten its bankruptcy." This was one of the important reasons for the failure of the fifth antiencirclement and suppression campaign.

Working in the White areas, "in particular White areas" in the cities, Comrade Liu Shaoqi developed a set of very good strategies and tactics such as correctly handling relations between overt and covert activities and between legal and illegal activities, the mass struggle strategy and agitation and propaganda work. However, as the aforementioned two errors of strategic nature were not avoided, our work in the "White areas" underwent no fundamental change throughout the second revolutionary war period ending in December 1935 when the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held at Wayaobao decided to establish the national united front for the war of resistance against Japan.

After the Wayaobao meeting, the Xian incident was resolved in a peaceful way, the cooperation between Kuomintang and the Communist Party for the second time was realized and the war of resistance against Japan started. It was during the Yanan period that our party correctly solved these two vital problems in a comprehensive way under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: In a country like China under imperialism's political oppression, there are two categories of bourgeoisie, i.e., the national bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie with the latter being the target of the revolution. The national bourgeoisie is a class with a dual character. Throughout the historical anti-imperialist and antifeudal period, we had to win over and unite with the national bourgeoisie, following a policy of both struggle and unity toward it. After accomplishing the anti-imperialism and antifeudalism task, we had to also do our best to maintain our alliance with it. Later, Comrade Mao Zedong also said: Although some elements of the national bourgeoisie went along with the counterrevolution during the period from 1927 to 1931, we must not believe that because of this we should not have tried to politically win it over and economically protect it during that period and that our excessively leftist policy toward the national bourgeoisie during that period had not been an adventurist policy. On the contrary, our policy during that period should have been protecting it and winning it over so that we could have concentrated our strength to oppose the principal enemy. ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong,"Vol 4 p 1232)

During the agrarian revolutionary war Comrade Mao Zedong paved the way to the Jinggang Mountains. After arriving in Yanan, by integrating theory with practice he thoroughly solved the questions of armed struggle and of encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing the cities. He pointed out: "In China war is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organization." "Basically, the task of the Communist Party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggle before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2 pp 507-508) [page numbers as received] "Without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph." (Ibid, p 573) "The Communist Party must not be impetuous and adventurist in its propaganda and organizational work in the urban and rural areas which have been occupied by the enemy and dominated by the forces of reaction and darkness for a long time, but it must have well-selected cadres working underground and must accumulate strength and bide its time there." (Ibid, p 599)

During the war of liberation our party further improved its various new democratic policies. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "All comrades in the party should understand that the enemy is now completely isolated. But his isolation is not tantamount to our victory. If we make mistakes in policy, we shall still be unable to win victory." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1229) "Only when all the policies and tactics of the party are on the correct path will it be possible for the Chinese revolution to win victory." (Ibid, p 1241) When we read Volume 4 of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," we can see how the party Central Committee led by Comrade Mao Zedong kept the various policies for the new democratic revolution on the correct path, thus ensuring the victory of the revolution.

III. Carry Forward the Yanan Spirit and Take China's Own Road in Building Socialism

The integration and unity of Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice cannot be achieved at one stroke, nor can it be accomplished once and for all. As we integrated or united Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, won the victory of the democratic revolution by blazing our own path for the democratic revolution and our own path for the socialist revolution and completed the shift from new democracy to socialism, a new great task appeared before the party and the people--that is, how to integrate and unite Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice in building socialism in order to blaze China's own path in building socialism. Comrade Mao Zedong raised this question in 1957. He said: "With barely 7 years of economic construction behind us, we still lack experience and need to accumulate it. Nor did we have any experience in revolution when we first started and it was only after we had taken a number of tumbles and acquired experience that we won a nationwide victory. What we must now demand of ourselves is to gain experience in economic construction in a shorter period of time than it took us to gain experience in revolution and not to pay as high a price for it. We will have to pay a price but we hope it will not be as high as that paid during the period of revolution." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 401) At the enlarged work conference of the party Central Committee in January 1962 he once again raised this question before the whole party.

It should be pointed out that it is even greater and more arduous to integrate and unite Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice and to blaze China's own path in building socialism than in making revolution. This is not only because China is a big country in the East with a large population, 80 percent of which are peasants, which is backward economically and culturally and which has its own characteristics and difficulties in building socialism, but it is also because the history of building socialism in the world is still short and there still is a lack of ripe experience in this regard. In this respect, it is therefore all the more necessary for us to draw on the experiences and lessons we acquired, in terms of successes and failures in the course of revolution; to be cautious and conscientious, to guard against arrogance and rashness and to persistently strive to better integrate and unite Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice. It was at this time after making one tremendous achievement after another in the new democratic and socialist revolution, that our party became arrogant. With the prestige of the party leader reaching a peak, a personality cult and personal arbitrary decisions markedly developed. Thus we gradually deviated from the basic principle of integrating and uniting Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice which our party had established after overcoming innumerable hardships and paying a price in blood, and we even ran counter to the principle. Moreover, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques took advantage of the situation to carry out sabotage activities. As a result, we not only were unable to shorten the period of time and reduce the price we had to pay as Comrade Mao Zedong had hoped, but on the contrary, we paid a higher price.

After smashing the "gang of four" and especially as a result of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party resolutely corrected the erroneous "two whatever's" policy, highly appraised the discussions on the question of the criterion for truth, fully affirmed the necessity to grasp comprehensively and accurately the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought and restored the principle of integrating and uniting Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice--a fundamental principle of Mao Zedong Thought. This marked another great juncture in the history of our party. Guided by the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session and under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, the whole party, after summing up experience, embarked on an all-round and systematic effort to set to right things which had been thrown into disorder and step by step carried out readjustment and restructuring in the political, economic and cultural fields in order to find a way for socialist modernization suited to our country's conditions. The ideological, political and organizational lines formulated by the party Central Committee since the 3d plenum are all correct. Comrades in the party and people of all nationalities in the country have gradually extricated themselves from the mental fetters of the personality cult and from the ossified ideology and have raised their political awareness to a considerable extent. Our party's political maturity, its understanding of scientific socialism and its ideological emancipation, vigor and vitality all have surpassed those in any period since the founding of the People's Republic. It may be said without exaggeration that this is another major ideological emancipation for our party and our people since the "May 4th" movement and the Yanan rectification movement. It has also been a major ideological emancipation for myself.

Of course, this does not mean that there are no more difficulties ahead of us and that we have an adequate understanding of socialist modernization. This is certainly not so. In fact, we are facing numerous difficulties and our understanding is far from being adequate. Social practice is developing ceaselessly and accordingly our understanding should be developed and deepened continuously. To find out and sum up the objective law of China's socialist modernization, we have to make still greater and harder efforts. This requires us to continue to persist in integrating and uniting Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice, to uphold the four basic principles, to emancipate our minds and to make conscientious and painstaking efforts to sum up experience. Ours is a great civilized country with a long history and the abundance of positive and negative experience which our party gained during the past 60 years is rare in the world. As long as we carry forward the spirit of the Yanan rectification movement and make continued efforts to sum up experience and draw lessons conscientiously, profoundly and in an all-round way, all positive experience and negative lessons are bound to become our treasured assets and a reliable guarantee for smooth progress in our socialist modernization.

To continue to carry forward the Yanan revolutionary traditions and the spirit of the Yanan rectification movement, we should in all seriousness carry out correct and not distorted criticism and self-criticism and always remain modest and prudent. Comrade Mao Zedong taught us that criticism and self-criticism are one of our party's three major styles of work and a fundamental method for self-education among the people. Moreover, Comrade Mao Zedong, penetratingly summing up historical experience, pointed out: "There have been several occasions in the history of our party when great conceit manifested itself and we suffered in consequence." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 901) This also applies to the situation in Comrade Mao Zedong's later years. We are very glad that now the new party Central Committee has not only put into practice the correct line, principles and policies, but has also revived the style of criticism and self-criticism destroyed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during Comrade Mao Zedong's later years. It has thus set a good example for us. We should take the party Central Committee as our example, popularize and carry out correct criticism and self-criticism throughout the party, especially in the party leading organs at various levels, and continue to eradicate the protracted influence of left deviationist ideas as well as the influence of bourgeois ideas, feudalist ideas and small-production practices. We should also resist the corrosion by reactionary and decadent ideas of one kind or another that are found in society. This is a guarantee for the true implementation of the various principles and policies of our party, the continuation and development of its correct theory and line and the maintenance of our veteran comrades' integrity at their advanced age.

To accomplish the great yet arduous cause of socialist modernization, it is necessary to consolidate and strengthen the socialist alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals throughout the country and to develop and strengthen the united front of all socialist workers and patriots. Although our party has 39 million members, they are still a minority in the country's population. Thus we must rely on the broad masses of nonparty personnel to do a lot of work in the country's various undertakings. As early as 40 years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Affairs of state are the public affairs of the whole nation and not the private affairs of a single party or group. Hence communists have the duty to cooperate democratically with nonparty people and have no right to exclude them and to monopolize everything. The Communist Party is a political party which works in the interest of the nation and the people and which has absolutely no private ends to pursue. It should be supervised by the people and must never go against their will. Its members should be among the people and with them and must not set themselves above them." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 767) Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out: "The Communist Party sincerely and honestly wishes to set the affairs of state to right. But we still have many failings...We shall get rid of such failings by strengthening education within the party and by cooperating democratically with nonparty people. It is only by subjecting our failings to such a crossfire, both from within and from without, that we can remedy them and really set the affairs of state to right." (Ibid, p 769) We communists, old, middle-aged and young, should act seriously according to these teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong.

Engels put it well: "It is quicker for a great class, like a great nation, to learn from the consequences of its own mistakes than from anything else." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 325) We still have much exploring, and experimenting and hard work to do for a long time to come in order to find China's own way of socialist modernization suited to its conditions and to build our country into a powerful socialist state with a modern economy and a high degree of democracy and civilization. However, as long as we uphold the principle of integrating and uniting Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice, are good at summing up experiences, study and solve problems, engage in criticism and self-criticism, remain modest and prudent and work with a will to make the country strong, our goal will unquestionably be attained and our party will certainly become greater and more glorious and correct. Then, undoubtedly, socialist China will become prosperous.

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ADVANCE FROM VICTORY TO VICTORY UNDER THE FIRM LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE--COMMEMORATING THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CCP

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 81 pp 55-59

[Article by Tan Zhenlin]

[Text] It is now 60 years since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party.

During these 60 years, we have achieved both thorough victory in the new democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and great victory in socialist revolution and socialist construction. Though on its path of advance our party has made some mistakes, undergone twists and turns and suffered heavy losses, these are secondary compared with our achievements, and more importantly, we have accumulated abundant experience. Recently the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," approved by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee has made a comprehensive assessment and a profound summing up of the great achievements and the experience and lessons in our 32 years of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The positive and negative experience in the past 60 years, especially in the 32 years since the founding of our country, tell us that to guide the cause of China's revolution and construction toward victory, there should first be a correct line and second a firm leading group to carry out that line. True, we cannot do without a correct line, but neither can we do without a firm leading group to carry out the line.

The leading core of our party Central Committee at present has been formed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. During the past 2 and more years, this leading core has been steadfastly carrying out the correct line and policies. As a result, profound changes have been brought about in the political, economic and cultural life of our country and marked successes have been achieved on various fronts. The facts have proved that this leading core is a strong and united leading group and that it is entirely capable of leading the whole party and the whole people to build socialist modernization smoothly.

Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Once the political line is determined, cadres become a decisive factor." The main criterion for the strength of a leading group is whether it can use the correct Marxist-Leninist line to solve the major problems it faces. Owing to the long-term interference by leftist ideology, and especially the serious mistakes of the 10 years of "Cultural Revolution," our country is facing mountains of difficulties and problems. Many grave problems have already been or are being solved by the leading group of the party's Central Committee in accordance with the correct line formulated by the 3d Plenary Session. Many "long-standing, big and difficult" problems are also being solved, or beginning to be solved, boldly and resolutely.

In his article, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "In socialist society the basic contradiction is still between the relations of production and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base." Revolution aims to liberate the productive forces. After the completion in the main of the socialist transformation, we must shift, without losing any time, the focus of our work to economic construction to develop the productive forces. At the first session of the eighth party congress in 1956, a call was formally raised for shifting the focus of our work to economic construction. As was said in the "Resolution on the Political Report of the Eighth National Party Congress" approved in that session, "Decisive victory has already been achieved in socialist transformation. This shows that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has already been basically solved, the thousands of years of history of the system of exploitation of men by men has already basically ended and the socialist social system has already been basically established." Out of such a correct estimate of the situation, the "resolution" further pointed out that "the principal contradiction at home has already become the contradiction between the people's demand for building an advanced industrialized country and the reality of the backward agricultural country, and the contradiction between the people's need for a rapid development of the economy and culture and the status quo in which the economy and culture cannot meet the demand of the people." The main task for the party and the people of our country is to concentrate our efforts on solving this contradiction and to change our country from a backward agricultural one into an advanced industrialized one. The line and policies formulated in the first session of the eighth party congress in line with this scientific analysis were also correct. During the 10 years following, we achieved great successes in all-round socialist construction; in particular, we accumulated rich experience in groping for a way to build socialism in line with the conditions in China. Had it not been for interference by leftist ideology, and had we resolutely and unswervingly carried out the correct line and policies of the eighth congress, we would have achieved far greater and far more magnificent successes in developing the productive forces.

To develop the productive forces, problems must be solved in two respects: 1) suit the relations of production to the nature of the productive forces; 2) to study the laws governing the development of the productive forces themselves. We have neglected the problems in both respects.

In 1956, we successfully and smoothly completed the socialist transformation in the ownership of the means of production without inflicting any destruction on the productive forces. On the contrary this opened up broad prospects for the development of the productive forces. This was really a great victory. But at this very juncture, we began to be proud and careless. Although in theory we admitted that the relations of production and the productive forces fitted each other while contradictory to each other and brought up the task of "protecting and developing the productive forces under the new relations of production," in practice we failed to solve this problem. Owing to our continuous persistence in upholding the viewpoint or taking the class struggle as the principal contradiction and our constant engagement in endless political movements, which resulted in the undue broadening of the scope of the class struggle, we failed to pay attention to the state and nature of the development of the productive forces. On the one hand, we blindly made endless fuss about the "transformation" of the relations of production in an attempt to make a breakthrough. For example, in the whole framework of society we had no regard for the multitiered status of the productive forces but busied ourselves in establishing the so-called predominance of the socialist economy in an infatuated way, regarding all urban and rural individual economy conducive to the national economy and the people's livelihood as a spontaneous capitalist force that "undermines the foundation of socialism" restricting it in every way and even banning it. As to the socialist state-owned and collective economy, we failed to make a conscientious analysis of the differences between the various departments and enterprises in technical equipment, organization and management and in the degree of socialization of their production, while one-sidedly pursuing so-called scale of public ownership and continually "escalating" and "making transition." These practices made the relations of production exceed the level of the development of the productive forces. On the other hand, our understanding of the relations of production was often too narrow and limited only to ownership, so that we often neglected or even gave up profound study into a series of major problems such as the reform of the system of economic management and the perfection of the policy of distribution according to work, and we even regarded distribution according to labor and the production responsibility system under socialist ownership as "capitalism" and criticized them accordingly. These leftist measures deflated the initiative of the laborers, obstructed the development of the production forces and hindered the improvement of people's livelihood. During the rough domination of the "gang of four" these errors were taken to the extreme and the road for economic development grew narrower and narrower, until it was brought into a deadend with our economy on the verge of collapse. Even during the 2 years immediately after the smashing of the "gang of four," such leftist errors still fettered us and inflicted great difficulties on our economic work.

After our party's 3d Plenary Session, this problem was satisfactorily solved at last. In the 2 years and more since then, the leading core of our Central Committee has made an analytical study of the nature of the productive forces in our country in a truth-seeking way and has adopted a series of important policy decisions in line with the concrete conditions in our country in order to adjust the relations of production. In the countryside, after breaking through one obstruction after another, we have resolutely corrected the nationwide erroneous practice of indiscriminately "learning from Dazhai" and "making the transition in poverty," vigorously popularized various forms of production responsibility system in line with local conditions, reaffirmed and implemented the party's policies of distribution according to labor and on private plots, and encouraged commune members to develop household sideline occupations and to transport and sell their products in a lawful way. In towns, we have vigorously supported and developed collective enterprises and individual economy, thus we have broadened the way not only for developing economy and enlivening the market but also for increasing employment opportunities for youth there. Our experiments in reforming the management system of the state-owned economy have already initially changed the situation of "everyone eating out of the same pot" and solved relatively well the problem of the relations among the interests of the state, the collective (enterprises) and the individuals. All these things have greatly aroused the production enthusiasm of the laborers both in urban and rural areas, and industrial and agricultural production has thus achieved marked advance in development. On the basis of the development of production, the people's living standard has also markedly improved. Any unprejudiced person is profoundly moved by the daily improving economic situation at present. If it were not for the correct leadership of the leading core of the Central Committee since the 3d Plenary Session, it would have been unimaginable to achieve such great successes.

For a long time the energy and effort of our party was concentrated on "class struggle" and on political movements, and it was a natural result that no energy or effort was left for making deep and careful investigation and study of the laws that govern the movement of the productive forces themselves, such as the structure and layout of production, and of the natural resources related to the structure and layout of the production, such as minerals, hydropower, land, forests and grassland. That was why when we made economic plans, we often lacked adequate reliable objective information and raised quite a few subjective slogans; thus we acted blindly in many respects in carrying out construction. Although some problems such as that of correctly handling the relations among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and between industry along the coast and in the interior, were raised, they remained in the stage of general principles, while no mature, concrete methods were found through exploration to really solve them. For years there was a loud cry that agriculture should be placed first, light industry second and heavy industry third, but in arranging our actual work we still placed heavy industry first, light industry second and agriculture third. In handling the structure of agriculture, we understood the principle of "taking grain as the key link" in a one-sided way and squeezed out diversified economy. In handling the structure of industry we wrongly clung to "taking steel as the key link" and brought about serious imbalance between light and heavy industry and between basic industry such as energy, mining and communications, and the processing industry. The lopsided development of production caused long-term shortage of the supply of oil, meat, vegetables, various kinds of special local products and many industrial products for daily use, which certainly caused great inconvenience to the people's daily life.

Since the 3d Plenary Session, the leading core of the party Central Committee has instructed the departments concerned to send a large number of cadres to cooperate with local party and government authorities in making an all-round and deep investigation and study throughout the country so as to solve the problems in this respect. On the basis of a clear understanding of the conditions in the country, it has made many important policy decisions for changing the structure and layout of the productive forces. For instance, in combination with readjustment the production relations in the countryside and popularizing the production responsibility systems, many concrete measures have been adopted to encourage the collective and commune members as individuals to vigorously develop diversified economy without slackening their effort in grain production. Marked results have been achieved. Output of cotton, oil-bearing crops, sugar crops, tea, silk cocoons, jute and flax and meat in 1980 all set new records. Diversified economy has become an important source of the peasants' income. Because of the development of diversified economy, the special local products that had disappeared for a long time have poured into the markets and pleased the town people too. This is really a fine policy bringing benefits to both the state and the people. Since the 3d Plenary Session the central authorities have strengthened support and assistance for light industry in respect of investment and the supply of energy and material, and encouraged idle production capacity in heavy industry to shift to producing consumer goods. The shortage in the supply of consumer goods of daily use has already eased. Recently the State Council convened a nationwide conference on daily-use mechanical and electrical products to strengthen reorganization and cooperation in the machine-building industry in line with the demand of the people and the production capacity and to make an overall arrangement for the production of several consumer durables in urgent demand by the people. This is the first time this has happened in the more than 30 years since the founding of our country. Though it is still in a state of experiments and tests, this is after all a pleasing first step made for the purpose of mastering the productive forces and is, therefore, worth making great propaganda for. We can all see that it is only since the 3d Plenary Session that the principle of placing emphasis on agriculture, then light industry, then heavy industry which had been talked about for so long, has been gradually carried out.

Now, there are still a few people who doubt the economic policies of the party Central Committee. This is very wrong. Stalin said, "Socialism can only be built on the basis of the flourishing development of the social productive forces, on the basis of great abundance of products and commodities, on the basis of the well-to-do livelihood of the laborers and on the basis of the rapid raise of the cultural level." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 13, p 318) The present economic policies of the party Central Committee fully embody this socialist principle. They unfold the beautiful future of our country to the people. Every party member and cadre should have full confidence in the correctness of the leadership of the party Central Committee and fight hard for the implementation of its various economic policies.

The cadres of the party are a precious treasure of the party and our party has always shown concern for and taken loving care of its cadres. During the tumultuous 10 years, for the purpose of usurping party leadership, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques carried out ruthless struggle against and dealt merciless blows to leading cadres at all levels, resulting in a great number of cases in which many cadres were wronged, misjudged or framed as traitors, spies and capitalist-roaders. The frame-up and persecution suffered by Comrade Liu Shaoqi was one of the biggest miscarriages of justice in our country. During the 2 years following the smashing of the "gang of four," though a few of the wrong, mishandled and framed cases were redressed, owing to the obstruction caused by the errors of the "two-whatevers," rehabilitation work went on slowly and many major wrong cases were not redressed in time. After the

3d Plenary Session, the work on redressing wrong, mishandled and framed cases sped up, especially on the cases of Liu Shaoqi and other leaders of the party and state. After a great deal of investigation and study, they were rehabilitated by seeking truth from facts, and their merits and achievements in our history were affirmed. This emancipated a large number of cadres involved in these wrong cases, and many of them have resumed their work. They have played great roles in carrying out the party's line and policies.

The socialist cause is an unprecedentedly great cause, demanding that we do our best in bringing every positive factor into play to serve this cause. This is especially so for realizing the four modernizations. For that will be impossible if the initiative of the intellectuals is not brought into full play. Before the eighth national congress of the party, in January 1956, the Central Committee convened a conference on the problem of intellectuals, in which Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out in his "Report on the Problems of Intellectuals" that the overwhelming majority of our intellectuals "have been serving the socialist cause and have become a part of the working class." Correct policies on intellectuals were also stipulated in the conference. They were reiterated at the eighth congress. But, for a long time they were not really carried out. In 1957, the scope of the anti-rightist struggle was seriously over-extended and a number of intellectuals were unjustifiably labeled "rightists." Later, movement after movement of criticism was launched incessantly in the cultural and ideological sphere to keep on striking at the intellectuals. During the "Cultural Revolution" the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques denounced all the intellectuals as "stinking ninth category" and regarded them as targets of "overall dictatorship." Many intellectuals were cruelly persecuted.

Happily, since the 3d Plenary Session the Central Committee of the party has adopted resolute and decisive measures to implement the party policies on intellectuals. Those intellectuals who were wrongly labeled rightists and who were wrongly struck at have been rehabilitated. On behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed that according to the actual situation and consistent performance of the intellectuals, the overwhelming majority of intellectuals have already become a part of the working class and a force to be relied on for building socialism. With their status raised there has been an unprecedented surge of enthusiasm and creativeness of the intellectuals, and more and more important roles are being played by them on all fronts.

To bring into play all positive factors as fully as possible, and to change negative factors into positive ones in line with the reality in our country that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction, announcements were made to the effect that former businessmen and industrialists, having undergone remolding, are now laborers who earn their living by their own labor, and the status of the vast majority of former landlords and rich peasants, who have become working people through remolding, has been redefined. These measures have not only affected former landlords, rich peasants and capitalists themselves, but, what is more important, have roused the initiative of their relatives and their posterity.

The implementation of these policies has really united the people throughout the country and developed the broad united front which includes all socialist laborers, patriots who support socialism, and patriots who support the unification of our motherland. Both manual and mental laborers are marching shoulder-to-shoulder with one heart and one mind on the bright road leading to the four modernizations.

The above samples are only a few of the profound changes brought about in various fields since the 3d Plenary Session. They are not inclusive. But even these are sufficient to prove that the leading core of the party Central Committee at present is a vigorous leading group that can be entirely trusted.

Why is this leading group so vigorous? The most important cause, in addition to the guidance of the correct line formulated by the 3d Plenary Session, is that it has been formed by collective succession and it has truly exercised leadership.

According to Marxist views, collective leadership is the supreme principle of the leadership of the proletarian political party and the socialist state. As Lenin pointed out, a leader is a group. All major issues of the line and policies of the party and state must be decided by the collective, not by the words of a single individual, and still less should the will of an individual be enforced upon the collective or upon the whole party. Comrade Mao Zedong time and again talked about the great importance of collective leadership and mass line. In leading our long revolutionary struggle, especially during the Jinggangshan and the Yanan periods, he took the lead in carrying out collective leadership and persisted in the mass line. Many old comrades had personal experience of this and were deeply moved by it. However, in his later years, along with the great victories achieved one after another in our revolutionary cause and along with the growth of his personal prestige, he grew proud and was gradually divorced from practice and the masses. He grew more and more arbitrary in his work style and seriously weakened and damaged the party's principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the state. Because of the longstanding influence of feudal autocracy in China, intensified by the preaching and incitement of individual careerists and schemers such as Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng, who exploited the love of the broad masses for the leader for their own personal gain, the personality cult inflicted tremendously heavy losses to the cause of the party. This is a very profound lesson.

On account of this serious historical lesson, since the 3d Plenary Session, the party Central Committee has adopted a series of effective measures to strengthen collective leadership, curb personality cult, and vigorously adjust and strengthen the leading groups at all levels. The election of additional and replacement members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, the setting up of the Secretariat at the 5th Plenary Session and the further readjustment of the central leading structure at the 6th Plenary Session have vigorously strengthened the collective leadership of the party Central Committee. Meanwhile, it has been decided that the existing practice of leading cadres holding their posts all their lives will be abolished, the former practice of overcentralization of power will be changed and effort will be made to make the leading groups at all levels revolutionized, younger and more knowledgeable and specialized. This series of fundamental measures is aimed at preventing personal autocracy and personality cult from reemerging in our party and at relying more on the experience, wisdom and force of the collective in leading the people throughout the country to accomplish the magnificent cause of socialist modernization. Therefore they are enthusiastically supported by the whole party and the people throughout the country.

Are the new line and policies carried out by the party Central Committee in the fields of politics, economy, culture and social life a turn to the right? Are they a retrogression? Quite a few comrades do have such worries. However, the situation that has developed on all fronts since the 3d Plenary Session has told us that this is neither a turn to the right nor a so-called retrogression, but a determined correction of the leftist errors that lasted many years. How difficult it is to wipe out the influence of leftist thinking! The many measures adopted by the party Central Committee now are aimed at a vigorous correction of our former leftist errors, to effectively boost our cause under the premise of upholding the four basic principles, while also preventing an upsurge of rightist thinking. In doing so, we are really abiding by the ideological line of dialectical materialism of seeking truth from facts and of proceeding from reality in everything.

No doubt, the series of new line and policies adopted by the party Central Committee should still be tested in later practice, so as to further develop and perfect them. New problems and difficulties may crop up in concrete work later, but we are confident that under the guidance of the correct line of the 3d Plenary Session and under the firm leadership of the party Central Committee we can surely lead the 1 billion people of our country to overcome all kinds of difficulties on our way of progress and to march triumphantly on the broad road of socialist modernization, so long as we strengthen our unity and fight hard and indomitably with one heart and one mind.

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RESPECT AND REMEMBRANCE--MARKING THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF THE CCP

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[Article by Bo Yibo]

[Text] It has been fully 60 years since the birth of our great party. During the more than half century, our comrades in the entire party have joined the people of all nationalities throughout the country in working under the party leadership, enduring hardships and fighting heroically. They finally founded the People's Republic and won brilliant victories in the great struggle to build socialism. Today, our party has become more mature and stronger and our cause is full of vitality and hope.

The long revolutionary struggles tempered a number of outstanding party leaders, among whom Comrade Mao Zedong held the position of prime importance. While commemorating the birthday of our party, we cherish a feeling of great reverence and profound memory for the martyrs who gave their lives for the Chinese people's revolutionary cause, the revolutionary leaders who dedicated their lives and made outstanding contributions to the great cause, and Comrade Mao Zedong, whose historical contributions are forever indelible.

I

It is always because of a revolutionary leader's outstanding leadership and actual contributions during long revolutionary practice in the great historical era that he wins people's trust, love and esteem. In order to select a leader, an ordinary communist must conduct long observations during revolutionary practice before he can gradually know and confirm who truly has leadership qualities and who is the most capable person. I firmly believe that Comrade Mao Zedong also underwent such a process before he became a worthy leader of our party.

In 1927, our great revolution failed because our young party, then under the leadership of Chen Duxiu's right capitulationism, was off its guard against and incapable of resisting the surprise attacks launched by the Kuomintang under the control of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei. A countless number of communists, patriots and revolutionary masses fell in pools of blood, the party suffered serious losses in its strength, and the revolution in China was at a low ebb. I, like many other comrades in the party, seriously pondered such questions as where the revolution would go; how to understand the character, motive force and tasks of the Chinese revolution; and who was to lead us in continuing our advance.

We constantly discussed those questions and made careful observations. We witnessed the setbacks caused to the revolution successively by Comrade Qu Qiubai's putschism after the August 7 conference and Comrade Li Lisan's "leftist" line in the latter half of 1930. Later, Li Lisan's "leftist" line ruled the party for as long as 4 years and caused still more serious adverse consequences. The facts showed that none of them could lead the party to victory.

In the late 1920's, I had an opportunity to read ZHONGYANG TONGXUN [CENTRAL NEWSLETTER], a secret journal of the party, when I was working for the military committee of the Shunzhi [Hubei] provincial party committee. In that journal, I read about the 16-character formula proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." This 16-character formula was based on the premise that we had revolutionary base areas. It vividly showed the dialectical relations between ourselves being preserved and developed and the enemy being struck down and wiped out. It also concentratively generalized the tactical and strategical principles of the guerrilla warfare waged by the Red Army. I also read about Comrade Mao Zedong's views on the struggle in the Jinggang Mountains and on the establishment of a Red political power. He made a scientific, Marxist analysis of the relative strength of the enemy forces and our own, the contradictions among imperialist aggressors and various warlord factions at home, and the imbalance between political and economic developments in Chinese society. He pointed out that it was completely possible for our party to build a Red political power, develop revolutionary forces and establish independent regimes of the workers and the peasants by armed force in areas where reactionary rule was weak, particularly the areas bordering reactionary forces, in the situation of separatist warlord regimes and the confused wars among warlords. He also said that the middle section of the Luoxiao Mountain, with a revolutionary political power there, was not an ordinary zone, but a revolutionary base area; and that to build political power was of great political and military significance to the consolidation and expansion of independent regimes. At that time, we discussed and held that it was an amazing achievement by Comrade Mao Zedong to lead armed peasants into the Jinggang Mountains to build the Red Army and Soviet regime there after the failure of the great revolution, and thus open up the "Jinggang Mountain road" and point out a clear direction for the revolution at a critical moment in the Chinese revolution.

At that time, I was engaged in clandestine work among enemy troops. After the great revolution failed, I too vaguely felt that we should develop revolutionary forces in the countryside. Later on, I also thought that we should conduct armed struggle. As I was uncertain about my thinking, I was greatly inspired by Comrade Mao Zedong's views when I read about them. I considered them to be very suitable to the needs of the revolution then and to be courageous, insightful and foresighted. I felt that Comrade Mao Zedong was an unusual strategist in our party.

From 1931 to 1936, I was arrested and held by the Kuomintang reactionaries in Caolanzi prison in Peiping. In the prison, we communists of course were concerned about the development of the situation of our revolution. We argued over the nature of the January 28 resistance against Japanese aggression in Shanghai, the Fujian People's Government and the anti-Japanese united army in Zhangjiakou. Our argument was focused on whether the national bourgeoisie would take part in resistance against Japan or not, and what tactics we should adopt. Some of us held that the Kuomintang could no longer use its old methods to continue its rule, and it would have to use a more cunning and deceptive way, namely, resistance against Japan, to maintain its rule; that we must expose it because it was even more reactionary. Others held that while that was a crucial moment for national survival, a moment of acute national contradiction, we should welcome the national bourgeoisie and form a united front with them because the January 28 resistance against Japan showed the progressiveness of the nationalbourgeoisie in turning to the revolution and opposing the policy of nonresistance. The argument could not be settled.

Then we heard about a slogan put forward by the party Central Committee for forming an anti-Japanese national united front, and we also studied the report on establishing the antifascist united front delivered by Comrade Dimitrov at the seventh congress of the Communist International. The question in our debate was initially solved. In 1936, we read about the report "On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism" by Comrade Mao Zedong after the Wayaobao conference of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. Analyzing the political situation at that time, the report pointed out: the 19th Route Army led by Cai Tingkai and others represent the interests of the national bourgeoisie, the upper petty bourgeoisie, and the rich peasants and small landlords in the countryside. They once fought bitterly against the Red Army. "It must be considered beneficial to the revolution that they turned their guns, originally trained on the Red Army, against Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek. It marks a split within the Kuomintang camp." The report further systematically answered the theoretical and tactical questions over which we had argued for a very long time. We were indeed excited. The report showed us that at the crucial moment of the revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong knew how to keep to the correct course and adopt far-sighted tactics and strategy in uniting all available forces to strive for new victories.

After that, we firmly believed that Comrade Mao Zedong had outstanding leadership qualities. We greatly revered him. After I got out of prison, I had more contacts with Comrade Mao Zedong's Thought and firmly regarded Comrade Mao Zedong as our party's outstanding leader.

II

In the spring of 1943, I went to Yanan. This was the first time I had gone to the central authorities. On the day after my arrival, Comrade Mao Zedong asked me to have a talk with him. This was also the first time I met Comrade Mao Zedong. He was amiable and easy to approach. His talk was so interesting and absorbing that I did not notice when he started formal conversation. Instead, I thought he was still chatting with me. Comrade Mao Zedong asked me: Are you Comrade Bo Yibo? I said, yes. He then clasped my hand tightly, saying: "As if walking on thin ice, as if walking on thin ice." He said this in order to remember my name. [The writer's surname means thin] He then asked me where I was born. I said I was born in Dingxiang County, Shanxi Province. He said the surname of the mother of Emperor Wen of the Han Dynasty was also Bo. Her younger brother was called Bo Zhao. Emperor Wen was once the prince of Dai and he made Zhongdu, Shanxi, the capital. I was amazed by what he told me because I was completely ignorant of that period of history. Later, I read the "Historical Records" and found that everything he said was correct. What an intimate knowledge of Chinese history Comrade Mao Zedong had.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: In the past, I did not have a good understanding of your activities. You were in the White area and we were in the Soviet area. The passage of information was blocked by the Kuomintang. I heard Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Peng Zhen mention your name. He continued: Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "How To Be a Good Communist" was very well written. Have you read it? He talked about "self-cultivation" and I talked about "rectification." We meant the same thing. Comrade Peng Zhen gave a good Marxist report on the anti-Japanese democratic political power in the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei border area. He continued: There are two front armies in the Chinese revolution, one in the White area and the other in the soviet area. Comrade Liu Shaoqi is the representative in the White area. Comrade Mao Zedong then asked me about my past experience. I said: I joined the party during the great revolution. At that time, I was an ignorant teenager. He answered: Our revolution was started by a group of ordinary young people. I said: At that time, I did not have much understanding of Marxism-Leninism. I was just enthusiastic, and believed that revolution was the only way to a bright future. At that time, I read all kinds of books, books concerning the three people's principles, Chen Duxiu's speeches and books by Kropotkin, the anarchist. Only after I was admitted to the party did I begin to have some understanding of Marxism. However, my understanding of Marxism is still very superficial. Comrade Mao Zedong said smiling: This is a natural process. I have been a follower of various religions and doctrines. When I was young, I went with my mother to Nanyu to worship the Buddha. Later, I believed in Marxism.

I gave a report to Comrade Mao Zedong on our experience in the prison of Beiping. When I came to the long debate in our prison, he linked it up with the situation of the Yanan rectification campaign and said: That debate was also a two-line struggle. When I mentioned the principles guiding our daily life and struggle in the prison, and our emphasis on physical health, studying Marxism-Leninism, strengthening our faith and struggling to the end, Comrade Mao Zedong said: That was very good. You changed the prison into a school. You armed your minds by studying revolutionary theory, and retained, tempered and educated a group of comrades. This was a victory. Comrade Mao Zedong asked me about the comrades who were released from the prison together with me. He also asked how they were. Having heard my report, he showed his concern and said: "You hailed from all corners of the land. Then you were assigned to work in various places and returned to all corners of the land again. You have done a great deal of work, and have made contributions." When the conversation ended, he asked me to give him a name list. I did so. I also reported to him on our united front work in Shanxi. In the autumn of 1936, when we were just freed from prison, the party sent us to do united front work in the area under the rule of Yan Xishan. Yan Xishan was a representative of the big landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie. How were we to do our work? We used as a weapon the report given by Comrade Mao Zedong after the Wayaobao conference. During this period, we heard Comrade Mao Zedong say: Doing united front work is like swimming in the sea. We should be bold and should not drown. He also said: In united front work, Communist Party members should be "square inside and round outside" like a coin. We should abide by principles. However, we should maintain such flexibility as allowed by the principles, to suit different conditions. Not long after the "7 July incident" in 1937, Comrade Liu Shaoqi went from Yanan to Taiyuan, where he conveyed to us the spirit of the Luochuan conference and mentioned Comrade Mao Zedong's opinion: We should rely on ourselves in fully arousing the masses, and extensively develop guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines; we should not be confined by Yan Xishan's "restrictions." When we first went to Shanxi, it was completely correct for us to carefully set up the united front, to oppose leftist adventurism and to unfold our work through legal forms compatible with our legal status. However, the situation is different now. Our policy should be fully arousing the masses, strengthening our own forces and implementing the principle of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands."

At this critical moment of strategic change, this important view pointed out the direction for us, ensuring that we did not get lost. In the autumn of 1937, Comrades Zhu De and Peng Dehuai led the 8th Route Army to Shanxi and told us: You must rapidly take your dare-to-die corps with you to the east and south of Shanxi. Comrade Mao Zedong said that we should launch guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear and establish anti-Japanese bases like "making eyes" in a game of Go. In 1938, when Wuhan fell into enemy hands and the Kuomintang stepped up its anticommunist activities, Comrade Peng Dehuai conveyed to us Comrade Mao Zedong's opinion: We should wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the Kuomintang's anticommunist activities. In 1938, before he launched the "December incident," Yan Xishan shouted: It will rain very soon. Let us get "umbrellas.' This meant that they were ready to take the offensive against the communists in Shanxi, the 8th Route Army, the ready-for-sacrifice league and the dare-to-die corps. At this moment when the party organization sent people to Yanan to report to the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong said: Yan Xishan is preparing "umbrellas." You should do the same. He also said: There is great disorder throughout the country. "Independent areas" are being set up everywhere. During those years, we assigned and unfolded our work in accordance with these clear directives and with the specific conditions of Shanxi. While uniting with Yan Yishuan in fighting against Japan, we did painstaking work in boldly expanding the party's revolutionary forces and in gradually assuming leadership over Shanxi's ready-for-sacrifice league and new army. After smashing the diehards' offensive Shanxi's new army joined the battle array of the 8th Route Army, becoming the people's anti-Japanese armed forces directly under our party's leadership and command. Most of the high-ranking leaders and the basic members of the ready-for-sacrifice league came over to the side of our party.

On hearing my report regarding these events, Comrade Mao Zedong profoundly pointed out: Dogmatists do not acknowledge that we should change our policies when national contradictions dominate class contradictions. In fact, at this moment, we should not only unite with workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, but should also do ideological work among the national bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie. Chiang Kai-shek and Yan Xishan were representatives of the big bourgeoisie. Without the participation of the big bourgeoisie, the anti-Japanese national united front would not have been established. He also said: However, the big bourgeoisie joined the anti-Japanese national united front rather reluctantly. We must be on guard against their surrender. We must expand the left-wing forces and try to win over the middle-of-the-road forces to the progressive side. Finally, he said: Your number is so small, yet you have united a large number of people and won a victory. You have demonstrated the success of our party's united front policy in an exemplary way.

This meeting with Comrade Mao Zedong lasted 8 hours. It left an unforgettable impression on me. One would not feel uneasy when talking to him. He explained the profound in simple terms. He gave profound meaning to ordinary everyday talk. One could instantly feel the strength of his talk and understand some philosophy from it. At the same time, one would feel the depth and breadth of his wisdom. He was very good at generalization and drawing conclusions. After hearing reports and holding discussions, he often made a brief and enlightening summary which broadened people's vision and enhanced their level of understanding. Through this talk, I further realized that Mao Zedong was a great revolutionary strategist. Then, I had better understanding of him and greater respect for him.

When I worked in Shanxi, I had quite a lot of shortcomings and mistakes. This was primarily because I did not handle problems in accordance with Mao Zedong Thought. For example, Comrade Mao Zedong said that we should be "square inside and round outside" in doing united front work. However, I was only "square inside" and not "round outside." That is to say, I emphasized principles and neglected flexibility. Sometimes, I went too far in handling problems. Moreover, I did not appear calm enough. Some friends of the united front criticized me, out of good will, for being "cocky." Assuming a cocky manner could sometimes help to suppress the diehards. However, under other circumstances, it often brought things to a deadlock, making things more difficult and hindering us from being united. Besides, I did not handle contradictions among the people properly and was susceptible to mountain-stronghold mentality. In 1942, the first column of the dare-to-die corps and the 386th Brigade of the 8th Route Army were merged and combined into the Taiyu column. They were originally two entities. Moreover, there were differences between local cadres and cadres from other places, new cadres and old cadres, intellectual cadres and worker and peasant cadres and of certain gravity, differences between the army and the local people. To handle the relationship between these two entities, which had many contradictions, I should have done what Comrade Mao Zedong consistently advocated: Be lenient with others, be strict with oneself and carry out more self-criticism. However, I did not do so, or, I did not do enough. I "blamed both sides without discrimination" when they had disputes. At that time, I thought I was being "fair." Actually, I did not pay enough attention to the 386th Brigade, nor did I deliberately make known their merits and strong points. I was somehow partial to and sided with the dare-to-die corps, of which I was once leaders.

During the Yanan period, when Comrade Mao Zedong was once talking about eliminating the mountain-stronghold mentality, he gave an example: When two children have a fight, parents usually scold their own child or even beat it in order to comfort the other child and put an end to the dispute. He said even common people knew how to handle the problem of "mountain-stronghold mentality." I was very inspired by this. In 1944, when I was studying in the central party school, in his report entitled "Our Study and the Current Situation," Comrade Mao Zedong called on cadres to cast off mental burdens and set the machine in motion. In answering his call, I wrote some materials to confess the above-mentioned shortcomings and mistakes and expressed by resolution to rectify them. At that time, Comrade Mao Zedong made a remark on the materials I wrote: "Like the party, an individual has to undergo the process of awakening. All that was mentioned in the article was just natural in the process of awakening. I have not been able to do some of the points myself. I should continue to make efforts." Comrade Mao Zedong's remarks were amiable and modest and they helped me to correctly treat my mistakes and shortcomings, and inspired me to continue to enhance my level of understanding, and do a good job. Now, I am still very grateful toward Comrade Mao Zedong for giving me encouragement and help!

III

Our party is a party of reformers. As the leader of such a party, Comrade Mao Zedong was a resolute truth-seeker. In seeking the road for the new democratic revolution that suited the national condition of China, he exhausted his energy for the large part of his life. Eventually he won a great historic success and overthrew the three big mountains that weighed on the backs of the people. After the founding of People's China, he continued to seek the road of building socialism in a large country such as ours.

There were two things that left me with unforgettable impressions.

The first was: One day in the spring of 1953, Comrade Mao Zedong asked me to have a talk with him during which he advised me to read thoroughly certain books, to read some books on philosophy, to learn some dialectics and materialism and to also study logic. He then said to me sternly and sincerely: When you make mistakes you always say that it is because you are busy with your work. It is wrong to say that. Wasn't Lenin busy during the October Russian Revolution? Yet Lenin got things into shape in an intricate and complex Russia. The reason why you make mistakes is that you lack something that penetrates everything. Since its founding in 1921 our party has performed earth-shaking deeds on a spectacular scale, scoring great achievements. But, in its early years, due to a lack of experience, the party made many mistakes. It was not until 1942 when the whole party carried out the rectification of its work style that a fundamental guiding principle was found, or, we may say, a road to victory for the Chinese revolution; namely, 20 years elapsed before the consistency between subjectivism and objectivism, a road to victory for the Chinese revolution, was found.

This talk by Comrade Mao Zedong penetratingly outlined the important experiences of our party in its long history. The consistency between subjectivism and objectivism was not only the road to victory for the new democratic revolution but, we should say, the road to victory for the cause of socialism. Haven't our positive and negative experiences in the course of building socialism since the founding of our country fully proven this most important point? Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has come back to the Marxist political, ideological and organizational lines. At the central work conference in 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed that to emancipate the mind means to conform the mind to objective reality and to conform subjectivism to objectivism, and that this is what seeking truth from facts means. This conforms fully with what Comrade Mao Zedong said. We should comply with this correct principle forever.

The second was: In 1956, after hearing the reports of 34 departments of the central authorities, Comrade Mao Zedong made the famous speech, "On the 10 Major Relationships." This exploration was of great significance on the road toward our country's socialist construction.

After the founding of new China, led by the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, the whole party and people spent only 3 years in healing the wounds of war and restoring the economy. Following that they succeeded in realizing the socialist transformation in a relatively smooth way and, at the same time, scored tremendous achievements in economic construction in the first 5-year plan. This laid the primary foundation for the further development in the cause of socialism. But, in the course of learning from the advanced experiences of the Soviet Union, we made the mistake of copying them mechanically in disregard of specific conditions. At the beginning of 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the summing up of such experiences, thus further seeking the road toward economic development that suited the national situation of our country. Not long before that, Comrade Liu Shaoqi had asked responsible persons of the industrial departments to make reports and hold forums, many new problems were discovered. When I reported this to Comrade Mao Zedong, he said happily: "This is very good. Organize similar activities because I would like to hear about them." He later personally heard the reports of 34 departments of industry, agriculture, transportation, commerce and finance of the central authorities. This was an important activity of investigation and study in the history of our country's socialist construction, and I had personally taken part in the entire course of such reporting activity. The circumstances and images of matters that occurred 25 years ago are unforgettable, even though I am old. At that time Comrade Mao Zedong was already over 60 years old and his health was not good. But almost every day, he listened to the reports immediately after getting up from bed and went back to bed for a rest after hearing the reports. It was only when he ate meals that he was at leisure. He called it, "from the bed to the ground, from the ground to the bed." He worked in this way continuously for 2 months. This spirit of working hard for the benefit of the people's cause was very touching. Comrade Mao Zedong often said that "man must have some spirit." He himself showed this in an exemplary way. Back then, he had a profound grasp of the situation and always tried to get to the bottom of the matter in order to acquaint himself with basic conditions and major problems. At briefings those present spoke out freely, and Comrade Mao Zedong listened carefully to differing opinions. Some questions he considered before attending the briefings so he could sum them up immediately after hearing them discussed. As for other questions, he never jumped to conclusions on them. He took a correct attitude and used correct methods so that he could pool the wisdom of those present.

The spirit of probing a matter to the bottom and seeking truth from facts runs throughout the speech "On the 10 Major Relationships" written by Comrade Mao Zedong on the basis of thorough investigation and study. Taking an analytical attitude toward the experiences of other countries and those gained at home, he advocated learning from the strong points of all other countries and nations and opposed copying all foreign things mechanically or rejecting them all without analyzing them. This speech upholds the viewpoint of materialist dialectics and opposes swinging from one extreme to another. In handling economic and some other relations, he advocated that "consideration must be given to both sides, not to just one." "To give consideration to only one side, whichever it may be, is harmful to socialism." He stressed the doctrine that everything has two aspects. "In short, there are two aspects, not just one. To say there is only one is to be aware of one aspect and to be ignorant of the other." While giving consideration to both sides, we may have to lay particular emphasis on one side. For example, on the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and agriculture and light industry on the other, he, proceeding from the fact that China is a big agricultural country, stressed the need to take agriculture as the foundation and to pay close attention to the development of agriculture and light industry. On the relationship between industry in the coastal regions and industry in the interior, he stressed the need to make full use of industry in the coastal regions and to develop it.

While being briefed, Comrade Mao Zedong said to comrades in charge of light industry: "Your drive in work is not vigorous enough, not as vigorous as that of the heavy industry departments." This criticism reminded us that we who were engaged in heavy industry were so zealous that we brought pressure to bear on others. By saying this, he actually encouraged and supported a more vigorous development of light industry. Later, he explicitly pointed out that arrangements should be made for the development of the national economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry instead of the order of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. In addition, in handling the relationship between the central and local authorities, he advocated that "we want both unity and particularity." He stressed that it is necessary "to enlarge the powers of the local authorities to some extent." He also dealt with the historical conditions of China and other countries in this regard and indicated that a division of powers between the central and local authorities would facilitate relatively swift economic development. He also advocated delegating appropriate powers to basic-level units and that "every unit of production must enjoy independence as the correlative of centralization if that unit is to develop more vigorously." Both giving consideration to each side and particularly emphasizing one side are done to achieve the general purpose: To mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the party, both at home and abroad, both direct and indirect, and to turn as many negative factors as possible into positive ones to serve the great cause of socialism.

Today, when we restudy this important speech made by Comrade Mao Zedong 25 years ago, we still strongly feel the strength of his wisdom as a great thinker. His argument and analysis are not abstract. Nor are they made regardless of reality. Instead, they were based on reality, carefully thought-out and scientific. Here, I suddenly remember Paul Lagargue's comment on Marx' ability as a great thinker: "He skillfully resolved a matter into its components, then combined them, described details and various forms of development and discovered the inner relations." It would not be exaggerating to make the same comment about Comrade Mao Zedong.

IV

The road traveled by an explorer is by no means smooth. Losing one's way and trying to find it again, suffering setbacks and achieving success, are often intertwined. We went through such a tortuous and difficult path of development in the 10 years after the Eighth National CCP Congress when we began to build socialism in an all-round way and when Mao Zedong led our party in continuing to find a way for construction suited to our national conditions.

In 1956, when he made the speech "On the 10 Major Relationships," Comrade Mao Zedong also put forward the slogan: "Achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." Shortly afterwards, the Eighth National CCP Congress decided that the main task of the people throughout the country in the new period was to concentrate their energies to develop social productive forces. By 1957, our country made remarkable achievements in construction and all undertakings were vigorously developing. However, victory brought a certain potential danger to our party and to Comrade Mao Zedong--in the wake of a great victory, Comrade Mao Zedong and many other responsible comrades at the central and local levels, including myself, became careless and arrogant and were overeager for quick results. At the 1957 Moscow congress of communist and workers parties, Comrade Mao Zedong said that China would catch up with Britain in the output of main industries within 15 years or so. At the Nanning conference in January 1958, he improperly criticized those who were against rash advance and found fault with Comrade Zhou Enlai and Chen Yunwho adhered to the correct stand. After the Chengdu conference in April, he continued to oppress "rightist conservatism" and advocated "removing the White flag and planting the Red one." At the same time, he put forth the slogan of "doubling the output of steel." At the Beidaihe meeting in August, he suggested the establishment of the rural people's communes. As a result of his incorrect estimate of the situation, and overestimation of the role of man's subjective will and efforts, a great rash advance occurred. This tendency, characterized by excessive targets, the issuing of arbitrary directions, boastfulness and the stirring up of a "communist wind," spread unchecked throughout the country. It inflicted great losses on the socialist cause.

To be fair, it was Comrade Mao Zedong who first called for correcting the leftist mistakes made in 1958. He proposed and presided over the CCP Central Committee's Zhengzhou conference in early November 1958, the Wuchang meeting in late November, the second Zhengzhou conference in February 1959, the Shanghai conference in May 1959 and the Lushan meeting in July. All these meetings, including the early stage of the Lushan meeting, were held to correct leftist mistakes. During these meetings, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth the theories and policies regarding the development of commodity production, the observation of the law of value and the principle of distribution according to work. He was opposed to skipping any stage of social development and the expropriation of the peasants. He emphasized the study of socialist economic laws and the scientific principles of communism. He suggested that we be full of strategems and good at making judgments, and that we allow for unforeseen circumstances, and seek truth from facts. He was opposed to slack stratagems, making of arbitrary decisions, ossification of the mind, leaving of loopholes in plans and engaging in high tides every day. He also pointed out that balance is a fundamental question in economic work, and that we should make proper arrangements for people's clothing, food, housing, daily necessities and transport because this was a major issue which concerned the stability of the 650 million people. These suggestions were undoubtedly correct. However, while correcting these leftist mistakes, Comrade Mao Zedong indiscriminately emphasized that "people should be encouraged rather than discouraged." Obviously, we should protest and guide the people's enthusiasm for building socialism. However, we should discourage rather than encourage those leading cadres who were enthusiastic about the leftist principles. The leftist mistakes were not thoroughly rectified at that time, but our work during the 6 months or so greatly changed the tendency of boastfulness. Had this work been continued, the passive situation would have been remedied and completely changed. Unfortunately, during the latter period of the Lushan meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong erroneously criticized Comrade Peng Dehuai and some other comrades and launched a nationwide struggle against "right opportunism." This destroyed in a moment all our achievements scored in fighting against leftist mistakes over the past 9 months. Many mistakes, which had been criticized from November 1958 to July 1959, were once again affirmed. This prolonged the influence of the leftist mistakes. Together with successive years of natural calamities and the perfidious scrapping of contracts by the Soviet Government, our industrial and agricultural production as well as our people's livelihood encountered great difficulties.

More than half a year had passed and the situation forced Comrade Mao Zedong to rethink. He found that this situation should not continue. In the autumn of 1960, although he was not ready to totally give up the policy of the "Great Leap Forward," he realistically suggested at a central meeting that we should slow down for several years and should not seek superficial successes while actually inviting grievous disasters. Not long afterward, the CCP Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong decided to readjust the national economy. At a meeting in January 1961, Comrade Mao Zedong said: At present, we should try to fill in the gaps, that is to say, we should carry out readjustments. Under the leadership of Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun and Deng Xiaoping, we formulated and adopted a series of correct policies and decisive measures and did a great deal of painstaking and effective work such as cutting down the capital construction front; closing, stopping production, merging and changing some enterprises to another line of production; and withdrawal of currency from circulation. In particular, we smoothly mobilized 20 million residents in the urban areas to return to the rural areas, thus lightening the burden of the urban areas in supplying these residents with grain and nonstaple food and strengthening the front line of agricultural production. This played an important role in improving the situation. With regard to this matter, Comrade Mao Zedong said more than once: "Our people and our cadres are doing well. We have 20 million people at our beck and call. What political party other than the ruling CCP could have done it?" As we recall, due to erroneous guiding principles, the people suffered unnecessary losses during the years of the "Great Leap Forward." However, Comrade Mao Zedong had won the trust of the people by leading the party through decades of hard struggle. At that time, the masses excused us for doing wrong things because of our good intentions. This is why they shared, on their own initiative, the care and burden of the state and worked together to overcome the temporary difficulties. The masses had faith in the party. The whole nation continued to rally around the CCP Central Committee, and many cadres shared weal and woe with the broad masses. It was precisely because of this that in those difficult years we were able to extricate our economy, which had suffered serious setbacks, from a difficult situation in 2 to 3 years. In 1964 we began to score new achievements in the economy. In early 1965, we basically accomplished the tasks of the national economic readjustment and were entering a new stage of development. At this moment, on behalf of the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Zhou Enlai called on the whole Chinese people to make energetic efforts to build China step by step into a socialist power with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology. In 1965 when prosperity reappeared, the economic situation was even better.

Today, when we review the history of the tortuous path of development in the 10 years before the "Great Cultural Revolution," we can see that although we made many mistakes and suffered serious setbacks, we still made tremendous achievements in various undertakings, thanks to the determined and persistent efforts of the whole party, the entire people and the many cadres who braved all difficulties. Summing up the experience of these 10 years, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: "A large part of the material and technical foundation on which we are undertaking modernization was built in that period. Most of the backbone forces in economic, cultural and other construction throughout the country and their work experiences were also formed in that period. This is the main aspect of the party's work in that period."

The "briefing by the 34 departments," the speech "On the 10 Major Relationships" and the lessons and experiences of the achievements and mistakes in the 10 years before the "Great Cultural Revolution" profoundly show us that in making a collective study, deciding on a major policy and organizing people to carry it out, the summing up of correct ideas by a leader on the basis of democracy and on the practical and responsible attitude taken by the participants is essential; and a leader's democratic work is even more essential. This is one of the important reasons why we were able to correctly sum up experiences, to formulate correct policies and to surmount difficulties at that time. I think we made some very unwise decisions such as the launching of the "Great Leap Forward," the establishment of people's communes in 1958 and the "struggle against right deviations" in 1959 because we failed to carry forward this spirit. Comrade Mao Zedong was mainly responsible for the mistakes made in that period. He himself said: "I should be responsible for all the mistakes made directly by the Central Committee and should share the responsibility for the mistakes made by it because I am its chairman." Of course, we cannot blame Comrade Mao Zedong for all the mistakes. At that time, if some responsible persons at the central and local levels, including myself, had kept a relatively clear head, had had a good grasp of the situation, had reported it truthfully to higher authorities and had put forward practical propositions, then many mistakes could have been avoided or at least they would not have developed to that serious extent. This is a matter for deep self-examination.

The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee correctly solved the extremely serious problem of assessing Comrade Mao Zedong's achievements and errors. As a serious Marxist political party, our party adopted a scientific attitude of historical materialism and dialectical materialism toward this major problem. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" correctly pointed out: "Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theorist. He made serious mistakes in the 'Great Cultural Revolution.' However, as far as his whole life is concerned, his contributions to the Chinese revolution are far greater than his mistakes." When we look back on the victorious course of the Chinese revolution, we cannot but deeply revere him and cherish the memory of him. People have already seen and will see more clearly that the glorious achievements of Comrade Mao Zedong, who devoted himself all his life to the revolution, will go down forever in the history of our party and the people's revolution in our country. The scientific truth of Mao Zedong Thought will continue to guide us in successfully advancing toward the great future of the socialist cause.

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UNSWERVINGLY UPHOLD OUR PARTY'S ABSOLUTE LEADERSHIP OVER THE ARMY--IN COMMEMORATION OF THE CCP'S 60TH FOUNDING ANNIVERSARY

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[Article by Yang Dezhi]

[Text] As we solemnly commemorate its 60th founding anniversary, our party has successfully held the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The session adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," reelected principal leading members of the Central Committee and elected new ones. This is an event of great, immediate and far-reaching historical significance. It shows that our party, which dares to uphold the truth, is good at correcting its mistakes and, through the tests of twists and turns as well as victories, has further united and become stronger and greater and is worthy to be called a proletarian revolutionary party guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the whole party, the entire army and people of all the nationalities in the country are closely rallying around the party Central Committee and building a modern and powerful socialist country with one heart and one mind. Our cause will certainly surge forward with great vitality.

The CCP is the force at the core leading the people throughout China. During the new historical period, the nucleus of the four basic principles we uphold is firm perseverance in the leadership of the CCP. When this is related to the people's army, it means upholding the principle of "the party commands the gun" or adhering to the party's absolute leadership over the army. An army of the proletariat is the prime requirement for a proletarian party to seize political power and consolidate it. It is an armed group implementing revolutionary political tasks. The purpose of our army, since the date of its birth, has been one of serving the Chinese people heart and soul. It has taken on its shoulders the mission of fulfilling the historic tasks of the proletarian party in this country. Its nature and missions dictate that only under the CCP's absolute leadership can it fulfill its great historic tasks. Without party leadership, our army cannot accomplish its revolutionary political missions, nor can it serve its purpose nor retain its proletarian nature.

The Chinese PLA was founded by Comrade Mao Zedong and the other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and, under the CCP's absolute leadership, has grown in strength through the tests of protracted periods of war. One of the special characteristics of the democratic revolution in China is resorting to armed revolution to oppose armed counterrevolution. In this country, without the leadership of the CCP and without armed struggle, the people's army cannot exist or grow and the cause of revolution cannot be victorious. Since its defeat in the first great revolution, our party has understood the truth that "political power grows out the barrel of a gun." It led armed uprisings in many parts of the country and began to establish the people's army. On 1 August 1927, Comrades Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, He Long, Ye Ting and Liu Bocheng, acting in accordance with the instructions given them by the party, led more than 30,000 troops of the northern expedition army to stage the Nanchang Uprising, firing the first shots against the Kuomintang reactionaries. In pursuance of the decision of the party's "7 August" conference, Comrade Mao Zedong led the Autumn Harvest Uprising in the Hunan-Jiangxi border area on 9 September that same year and directed the uprising troops to the Jinggangshan Mountains to establish an armed independent regime of workers and peasants. In April 1928, the troops led by Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi that were left behind after taking part in the Nanchang Uprpsing and the units participating in the insurrection in southern Hunan arrived at the Jinggangshan Mountains after repeated fighting and joined the force led by Comrade Mao Zedong. These forces merged into the 4th Army of the Chinese workers and peasants' Red Army. During this period, our party led more than 100 armed uprisings in Guangzhou, Pingjiang and in the areas of Hubei-Henan-Anhui, western Hunan-Hubei, Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi, Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi, Haifeng-Lufeng and in the regions on the left and right sides of Xijiang River and Hainan Island. With the founding of a number of Red armies of workers and peasants, the flames of the Chinese revolution were kindled. By 1930 the Red Army units had grown to nearly 100,000 men. Several armies and corps were formed. These later developed into the First, Second and Fourth Front Armies. The party not only launched but also carefully cultivated the people's army. From the very beginning of our army's founding, the party attached great significance to building party organizations and to political and ideological work in the army. At that time the Red Army was mainly composed of peasants and those who had crossed over from the old armies. Consequently, there was a rather serious problem of unhealthy trends prevailing in the Red Army such as slackness in discipline, ultrademocracy, anarchism and warlord style. In view of this problem, Comrade Mao Zedong himself called the ninth party congress of the Fourth Red Army in December 1929 at Gutian Village in Shanghang County, Fujian Province, and delivered the report "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party." With the dissemination of the guidelines of the resolution adopted at the Gutian Congress, a wide-scale ideological education to eliminate nonproletarian ideas was carried out in all army units. In the course of the long revolutionary war in the ensuing years, the party launched several new-type ideological education movements in the army, thereby gradually putting our army on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and making it an entirely new people's army different from any army in the old days. At the same time the principle that party branches should be organized on a company basis was formulated and party organizations and political departments at various levels along with a system of political work were established in our army. Our army's purpose was defined as that of serving the people wholeheartedly. The army was required to display the three major styles of work--integrating theory with practice, making criticism and self-criticism and forging close ties with the masses--to carry out the tasks as a fighting force, a working force and a productive force, to adhere to the three basic principles of unity between the army and the people, between officers and men, and of disintegrating the enemy troops, to put into practice the three major democracies--political democracy, economic democracy and military democracy--and to abide by the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention. This ensured the party's absolute leadership over the army and enabled the army to preserve its proletarian nature.

It was for this reason that during the 22 years of unprecedentedly arduous revolutionary war, our army was able to grow from small to large, to become stronger and stronger in the course of fighting and to fight valiantly together with the people. It was because of this that our army was able to smash the enemy's encirclement and suppression, interceptions and attacks in the agrarian revolutionary war, to defeat the Japanese imperialist aggressors in the war of resistance against Japan and to put the Kuomintang reactionaries to rout in the war of liberation. It was also because of this that our army was able to overthrow the reactionary rule by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Following the nationwide liberation, our army maintained its fine traditions, continued to advance and successfully safeguarded the socialist revolution and construction of the motherland. Today ot has developed into a relatively sizable people's army composed of numerous services and branches, a mighty force against aggression and expansion by imperialism and hegemonism and for the defense of peace in the Far East and in the world.

It was for this reason that during the past decades our army was able to forge close flesh-and-blood ties and maintain fish-and-water relations with the people. Either on heavy-combat battlefields or in rescue efforts, our army's commanders and fighters were willing to sacrifice themselves in order to protect the interests of the masses. For this purpose thousands upon thousands of our fine comrades gave their lives. On the other hand the people have always regarded our army men as their own soldiers. The people have lived frugally in order to support army units: They have shielded wounded soldiers from enemy search even at the cost of their own lives. They warmly love and trust the people's army.

It was for this reason that our army was able to repeatedly smash the criminal acts of careerists and conspirators in splitting the party and the armed forces, to rally closely and consistently around the party Central Committee, to unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to stand as a mainstay loyal to the party and the people's revolutionary cause. During the Long March Zhang Guotao plotted to set up another Central Committee and to split the party and the Red Army, but in the end he met with the ignominious fate of having to flee alone without even his bodyguards. After liberation Gao Gang dished up the "army party theory" in a futile attempt to use the gun to command the party, but finally this scheme failed and was exposed, and he had to reap the bitter fruit of his own sowing. Lin Biao plotted to usurp the party and state leadership, wildly clamoring that he wanted to "command everything" and "arrange everything." In the end, however, he was unable to win over to his side even a squad or a platoon. All he could do was to hurriedly escape with his wife, his son and a few sworn followers, and in the end he died in the wilderness. With a dream of becoming "empress of the Red capital," Jiang Qing tried sometimes to attack and sometimes to win over our army, but she could never succeed. Finally she was arrested and was brought to the judgment of history by the party and the people. These ironclad facts eloquently prove that the party's absolute leadership played a decisive role in the growth and development of our army.

Historical experiences, positive and negative, tell us that without the CCP's absolute leadership, our people's army cannot exist even for a single day. To resolutely uphold the party's absolute leadership or to oppose it amounts to a question which is not only crucial to the growth and development of our army but which also concerns the success or failure of our revolutionary cause. We must bear in mind this incontestable truth, which has been verified through decades of practice. Any idea or action attempting to weaken or do away with the party's absolute leadership in the army is extremely detrimental and must be resolutely opposed.

We are now at a new historic juncture. The army not only shoulders the task of building and defending the four modernizations, but also has to do well in consolidating, improving and building itself. This is a matter of importance that the people of all nationalities in the country have entrusted to the people's soldiers and a great historical task that the party has assigned to our army. To accomplish this hard yet glorious task, it is imperative to resolutely uphold the party's absolute leadership of the army.

The most fundamental thing about resolutely upholding the party's absolute leadership is to firmly keep to the leadership of the party's Marxist revolutionary line and its principles and policies. As proved by our army's experience over the decades, by firmly supporting the strategic changes made by the party and by resolutely carrying out its correct line, principles and policies at major historical junctures, we have been able to overcome the twists and turns and the difficulties encountered on the road and to advance from victory to victory. At the beginning of the war of resistance against Japan, our party decided to carry out a second Kuomintang-CCP cooperation effort in the interest of the whole nation and reorganized the Red Army, our main armed forces, as the 8th Route Army, while the guerrillas remaining in the southern provinces after the Long March were reorganized to form the New 4th Army. Our party then ordered the various army units to penetrate deeply into the enemy rear areas to engage in guerrilla warfare and build anti-Japanese bases in order to contribute, through our concrete action, to the formation of a national united front against Japanese aggression. This marked a major strategic change in our party's history. Resolutely supporting the party's strategic change and implementing its strategic policy decision, the broad masses of commanders and fighters of our army set out to various battlefields in high morale to fight bloody battles with the Japanese aggressors. Vigorous flames of anti-Japanese battles were kindled here and there, from the area of the Changbai Mountains to the foot of the Wuzhi Mountains and from the banks of the Huanghe to the Chang Jiang Valley. Comrades Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, Liu Bocheng, Deng Xiaoping, He Long, Luo Ronghuan, Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen separately led the main force of the 8th Route Army, namely the 115th, 120th and 129th Divisions, to northern China. After that the New 4th Army led by Comrades Ye Ting, Xiang Ying and Chen Yi marched to southern and northern Jiangsu to carry out anti-Japanese guerrilla operations. Taking advantage of the topography of the Luliang, Wutai, Taihang and Yimeng Mountains and relying on the broad masses, our 8th Route Army carried out guerrilla operations, appearing and disappearing mysteriously and fighting flexibly and skillfully to strike at the Japanese aggressors. It always won the battle and performed many superb feats. It fought at Pingxingguan, carried out a night raid on Yangmingbao, defeated the "encircling attacks from nine directions," smashed the "iron-wall encirclement," and shattered the "containment policy." It smashed the numerous "village mopping-up," "nibbling" and "sweeping" campaigns, wiped out large numbers of enemy and puppet troops, frustrated the three anticommunist high tides launched by the Kuomintang reactionaries, recovered the vast expanse of lost land and built the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei, Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan, Shanxi-Suiyuan and Shandong anti-Japanese bases. It used its concrete actions to tell the people of all nationalities and of all strata in the country the fact that the people's army led by the CCP stood at the forefront of the war of resistance against Japan, was a main force to save the nation from peril and represented the genuine hope of the people to be extricated from the abyss of misery. At the same time, it made the enemy aware that the Chinese people, now armed, could in no way be defeated. This encouraged and spurred on the anti-Japanese war on a nationwide scale.

The period from 1941 to 1943 was the hardest time in the war of resistance against Japan. At that time the Hebei-Shandong-Henan border region, where I worked, was hit by drought 3 years in a row, and there were also epidemic diseases. The stubborn forces made up of the Japanese and puppet troops continued their ceaseless wild mopping-up operations, implementing the cruel "triple atrocity" policy of burning all, killing all and looting all. In the face of the precedented difficultues, our Hebei-Shandong-Henan army units resolutely carried out the party's policy of "consolidating the basic areas, developing the guerrilla areas, persisting the struggle in border areas and preserving and saving our forces." On the one hand, they went all out to deal blows at the invading enemy troops. During those 3 years, they fought some 2,300 battles, killing more than 19,000 enemy and puppet troops and capturing some 9,000. On the other hand, they mobilized the soldiers and people to provide for and help themselves by engaging in production. A call was issued to bear all hardships and to surmount every difficulty. Finally, the difficult period was over. Historical experience shows that at the crucial moment the army must support the party's strategic changes and resolutely implement its correct line, principles and policies. This is a vital guarantee for the victory of the revolution. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee held in 1978, our party has, systematically and thoroughly, set to right things that had been thrown into disorder, eliminated the old, erected the new and established the path to carry out modernization according to China's actual situation. The central work conference held in 1980 again made a major policy decision, working hard to carry out further economic readjustments and to achieve greater political stability. Now the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee once again calls on the whole party, the entire army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to continue carrying forward the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains, to work with one heart and one mind, and to turn China into a modern and powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization. At this crucial moment when this major change is taking place, we should all the more carry forward our glorious traditions, resolutely implement the line, guidelines and policies laid down since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee; continue to emancipate our thinking; firmly uphold the four basic principles; eliminate interferences from left and right erroneous thinking; further straighten out the ideological line; closely keep pace with the party's strategic changes both in one's own thinking and one's own actions; and make fresh contributions to developing and safeguarding the four modernizations program.

To follow the party's absolute leadership means to obey the party's command in everything. In fulfilling the task assigned by the party, we must be all the more set on driving forward when there is danger ahead. We should fight wherever the party directs us. By no means shall we fear difficulties and retreat. This is our army's fine work style that has been handed down from one generation to another. During the difficult years of war, Comrade Mao Zedong and the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation as well as the broad masses of commanders and fighters of our army had already set examples. In the second year of the war of liberation when our army had just entered the stage of launching a strategic counterattack against the Kuomintang reactionaries, all the conditions our army met were very difficult. To draw the war to the Kuomintang controlled area, wipe out the enemy on exterior lines and thoroughly smash to pieces Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolutionary plan to shift the war to the liberated areas, Chairman Mao resolutely decided to send a part of our army to penetrate the Kuomintang-controlled area in order to attract the enemy's main force and relieve the enemy's threat against the liberated area in Shandong. Our main forces led by Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping resolutely implemented the orders issued by the party Central Committee, courageously shouldered this arduous but glorious task, valiantly marched south and broke through many enemy defense lines. They made a leap forward of a thousand li, fought the enemy for state power and boldly drove into the Tabieshan area. Like a sharp knife thrust into the enemy's heart, they directly threatened Kuomintang lairs in Wuhan and Nanjing and drew up the great curtain of our army's strategic counterattack. At that time, on the question of whether or not the Tabieshan revolutionary base area could be consolidated, the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao envisaged three possibilities: 1) Our army would be unable to hold its ground and would have to turn back after paying a price. 2) It would be unable to hold its ground and have to fight guerrilla warfare in the vicinity after paying a price. 3) It would be able to hold its ground after paying a price. Senior officers Liu and Deng as well as the broad masses of army commanders and fighters remarkably accomplished their task with actual deeds, firmly held their ground in the Tabieshan area and realized the best possibility. It was in that same year that under the leadership of Comrade Nie Rongzhen, our Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei troops triumphantly fought the Qingfengdian campaign. First of all, they drew out of their lairs the enemy troops guarding Shijiazhuang. Then, they made a forced march like a strong wind, wiped out the whole enemy division in the movement and captured over 10,000 enemy soldiers, including the commander of the enemy's 3d Army, Luo Lirong. After that, they once again brought into full play the work style of continuous fighting and fearing no fatigue, and concentrated the main force of the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei field army and some local troops in central Hebei to liberate Shijiazhuang, which was heavily guarded by the enemy. In the Shijiazhuang campaign, over 20,000 enemy soldiers guarding the city were totally wiped out. This joined the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei liberated area with the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan liberated area and played an important role in further developing a large-scale counterattack on the north China battlefield. Commander in Chief Zhu De praised this campaign highly as a "new example of seizing a big city," and jubilantly wrote a poem: "Heroes in our party have emerged one after another. From now on, we do not have to worry about our hair graying at the temples." This kind of revolutionary spirit in our army of resolutely implementing orders issued by the party, of advancing wave upon wave and of pressing forward with an indomitable will is not only a priceless treasure for defeating the enemy and winning victories in war years, but also a gigantic force for developing and safeguarding the four modernizations program today. To safeguard the security of the motherland's territorial land, air space and waters, and to oppose aggression and threats to China by imperialism and hegemonism, our army must display the heroic spirit of pressing forward with indomitable will and of vowing not to coexist with our enemy, and must resolutely carry out the orders issued by our party. Following certain changes in the state system, the system of the army will also undergo certain changes. Under the new historical conditions, all cadres and fighters of our army must bring into full play the fine traditions and work style of the members of the old Red Army and the old 8th Route Army; resolutely accept the party's assignments; learn from Comrade Lei Feng, who cherished whatever assignment he was given, did his best, devoted himself to his duties and remarkably fulfilled missions assigned by the party; and support and strengthen the party's absolute leadership over the army. They must do so whether they are stationed in the cities, guard the border regions, remain PLA troops, or have been transferred to work in local areas or engage in any revolutionary tasks.

To uphold the party's absolute leadership, we must persistently regard political work as the lifeline of our army and incessantly use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to educate the army. This is a solid foundation in ensuring the party's absolute leadership over the army. The fundamental distinction between a proletarian army and a bourgeois army is that the proletarian army has a set of revolutionary political functions and that the ideological and theoretical foundation in guiding this army is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Our army is a revolutionary armed force composed mainly of peasants, coming from the many different parts of the country, diverse in origin, experience and disposition. What kind of strength has made this army united as one under the banner of the party for scores of years? What kind of strength has made this army courageous, fearless and invincible? One important factor is the education the PLA troops receive in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This education helps all the commanders and fighters understand why they join the army and what they are fighting for, acquire a highly developed political consciousness and common revolutionary ideals and attain a common goal of struggle. Therefore, the broad masses of commanders and fighters of our army are able to consciously place themselves under the absolute leadership of the party and unremittingly fight for the noble interests of the party and the people at all times. In the 22-year long democratic revolution in which armed struggle was regarded as the main form of struggle and in 32 years of socialist revolution and socialist construction, many heroes and models have emerged from our army. They are brilliant representatives in this regard. Our experience in the past tells us that to persistently educate the PLA troops with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will create vitality in political work and militancy in PLA troops. After the decade of disorder in the country, some comrades have a misunderstanding that since Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his late years, it looks like we do not have to uphold Mao Zedong Thought anymore. This view is erroneous. We must deal with Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought with a scientific approach. Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in the 10-year "Great Cultural Revolution." However, if we judge his activities as a whole, he made indelible contributions to founding and developing the party and the people's liberation and to the birth of the People's Republic of China and the advance of socialism in our country. He has been publicly recognized as a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary and strategist and the great leader of the whole party, the entire army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Our party and the people of all nationalities in the country would have had to grope in the dark much longer had it not been for Comrade Mao Zedong and the party Central Committee he led more than once to rescue the Chinese revolution from grave danger and chart the firm, correct political course for the party and the army. As a product that integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong Thought is recognized as the guiding ideology of the party. So far as our army is concerned, Comrade Mao Zedong's theories on the building of the people's army, his theses on political work in the army and his series on strategy and tactics in a people's war are even more powerful ideological weapons, which have always been used to overcome difficulties and obstacles and defeat the enemy. For decades, Mao Zedong Thought has nurtured the cadres and the fighters of our armed forces. Those who were admitted during the era of the Red Army, during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, during the war of liberation or after the founding of the PRC have all been highly educated by Mao Zedong Thought. The growth and development of our armed forces have never strayed from the path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Of course, our advocacy of upholding Mao Zedong Thought is by no means an attempt to restore the erroneous leftist ideology which prevailed prior to the 3d Plenary Session. It is necessary to sum up the experiences and lessons learned from the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. Without doing so, more and more serious mistakes might possibly be made. However, in summing up such experiences and lessons of history, certain historical conditions must be taken into consideration. We not only oppose adopting a dogmatic attitude toward Mao Zedong Thought, mechanically memorizing certain existing ways of handling things or engaging in the so-called "two whatevers," but also oppose adopting an attitude of completely negating Mao Zedong Thought, thinking that it has lost its practical significance of guidance or refusing to study and apply it. We should uphold the correct principle put forth at the 3d Plenary Session, understand completely and correctly the scientific nature of Mao Zedong Thought, adopt a dialectical and historical materialistic viewpoint toward Comrade Mao Zedong and his theses, and use the Marxist doctrine that everything has two different aspects to replace the subjective idealism and the metaphysical method that adopt either an absolutely affirmative or absolutely negative attitude toward everything. The cadres and fighters of our armed forces, in particular those ranking cadres, should take the lead in studying Comrade Mao Zedong's works, in particular his philosophical and military writings, study his stand, viewpoint and method of analyzing and handling problems, and study his high skill in building the armed forces, directing warfare and defeating a strong enemy. This is particularly significant for ensuring the ceaseless advancement of our armed forces under the party's absolute leadership and for winning victory in any future war against aggression.

In upholding the party's absolute leadership, it is essential to have firm confidence in the party and to establish the faith that the cause of revolution will surely be victorious. History has undisputedly attested that the CCP is the motive force leading our cause forward and that only the party can guide the Chinese people in extricating themselves from the predicament of being exploited and enslaved and marching onto the brilliant road to socialism; that only the party can make the Chinese nation stand erect in the East and become an important force in supporting the just struggle of the peoples of various countries in the world, in opposing imperialism and hegemonism, in defeating all anti-China activities and in defending peace in the East and the world. Without the CCP's leadership, there are neither the brilliant victories already won by the Chinese people nor the bright future of socialist modernization. It is the resolute confidence of the whole party, the whole armed forces and the people of various nationalities throughout the country to uphold the strengthening and improvement of the party's leadership. It cannot be denied that our party committed mistakes in the past decade and more and is still facing many difficulties. However, our party has had the fine work style of conducting criticism and self-criticism and the ability to correct its mistakes and surmount the obstacles along the path toward advancement.

After the failure of the 1927 revolution, Chiang Kai-shek slaughtered tens of thousands of our party members and hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants. The blood we shed could fill a stream. Nevertheless, the CCP members were not intimidated. They wiped away their blood stains, buried the dead bodies of their companions, held high the revolutionary banner and continued to advance forward. Because of Wang Ming's mistaken "left" adventurist leadership during the land reform revolutionary period, the Red Army lost all the White areas and 95 percent of the soviet areas. The Red Army was forced to withdraw from the Soviet areas and almost landed itself in an impasse. But after the Zunyi conference, our party gained a new life and the Red Army was able to continue to develop. Although there are still many problems at present and the tasks are arduous, our party has since the 3d Plenary Session formulated the correct line, principles and policies for solving these problems and the situation and lessons learned since the founding of the PRC and adjusted and strengthened the leadership of the party Central Committee. This fully shows that our party is good at maintaining and strengthening party unity and raising the party's fighting capability by adhering to Marxism. This is our reliable guarantee for accomplishing the great tasks of the new era. We must be firm and optimistic about the future and possess the confidence for winning victory. Any doubts and waverings about the future are unfounded.

Recalling the past and looking toward the future, we feel an upsurge of emotion and are filled with confidence. So long as we bear in mind that we are the great Chinese PLA led by the CCP and that we always should follow the instructions of the party Central Committee, this people's army will forever be invincible. This has been borne out by our army's history of hard struggle over the past decades and will be borne out by the sacred struggle of defending the security and independence of the great motherland.

CSO: 4004/126

THE PARTY'S BIRTH ANNIVERSARY AND THE DATE OF THE CONVENING OF ITS FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 81 inside back cover

[Article by Shao Weizheng [6730 4850 2973]]

[Text] Commemorative activities to celebrate the founding anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party began in the late 1930's. The earliest forms of these activities were chiefly publishing commemorative articles and holding small-scale report meetings. However, there was no fixed date for such commemorative activities at that time. They usually took place in July. The reason was that the party's "first national congress" was held secretly without being recorded in writing, and in the early documents and articles, no exact date of its convening in July was mentioned. For example, in his report to the International's Executive Committee in 1922, Maring, a representative of the Communist International, wrote: "In July 1921, delegates from the groups in various parts of the country held a meeting in Shanghai and decided to found the Chinese Communist Party and to join the Communist International." In their commemorative articles written in 1936, Chen Tanqiu and Mif differed when mentioning the date of the convening of the "first national congress," the former stating that it was in July and the latter stating that it was at the end of July. Since then, the exact date of the convening of the "first national congress" became an "outstanding issue." Since it was difficult to research this historical fact under the arduous circumstances of hard struggle at that time, there was not a fixed date for the early commemorations.

It was Comrade Mao Zedong who first proposed commemorating the CCP's founding anniversary on 1 July. In May 1938, in his report "On Protracted War," he proposed: "1 July this year will be the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party." And in June, the party committee of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region sent out a circular which decided that 1 to 7 July would be a "commemoration and propaganda week in honor of the anniversary of the start of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and the 17th anniversary of the founding of the CCP." Related commemorative activities were also held in other parts of the country.

In June 1941, the "instructions on commemorating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the CCP and the 4th anniversary of start of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression" by the CCP Central Committee required all base areas to hold commemorative activities in various forms on 1 July. At the same time, some special issues and monographs were published. This was the first instructions on commemorating "1 July" in the name of the CCP Central Committee. On 1 July that year, all major papers and journals of the party carried editorials, and JIEFANG RIBAO devoted a whole page under the heading "Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the Founding of the CCP," under which commemorative articles by Comrades Zhu De, Lin Boqu and Wu Yuzhang were carried, as well as new reports on activities in Yanan and other places to commemorate "1 July." This was the commemoration on the largest scale in the 20 years since the party's founding. From then on, "1 July" was fixed as commemoration day for the founding of the party, and now the whole party and the whole country grandly commemorate this solemn date every year.

Obviously, it was because of the difficulties in verifying the opening date of the "first national congress" that the Central Committee selected the first day of that month, that is, "1 July," to be the commemoration day for the founding of the party. This is different from the actual date of the convening of the "first national congress." However, as time goes on, and since the date of the convening of the "first national congress" remained unclear for a long time, gradually, some articles and works also mixed up the commemoration day for the founding anniversary of the party and the actual date of the convening of the "first national congress." They mistakenly took "1 July" as the date of the convening of the "first national congress." This mistake lasted for a rather long period of time. Even when leading comrades concerned had made clear explanations on this question, it was not basically cleared up.

Under the guidance of the correct policy of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, as on other fronts, an inspiring situation has appeared in the research work on the history of the party. After studying and analyzing numerous original documents and materials, we know that the "first national congress" of our party was actually convened on 23 July. This achievement will help us to distinguish clearly the commemoration day for the founding of the party and the date of the convening of the "first national congress," to make the latter clear while, on the other hand, restoring the original meaning of the Central Committee in commemorating "1 July." We hold that the realistic research on the date of convening the "first national congress" does not conflict with continuing to take "1 July" as the commemoration day for the founding of the party and that they can be unified. Being a glorious festival in our country, "1 July" will continue to be solemnly commemorated by the whole party, the whole army and the whole nation.

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9 September 1981

CHINA REPORT
RED FLAG

No. 14, 16 July 1981

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THE WORKING POLICY OF THE SEVENTH NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS (21 APRIL 1945)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 pp 2-9

[Report by Mao Zedong]

[Text] Comrade delegates: Today we can hold this very successful meeting. The time is very opportune. We have immense strength and, compared with the past, our party is unprecedentedly united.

What are the principles for our congress? The principles should be: Unite and achieve victory, or briefly, unity and victory. Victory is our goal, while unity refers to our front and our ranks. We need united ranks to defeat our enemy and achieve victory; our party plays the most important and leading role in our ranks. Without our party it is impossible for the Chinese people to attain victory.

If we just review the relatively recent history instead of going too far back, the Chinese people's struggle for liberation has a history of at least some 100 years. It has already been 105 years since the 1840 Opium War with the British. During these 100 years and more, there have been many drastic changes, the biggest of which has been the change from the old democratic revolution to the new democratic revolution. In the past there was no proletariat to lead the revolution. When the bourgeoisie first came into being, or when it had grown a little, or afterward, when it had become more mature and when the proletariat had not yet had its own vanguards, the consciousness of the proletariat was not high. The bourgeoisie enjoyed a dominant position in many aspects such as culture, economy and political experience, and it had its own political party, slogans and goals. The proletariat had none of these, and it could only follow the bourgeoisie. Only in the last 20 years or so has the proletariat had its own political party, slogans and goals.

In recent history the most famous Chinese struggles were the Opium War, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the Sino-French war, the Sino-Japanese war in the 20th year of the reign of Emperor Guang Xu, the reform movement of 1898, and the Yihetuan movement, followed by the 1911 revolution. Our revolutions were aimed at opposing two things: One was oppression by foreigners; the other was oppression by the feudal system. Invariably the Chinese people hated these two things and wanted to rise up to oppose them. The Chinese people rose up and were knocked down, and again they rose up and were again knocked down. This process was repeated for almost 80 years. Under what conditions did the May 4th movement of

1919 take place? It took place after World War I. The history of mankind is said to be 500,000 years. This 500,000-year history can be divided into the history of barbarism and the history of civilization. The latter is only 5,000 years or a little more. Our Chinese history is rather long, but it is only between 4,000 and 5,000 years. If we count from the inception of the reign of the Yellow Emperor to the 1911 revolution, it is 4,609 years. If we add to this the 34 years following the 1911 revolution, the total is still only 4,643 years. In actual fact, the society during the so-called Yellow Emperor period was not a civilized one. The civilized society began with the slave society, and in China this should commence from the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, according to reliable material. World War I occurred 5,000 years or so after the beginning of the civilized society. This world war broke out when the capitalism in the world progressed to the stage of the 20th century and contradictions arose among capitalists, resulting in fewer markets for them. Some capitalists had seized a wider market, while others had only a small market. For this reason, they went to war. This was the so-called imperialist era. The first war on worldwide scale in human history occurred in 1914. All comrades over 30 years old at this meeting must know and remember this. As I have said, this war was a reflection of the economic development of the world. When the world economy developed to that extent, this kind of problem occurred. This was what Marxists had earlier expected. This was a destructive and unjust war, a war detrimental to the interests of mankind and aimed at seizing markets. This was its negative aspect. On the other hand, however, it had its positive aspect. That is, the October Revolution took place in Russia, communist parties appeared in many countries, and the proletariat in many countries had its own vanguards. China was one of the examples. In the wake of the world war came an era of revolutions in the world. At first the October Revolution broke out in Russia. Then there were German, Hungarian and Italian revolutions, but they were all knocked down because the proletariat in these countries was still divided--there were communist parties and social democratic parties--and because there was a lack of sufficient proletarian consciousness. The only one which triumphed was the October Revolution in Russia. After World War I and the victory of the October Revolution, there was a change in the world situation and the orientation of the development of history. Although world history had developed and advanced for thousands of years, it was only after World War I and the October Revolution that it took on a new orientation. The slave society and the subsequent feudal and capitalist societies were all societies in which man exploited man. The new historical orientation following the October Revolution was to wipe out the system of man exploiting man. The Russians were victorious in this regard, and communist parties came into being in many countries. Our party was founded in 1921, and this year it has a history of 24 years. The Japanese Communist Party was founded in 1922 and the Indian Communist Party in 1920. This was the situation of some large countries in the Orient. Generally speaking, communist parties of other countries, such as France, Germany, Italy, Britain and the United States, were also established during this time. In 1919 Lenin organized the Third International.

Beginning with the May 4th movement, China underwent a change from the old democratic revolution to the new democratic revolution. The May 4th movement was launched by the masses when they went into the streets to oppose their enemies. At the beginning, the May 4th movement's participants were mostly awakened and advanced students, but by 3 June a vast number of workers and businessmen in Shanghai had joined the students in the movement. Later, Hankou, Changsha and the Chang Jiang and Zhu Jiang basins were all drawn into the tide. China's most awakened personages, such as Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao, took part in the May 4th movement. The May 4th movement had both a left and right wing, and Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao represented the left wing. At that time, there was no communist party in China, but many people already had communist ideas.

To the proletariat and other advanced people the world over, the October Revolution served as a lecture in communism. Although Marx and Engels founded the theory of Marxism in 1843 (3 years after the Opium War), in the 74 years from 1843 to 1917 its influence was mainly limited to Europe. Most people in the world did not know Marxism. Marxism was born in Europe, but its progress there was relatively slow. As for China at that time, the general public, with the exception of a few returned students, never even heard of Marxism. At that time, I myself did not know anybody named Marx ever lived. However, today any 14- or 15-year-old knows about Marx. Therefore, I say that today's comrades are very fortunate. In the past, even adults knew very little about the world. They knew nothing about imperialism or Marxism. In schools they only learned about a few bourgeois heroes like Washington and Napoleon, although people such as Liang Qichao and Zhu Zhixin did once or twice mention Marxism.[1] I also was told that someone translated and published in a certain journal Engels' "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific."[2] However, I did not read it, and even if I did, I would have forgotten it anyway. Since Zhu Zhixin was a member of the Kuomintang party, I presume that the KMT was first to talk about Marxism. Anyway, in the past no one in China really understood Marxist communism. The roar of guns in the October Revolution traveled faster than an airplane. Did it not take longer than a day for an airplane to fly here from Moscow? However, the news of the October Revolution took only a day to reach China. The revolution took place in Russia on 7 November, and China heard about it on 8 November. At that time Russia's revolutionary party was called the revolutionary party of over-zealots. Although Marxism made slow progress for more than 70 years, it has made rapid progress since the October Revolution. It was because of this rapid progress that the Chinese people took on a new spiritual look by 1919. After the May 4th movement, the Chinese people rapidly learned the slogans of overthrowing imperialism and feudal forces. Did anyone know these slogans before the May 4th movement? No, no one did. Not until the birth of the Communist Party, the vanguard born of the Chinese proletariat, were such slogans and clear-cut programs proposed.

In 1921 our party held its first congress. Of the 12 delegates, those who are still alive and who remain Communist Party members (excluding turncoats such as Zhang Guotao and the like) are Chen Tanqiu, who is presently held by the Kuomintang in the Xinjiang jail;[3] Dong Biwu, who has now flown to San Francisco;[4] and myself. Two of the 12 delegates are traitors now in Nanjing: One is Zhou Fohai, and the other is Chen Gongbo. The congress was held in July, and because of this we now commemorate our party's anniversary on 1 July. The original plan was to hold the congress in Shanghai, but because the police wanted to arrest us, we had to go to the south lake of Jiaxing, Zhejiang and hold the congress on water. I do not remember if the congress issued a manifesto; at that time we had no clear understanding as to how many kinds of Marxism there were and as to how world affairs should be handled. The so-called delegates were far less knowledgeable than you comrades who know so many things. There was a lack of knowledge about economics, culture, party affairs, rectification of work style and so forth. I was such a person at that time, and the other comrades were no better than I. At that time Chen Duxiu did not attend the congress because he was in Guangdong working as the director of the department of education. Our Chinese classic "Zhuangzi" contains this saying: "It begins as a simple thing and is bound to become big when it is about to finish." Now we have not "finished," but we have grown very big. The first line of the first page in the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union states that the Soviet Communist Party developed from a small group to a party of the whole Soviet Union. This is to say that it developed from a small Marxist group into a party leading the Soviet Union. Our process of development is also from a small group and will continue through base areas to the whole country. We are still in the stage of base areas and have not yet spread to the whole country. At the beginning we, too, had a very small group. I was given a form to fill out for the current congress. One piece of information to be provided is who introduced me to the party. I said that nobody introduced me. At that time we started by ourselves and knew very little. We were indeed young and ignorant and knew nothing about the world. However, the ensuing 25 years saw drastic changes. It was an earth-shaking era when the whole world underwent earth-shaking changes. In China the earth-shaking changes took place during these 25 years. In the rest of the world these changes took place during the 28 years following the victory of the Russian Communist Party. The 25 years of the Chinese Communist Party marked a period drastically different from the past. We must let the broad masses of people know this.

Since ancient times there have never been such a people and communist party. During these 25 years we started as a small communist group, went through the war of the northern expedition and became vigorous and strong. In the course of all this we were once knocked down to the ground; yet, we rose up and fought. That was called the agrarian revolution. From 1921 to 1927 the main event was the war of the northern expedition. The civil war period was from 1927 to 1937. Since 1937 we have been fighting the 8-year war of resistance against Japanese aggression. Seven years plus 10 years plus 8 years total 25 years. Although few of our comrades today have experienced all three periods, there are many who have experienced two of them. This refers to all comrades of the party. As for the delegates present here today, we have no such statistics and as yet have no idea as to which category most comrades belong, that is those who have experienced all three periods, two periods or only one period. During these 25 years we have experienced the 7 years from the founding of the party to the war of the northern expedition, 10 years of civil war and 8 years of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression. Our party has experienced untold sufferings and hardships and waged resolute heroic struggles. Since ancient times there has never been a group in China like the Communist Party. It has not hesitated to sacrifice everything, including the lives of many people, to realize its great cause.

The number of our party members did not exceed 60,000 in the 7 years of the first great revolution. Slapped down, they were all lying on the floor. In comparison, they were like a plate of eggs thrown on the ground: Many but not all of them were broken and some were picked up to hatch chickens. This is a tremendous experience. After being fired upon, they became mad and did their work, and they did it pretty well. For example, they did a good job in striking down the feudal forces and imperialism. When Chiang Kai-shek colluded with the imperialists and feudal forces, we put forward a revolutionary slogan to strike down Chiang Kai-shek, and we fought him for 10 years. It is not wrong to fight Chiang Kai-shek, but different opinions arose on how to organize our ranks and on how to train them to shoot after they were organized. These different opinions were mentioned in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party." Generally speaking, the opinions differed on these three problems: 1) Who are our enemies and who are our friends, 2) how to organize our ranks, and 3) how to fight. Regarding the differences on these problems, the opinions of some comrades were relatively correct and suitable to the conditions in China; on the problems on how to organize our ranks and how to fight, their opinions were comparatively good, but they were not perfect. Because our party comrades were scattered throughout various areas, most of them were not aware of this matter, except for a few who were arrested by the Kuomintang with a reward of a few hundred thousand yuan. Nevertheless, there may be similar opinions, either on one problem or another.

I have met Sun Yat-sen. There are comrades who are here today who have also met him. He died in 1925. I met him when he had already devoted 39 years of his life to the national revolution. He was almost 60 years old then. When the Kuomintang held its first national congress, our elder Lin,[5] who is present here, was one of the participants. We attended the Kuomintang congress in the capacity of Communist Party members. Such party members are so-called "transparty elements," that is, they are both Kuomintang members and Communist Party members. At that time the Kuomintang organizations in various provinces were organized with our assistance and we had no alternative but to help because the Kuomintang did not know how to organize itself. It devoted 39 years to carrying out the national revolution without holding a congress. The first congress of the Kuomintang was held in 1924 after we joined the organization. We drafted its declaration and helped it do many things. One of its advisers was Borodin, member of the Russian Communist Party; another adviser was Qu Qiubai, CCP member who joined the Kuomintang. There was one good point in the person of Sun Yat-sen, that is, when he did not know what to do, we would look for us. He listened to all that Borodin told him. Sun Yat-sen called for "learning from Russia" because he suffered one defeat after another during the 39 years of his devotion to the revolution. When we called for striking down imperialism, the feudal forces, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry, many people opposed us, calling members of the Central Committee the 36 big dippers.[6] Kuomintang-CCP cooperation was also extended to military affairs. At that time the principal military and party cadres consisted of both Kuomintang and CCP members. Chiang Kai-shek was commander of the 1st Army, with Comrade Zhou Enlai serving as our party representative; Tan Yankai was commander of the 2d Army, with Comrade Li Fuchun serving as our party representative; and elder Lin was commander of the 6th Army. The government was a coalition and military units were the principal component parts. This was so even before the coalition government was formed.

The victory of the northern expedition was a grand and spectacular event. However, our party was not doing a good job during the last stage of this period and there emerged Chen Duxiuism. Chen Duxiu later opposed us, became a liquidationist heading the Trotskyist Chen clique and turned to the side of counterrevolution. Nevertheless, we can talk about Chen Duxiu today. He did make contributions. He was commander in chief during the period of the May 4th movement and virtually led the whole movement. Chen Duxiu together with the group of people surrounding him, Comrade Li Dazhao, for example, played an important role. From him we learned how to write in the vernacular, about using punctuation in writing, which was a great invention, and that Marxism existed in this world. We were students of his generation. The May 4th movement trained many cadres for the Chinese Communist Party. At that time Chen Duxiu was chief editor of the journal XIN QINGNIAN. People were awakened by this journal and the May 4th movement and later a few of them joined the Communist Party. Chen Duxiu and the group of people around him had imposed great influence on these people. It can be said that they called these people together and organized the party. I say Chen Duxiu is similar to Plekhanov of Russia in many respects. They both engaged in the enlightenment and created parties. However, Chen Duxiu did not resemble Plekhanov in ideology. In Russia Plekhanov did a good job in popularizing Marxism. Chen Duxiu did not. On the contrary, he even went so far as to express some incorrect views. However, he had performed meritorious deeds in creating the party. Plekhanov later became a Menshevik and Chen Duxiu became the Menshevik of China. After the war between Russia and Germany, Stalin grouped the names of Lenin and Plekhanov together in one of his speeches and his name was also mentioned in the history of the Russian Communist Party. Chen Duxiu would be mentioned again when the party history was written. As for Comrade Li Lisan, who had made "left" errors during the period of the civil war, he also had merits to his credit when he gained in joining Comrade Liu Shaoqi in the Anyuan workers' movement prior to the first great revolution and later in playing an important role in the Shanghai May 30th movement.

We will now talk about the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party." The details of this resolution have already been discussed by the comrades. It was proposed that this issue be handed over to the seventh plenary session but not to the party congress so that the party congress would be held in unity and end successfully. This suggestion which has taken the whole party, the people of the whole country and the future of the party into consideration is a very good suggestion. The resolution was basically approved by the seventh plenary session yesterday and would be handed over to the new Central Committee to be set up after the party congress for revision and announcement.

The working principle of the congress is to unite and achieve victory, and the participants should have their eyes on the future, not on the past. Otherwise, the congress cannot proceed successfully. The participants should have their eyes on the 400 million people in order to organize our own ranks.

We have not yet achieved victory, our strength is still not powerful, and we still have many difficulties ahead. We have more than 900,000 troops. However they are not concentrated, but divided, and we can only carry on "sparrow warfare [a form of guerrilla warfare]." Though we have a population of more than 90 million at our base area, they are not concentrated either. They are also divided. Our enemies are still very powerful. We have the powerful Japanese imperialism and the Kuomintang as our enemies. These enemies are not the same and one is waiting at the front gate while the other is at the back gate. Therefore, we must be cautious and humble, not arrogant or impatient. We must guard against arrogance and rashness. Only by guarding against rashness, can we guard against arrogance. An ancient saying goes "A rich merchant hides his wealth and pretends he has nothing." Merchants with a lot of capital hide their wealth and pretend they have nothing. We must also act this way and remain modest. Our history teaches a lesson. That is, you cannot become big; you are comfortable when you are small because nothing will happen; but when you are big, you swell and your head swells to a large size; then you become arrogant and impetuous, and then extremely impetuous. Impetuosity and arrogance are connected. If you are arrogant, you will become impetuous. Those who are impetuous are bound to be arrogant, imprudent and sloppy. We have learned how to be prudent. When the resolution on the history of our party was drafted, it was examined many times. Members of the Central Committee read it many times but failed to detect its problems. Only after it was read and studied by all of you were problems discovered. In your discussions you forwarded many suggestions. This is very good, and this means working prudently. It is necessary to go slowly, because the sky will not fall. Since ancient times the sky has never fallen. Once upon a time there was a state called Qi, where people feared the sky might fall. So they worried about it every day. This is called entertaining imaginary fears. In the past few thousand years, there has never been an incident of the sky falling contained in any historical records. If the sky falls, it will not matter because a few tall comrades among us will hold it up. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" has been basically approved after repeated examination. It will be polished further after the new Central Committee is elected. But will there still be some loopholes in it? It is possible there will be. This will be known after 8 or 10 years when the history of the CCP is revised. If there are loopholes, there are loopholes. We should say that "this part of history is wrong and it has been omitted in the past and therefore it should be supplemented." This is not important. For example, in gathering firewood, the late starter will always catch up, if he works hard. We should deal with our predecessors in the same way. If there are loopholes, they must be plugged. The principle is that we should uphold the truth and correct our mistakes.

The history of the Russian Communist Party was published in 1938. The Soviet Union achieved victory in 1917, but the Central Committee did not publish the history of the Russian Communist Party until nearly 20 years later. It is evident that this was not an easy matter. It is even more difficult for us to include 25 years of history in this short resolution on the history of our party. Actually we are not revising the history of our party but discussing mainly the left-deviationist mistakes, the line suitable to the interests of the Chinese people, the line struggle both suitable and unsuitable to the interests of the Chinese people, and the struggle between proletarian ideology and petty bourgeois ideology in the history of our party. After several years of discussion, this question is now ripe for a solution and a resolution is written to solve it. As to the question in the period of the war of resistance, it will not be solved at this time since it is not yet ripe. From a future standpoint this resolution on party history still may have errors but the principle of curing the sickness to save the patient is not wrong.

Do the questions included in the resolution on party history concern a great number of people or a small number of people? I say they concern a great number of people and the whole party and people throughout the country. So we must be humble and prudent and not arrogant and rash. Since they are questions concerning a great number of people, they also concern us. Questions concerning a small number of people can be solved easily. For example, in nominating people it is not hard to nominate one or two names, but questions concerning a great number of people cannot be solved so easily. We must be very prudent in writing this resolution on party history.

We should do the same with regard to other questions. We must struggle heroically but we must also be humble and prudent. Historical lessons precisely want us to be humble and prudent. Some comrades were very impatient in the past hoping that the victory of the revolution would be won tomorrow. It is a pity that instead of victory, it had dragged on for 10 years. Having 300,000 party members and several hundred thousand troops, our heads were swollen with pride, and we became rash. Only northern Shaanxi was left in the end. Some people remarked that northern Shaanxi was not a good place because the soil and the people were poor. But, I say, without northern Shaanxi we cannot go to work in the field. I describe northern Shaanxi as two points: A temporary lodging point and a point of departure. The "seventh national congress" is being held in northern Shaanxi. This is an honor for the people in northern Shaanxi, which has become an experimental zone for all our work. All our work is being experimented on here first. We convene the "seventh national congress" here and solve historical questions here.

I would again like to talk about curing the sickness to save the patient. By curing the sickness to save the patient, we mean treating the sickness in order to save the patient. Originally a person is healthy, but germs invade the body and he falls ill and consults a doctor. He takes some medicine and is cured. It is not possible to save the patient without treating the sickness. It is also not possible to treat the sickness without caring for the patient. Leaning to one side or the other is no good and this must be corrected. All comrades should unite under this resolution on party history like one harmonious family as the resolution says. We once said: Unite as one. That is a figure of speech used in writing articles. We now say: Unite like a harmonious family. There are struggles within families but struggles in our new family must be resolved through democratic methods. We should treat our comrades as brothers and sisters so that they can find words of comfort here, take a rest here when they are tired and engage in the most cordial conversation. Speaking of making mistakes, it is not a matter that just involves one or two persons. Everybody makes mistakes. I have also made mistakes. Everyone has made some mistakes varying in degrees. The resolution attributes all good things to me. I have something to say about it. To describe me as a representative is all right, but if I were the only one, then this wouldn't be a party. We must realize that a contingent does not always stand neatly in line. That is why at times we must give orders to fall in line. Dress left dress, dress right dress, dress front. We must keep in line with the criteria of the Central Committee and the congress. Keeping in line is a principle, wherea deviations appear in actual life. We will shout orders about keeping in line whenever there are deviations. However, officers cannot strike soldiers. In other words, cadres and party members must maintain correct relations. There are correct thinking and erroneous thinking among the people in a contingent and they are not always even. We must take a good attitude toward those comrades who have made mistakes. In a family, to take a family member's name off the family pedigree is very rare. Although it is not clear what Ah Q's family name was, no one has heard anything about his family name being taken off the family pedigree. It can be said that Ah Q put up a heroic struggle. His shortcomings are subjectivism and sectarianism plus stereotyped party writing and the utter lack of the spirit of self-criticism. While he likes to pull the scab right off a person's sore, he does not let others pull off his. As to dogmatism and stereotyped party writing, they are extremely terrible. A long bench [changdeng 7022 2923] must be called a long bench, not a strip bench [tiaodeng 2742 2923]; calling a long bench a strip bench would be committing an error in the line. Such subjectivism, such stereotyped party writing! However, the writer who wrote about Ah Q still liked Ah Q because the counterrevolutionaries executed him by shooting. Therefore, we must unite with those who had shortcomings.

Two isms are causing trouble within the party: one is dogmatism and the other is empiricism. It is mentioned in this resolution and I have been attacked on many occasions, but I think such references should be deleted. One reference says that the attack against the luo ming line [luo ming luxian 5012 2494 6424 4848] was meant for me--which is correct--but I still think that references like this should be deleted. I myself have made mistakes. For example, in an article I wrote in 1927, although it contained some Marxist viewpoints, I was wrong on the economic issue because I was unable to view the economic issue from the Marxist viewpoint. Furthermore, in my work over the last two decades and more, I have made many mistakes in various spheres including the military and political fields, as well as in party work. Just because these mistakes are not mentioned in the resolution, it does not mean that they can be written off because, according to historical facts, I did commit those mistakes. Here is another example: The resolution, which was written and rewritten many times, cannot have been this complete had it not been for the opinions contributed by everybody. Since we all came from a semicolonial society, our knowledge and capabilities are very limited. I would disagree if somebody should say that I am completely incapable and I know nothing about Marxism-Leninism. Ye Qing, a Trotskyite who used to be a communist, said that all that fellow called Mao Zedong knew was Maoism, which he said was a doctrine of the peasants and the petite bourgeoisie, and knew nothing about Marxism-Leninism. I disagree with this. He seemed to say that he knew a lot, or even everything, about Marxism-Leninism, and I knew nothing. Of course it is also not true that I know everything about Marxism-Leninism. When people hailed me with "long live," I said I was 52. While no one can, and should live 10,000 years, one is expected to do something. That is to say that one must continue to advance and mature. When we say we understand a little about Marxism-Leninism, we are also expected to do something and continue to advance. Since ancient times, there is nothing in the world, knowledge included, that is complete and that does not need to go on developing. The earth is developing, so is the sun. This is the way the world is. A world that has stopped developing is no longer a world. Nobody knows how many millions of years the universe has been in existence, but today it must be more progressive than before. The earth has generated living things, animals and mankind. Mankind, after hundreds of thousands of years, has also produced a civilized society, a capitalist society and a socialist society, and we understand from Marxist thinking that the world will advance into a communist society in the future. After a new democratic society, China will continue to advance until classes. political parties including the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army can all be dispensed with. The sun and the earth will also cease to exist one day in the distant future. However, when old things are destroyed, something new will be generated. Those with a Marxist concept must see things from such an angle. But do we need politics today? Yes. What is politics? According to Sun Yat-sen: "Politics is everybody's affair." Scientifically speaking, his definition of politics is incorrect. His definition has only one revolutionary significance, which is anti-feudalist, because politics of the feudal society meant the emperor's autocratic rule, whereas the primitive communist society had people, but not politics. Politics came into existence during the slave society. In a sense, politics is class struggle. According to Engels, there are three types of class struggles: political, economic and theoretical. However, the last two types also have political significance. All Marxists should have such a viewpoint, which is completely revolutionary. Therefore, we must go through wars and class struggle, and go all out to develop and strengthen the Communist Party, the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army.

Things in the world are invariably incomplete, but things are progressive just as a son would be better than his father and his own son would be better than himself.

Some comrades are very worried for they have not been elected representatives to attend this congress and therefore cannot attend, not even as observers. Actually there is nothing for them to worry about; but we should explain things to them. As for me, I did not care much about the first, the third and the fifth congresses as much as the second, the fourth and the sixth. Even in such cases I could not attend the even-numbered congresses. During the fifth congress, I was elected alternate member of the CCP Central Committee. As I was secretary of the agricultural committee, I presented a resolution concerning the peasants' movement, but that resolution was not approved by the party Central Committee, nor was it adopted by the fifth congress. Now the party is fairer than before, but there are still unjust things.

In other words, as things are not always perfect, a task thus lies before us to advance toward relative perfection and relative truth. However, no one will ever reach absolute perfection and absolute truth. Therefore, we must strive endlessly.

Now another "communist party" has appeared. That is an "emergency committee" organized by a number of renegades gathered by the KMT intelligence organ. They have issued a declaration and their slogan is "Down with Mao Zedong." The enemy will definitely make use of our resolution on party history after it is published. But we will still have to put out this resolution on party history regardless of whether they will use it or not. We should turn a deaf ear to any enemy incitements. It is possible that some people in the party under evil influence may attempt to arouse incitement. We should not be afraid of these instigations. We have a principle in the party and among the revolutionary rank and file, that is, unity, unity on the basis of the principle.

As a whole, the party has made achievements in the past 25 years, achievements of considerable magnitude. We should continue to grasp firmly the weapon of Marxism-Leninism and uphold the spirit of self-criticism. In the meantime the whole party should unite like brothers and sisters, strive for nationwide victory and should never give up until victory is won!

FOOTNOTES

1. Liang Qichao mentioned Marx several times in XIN MINZHONG BAO 1902-1904 on which he served as chief editor. In January 1906, Zhu Zhixin published "Short Biographies of German Socialist Revolutionaries" in the second issue of MIN BAO in which he briefly introduced the life of Marx and Engels and the highlights of the Communist Manifesto and mentioned Capital. In the same year, he again published in the fifth issue of MIN BAO an article: "On the Parallel Between Socialist Revolution and Political Revolution" saying that since Mark, (meaning Marx), the theory on socialism has changed and gradually been put into practice and is now known to the world as scientific socialism.

2. The XIN SHIJIE semimonthly journal published in Shanghai in 1912 carried in serial form Engels' article: "The Development of Socialism From Utopia to Science" translated by Shi Renron. The title used in the translated version was "Idealist Socialism and Applied Socialism."

3. Chen Tanqiu was CCP representative in Xinjiang and director of the 8th Route Army's Xinjiang office. Arrested by warlord Sheng Shicai in 1942, he was secretly murdered in September 1943. Because of the lack of communications, it is reported here that he is "now being held by the KMT in a Xinjiang prison."

4. Referring to Dong Biwu, who participated in the Chinese delegation as a CCP representative to attend the UN Charter conference in San Francisco of the United States in April 1945.

5. Venerable Lin, meaning Lin Boqu.

6. The 36 big dippers: According to the Taoists, there are 36 big dippers in the big dipper constellation. The "Water Margin" named the first 36 chieftains in Liang Shan Po as the 36 big dippers. The second KMT Central Executive Committee had 36 members.

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SATISFYING THE PEOPLE'S NEEDS IS THE LOFTY MISSION OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 pp 10-18

[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text] Under the leadership of the CCP, the Chinese people are striving for the realization of the four modernizations. To realize socialist modernization is, in the final analysis, to satisfy to the maximum degree the daily growing material and cultural needs of the people for the sake of the people's happiness. Lenin said long ago: Only socialism enables all laborers to live the best and happiest life, "and in the understanding of this truth lies the whole difficulty and the whole strength of Marxism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 571) Now, when we are putting this truth into practice, we become deeply aware that satisfying the people's needs is not only the lofty mission of the socialist construction but also an extremely arduous task.

In the past 3 decades and more, we have made tremendous achievements in socialist construction but have also made serious mistakes. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, especially since the new eight-character policy of "readjustment, restructuring, rectification and improvement" with readjustment as the core was put forward and implemented, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the party, are striving to explore ways to better develop the socialist economy of our country so that the national economy can get on the right track of satisfying the people's needs. Obviously, this is a strategic change of great historic significance. However, a number of theoretical and practical problems still have to be solved in order to effect this change. Solutions to these problems depend on the efforts of the broad masses of cadres and people. Without a doubt, the Chinese people can solve these problems correctly. The reason why we are raising the following questions is that we hope to reach a fairly unanimous and correct understanding through studies and discussions, and find satisfactory and practical means to promote the smooth realization of this strategic change in order to better satisfy the people's needs.

Special Features of the Relations Between Production and Consumption Under the Socialist System

In order to better satisfy the people's needs, it is necessary to study the relations between production and consumption under the socialist system and grasp their laws.

Marx made a profound analysis of the general relations between production and consumption and brought to light the dialectical relationship between them. The word "consumption" referred to by Marx in the "Introduction to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" has two meanings: one is "productive consumption" and the other is "consumption proper," which is living consumption. ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 93) Marx emphatically observed and studied the latter kind of consumption, and this is the meaning used in our analysis here. According to Marx' analysis, while production determines consumption, consumption also reacts on production. The former is mainly manifested in the following: 1) Production creates objects for consumption and thus determines the level of consumption; 2) production determines the pattern and structure of consumption; and 3) production gives rise to consumer needs. The latter, however, is mainly manifested in the following: 1) Consumption is a condition of labor reproduction, and it itself is therefore an internal factor of productive activities; 2) consumption turns a product into a reality and, with the consumption of a product, the productive action of producing this product can be regarded as finished; and 3) consumption is the motive force of production and without demand there would be no production, while consumption reproduces demand to push production forward continuously. There is a famous saying of Marx': "Without production there would be no consumption; but without consumption there would be no production either, since production would then be aimless." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 94) History has proved that this analysis of Marx' is entirely correct. The scientific theory he derived is also a criterion we should abide by when dealing with the relations between socialist production and consumption. In the past we did not adequately study the general relations between production and consumption and sometimes even neglected and violated some obvious principles. This is an important reason for errors in our economic work.

Not only do the relations between social production and consumption have their general laws, they also have their own specific laws under different social systems. Here, production relations play a decisive role.

The socialist production relations determine that the immediate aim of production is to satisfy the people's needs, thus linking consumption and production directly and getting rid of the contradiction inherent in the capitalist society of the tendency to expand production unlimitedly and the corresponding reduction in consumption by the masses of people. In any society, the ultimate aim of production is consumption, but the immediate aim of production is determined by the production relations in a given society. In a capitalist society, the immediate aim of production is to obtain as much surplus value as possible, and although in order to obtain surplus value, commodities should also meet the needs of society, the latter is only a means to realize the former. The capitalists always strive to limit the workers' personal consumption within the scope "necessary" to the reproduction of labor. They even directly rob the workers of their necessary consumption fund. Socialism, based on public ownership of the means of production, has eliminated the system of exploitation of man by man, and the happiness of the laborers becomes the only aim of all productive activities, thus making it possible to satisfy to the maximum degree the people's daily growing material and cultural needs on the basis of the development of production. Engels said: The socialist society "is able to secure for every member of society an existence which is not only perfectly adequate materially and which becomes daily richer but also guarantees him the completely free development and exercise of his physical and mental faculties." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 307) Lenin also emphasized that the socialist society should "insure full well-being and free, all-round development for all the members of society." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 6, p 54) Of course, achieving all these will depend on a high development of the productive force. But even in the initial stage of socialism in which the productive force is not yet developed to a high level, the society should also strive to satisfy the people's needs so that it is possible for all members of society to live a happy and cheerful life. This can bring into full play the initiative of the masses of people for production and give impetus to the rapid development of production.

This fundamental change in the relations between socialist production and consumption makes it possible to establish a benign cycle of mutual promotion of production and consumption within the socialist society and bring into play the function of production and consumption of mutually "creating the other side" as explained by Marx. It is impossible to achieve this in full under the capitalist system. Since World War II, although the high consumption policy practiced by a few capitalist countries has played a certain part in promoting production, this role has not always been positive. In addition, it is very limited and cannot fundamentally solve the contradiction between capitalist production and consumption. Japan has been regarded as having established the so-called "benign cycle" of production and consumption, but in fact there also exist profound contradictions between its production and consumption. Quite a few economists in Japan have also admitted the existence in the country of unequal income and wealth and other phenomena showing the wide gap between the rich and the poor. On the one hand, many people are unable to satisfy their minimum needs, and, on the other hand, there is a glut of commodities and production capacity. Each of the seven economic crises in Japan after the war lasted 7 months on average, production declined by 7.1 percent and the time of suspended economic growth as a result of economic crisis accounted for 28.9 percent of the entire 30 years.

As a result of changes in the relations between socialist production and consumption, socialist consumption itself has features which strikingly distinguish it from capitalism. Marx divided human needs into physiological, spiritual and social ones. The special features of socialist consumption are the all-round satisfaction of these needs.

There is a viewpoint at present which regards the "high consumption" in certain developed capitalist countries as an object or model for our socialist consumption. This is an incorrect viewpoint. True, the "high consumption" emerging in these capitalist countries on the basis of increased production since World War II plays a certain part in delaying the breaking out of the antagonistic contradictions between production and consumption, and there are certain general trends of consumption development (such as the change in consumption structure following the increase of income) reflected in them that we can learn from. However, it should be noted that capitalist "high consumption" inevitably brings with it a deep imprint of this exploitative system.

First of all, this kind of "high consumption" has been built on the basis of the irreconcilable class contradictions and the daily growing gap between the rich and the poor. On the one hand, certain increases in the income of the laborers do not change the basic fact of their being exploited and oppressed. Just as Marx said long ago: "But just as little as better clothing, food and treatment and a large peculium do away with the exploitation of the slave, so little do they set aside that of the wage-worker. A rise in the price of labor as a consequence of accumulation of capital only means, in fact, that the length and weight of the golden chain that the wage-worker has already forged for himself allow of a relaxation of the tension of it." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 678) In fact, following this "high consumption" are the intensification of the degree of exploitation, the increase of the workers' debts and the further development of the void and depression of ideology, culture and morality. Therefore, "high consumption" does not bring a steady, happy life to the laborers. On the other hand, capitalist consumption has a parasitic feature. Capitalists wallow in luxury and spend money like water. This luxury and extravagance are built on the basis of the poverty and misfortunes of the laborers in their own countries and the countries of the Third World. Second, capitalist "high consumption" is not only followed by "high waste," it also has the abnormal feature of being unable to bring true happiness to the laborers. Satisfying consumption needs is only a means of obtaining high profits. So long as they can make money, capitalists can produce and sell anything without giving a thought to the social consequences. Furthermore, in order to grab profits, the big companies can, by relying on their monopoly position and making use of advertisements and other mass media, "persuade" the consumers and impose on them the "needs" which are indispensable to high profits but are not beneficial at all to human life. Consequently, in the capitalist countries, any trade, from the production of clothing and food for cats and dogs to the production of lethal weapons and the sale of gambling paraphernalia and narcotic drugs, can become an important industry. Year after year the society puts more and more manpower and material resources into the products that can only satisfy the favorite hobbies of the bourgeoisie or help the big enterprises to make profits, causing extremely big waste. Finally, human needs are varied. They cannot be satisfied by relying on material products only. The material enjoyment in some capitalist countries cannot be regarded as low, but the people do not have any happiness to speak of. This is because happiness not only depends on material conditions but also on social conditions, surroundings, relations within the community, family relations, spiritual civilization as well as one's health, ideology and spirit and so on. In the capitalist society, morality degenerates and relations between men are drowned in the ice-cold water of egoism. It is very difficult to realize the security, self-respect, intercourse with other people, self-realization and other "high-quality needs" which the capitalist economists dwell upon with great relish. The increased capitalist production of material products depends on heavier exploitation. This cannot but result in high tension in one's physical power and spirit and in sharp contradictions in social relations. All this has caused that part of the labor force in the capitalist countries which enjoys a fairly high income to generally feel, nevertheless, that they are not happy. Many people do not know what are the prospects for capitalism, nor do they know what is the purpose of life. Once they lose their objective in life, they fall prey to feelings of hopelessness, depression, pessimism and passivity and mere pursuance of material enjoyment. In addition, economic crises constantly emerge, inflation becomes more serious and various kinds of social problems such as unemployment, bankruptcy, drug abuse, indebtedness, family breakup, juvenile delinquency, excessive drinking, rape, murder and theft come one after another. Naked monetary relations, pornographic books and periodicals propagating sex and violence, decadent music that makes one depressed or mad, and the fear of unemployment, sickness, old age and robbery depress one's spirit. In recent years, some bourgeois scholars have even put forth the idea that the "abundant" material life under the capitalist system does not promote the realization of the common objective or promote the happiness of the public. It has conversely brought about a number of social calamities. How can a socialist society regard this "high consumption" as an objective to pursue?

Another opinion equates happiness with a high level of material enjoyment and denies that under the present conditions our country can make the people live a cheerful and happy life. This opinion is also open to question.

Under the socialist system, the highest objective of satisfying to the maximum degree the people's material and cultural needs lies in a free and all-round development for everyone. In order to achieve this objective, it is necessary to have an extremely high development of the productive force and an extremely big increase in the people's income. This will be a very long process. But it cannot be said that only after reaching this level will it be possible for the people to live a happy and cheerful life, and that before this happens we can do nothing and accomplish nothing. As a matter of fact, in a socialist society, production will gradually develop and the people's livelihood will gradually improve. This process of development and improvement is one in which the laborers create a happy life for themselves through labor and struggle. So long as we are provided with certain material conditions, it is possible to insure that the people will have a life of plenty without fear of want, as well as a fairly good social condition, surroundings, relations within the community and family relations, and will build a high level of spiritual civilization so that the physiological, spiritual and social needs of everyone can be satisfied and so that everyone will be full of hope for the future. This has not been accomplished by any society in the past.

The socialist society has provided us with the possibility to build up rational relations between production and consumption, but possibility is not tantamount to reality. In order to transform this possibility into reality, it is also necessary for people to pay attention to this problem and, in accordance with the demands of objective economic laws, handle it well. During the first 5-year plan, our country paid fairly close attention to the relations between the development of production and the increase in consumption which promote and condition each other under the socialist system, and handled these relations fairly well. As a result, production developed fairly smoothly and the people's life also improved fairly quickly. This shows that, through people's efforts, it is entirely possible for the socialist society to establish a benign cycle of production and consumption.

Consumption Pattern of China's Socialism

The consumption pattern (including the level, structure and means of consumption) of a country in a certain stage of development is a component part of this country's way of life. The consumption pattern is not only determined by social system and economic development but also by geographical surroundings, resources, cultural traditions, customs and habits as well as the national situation. Therefore, owing to different conditions in a country, the consumption pattern of every socialist country has its own special features. We should not only study the general relations between production and consumption under the socialist system and grasp their universal law, but also study the specific condition of China's production at the present stage and of other factors affecting consumption, and grasp the specific laws of production and consumption and establish the consumption pattern of our own country.

We did not adequately study the problem of consumption patterns in the past. It is imperative to pay special attention to it now. It is necessary to organize suitable manpower and, through conscientious investigation and study, make clear the trends and special features of the development of the people's material and cultural life in the next several decades, forecast the development of our country's production and consumption in the next 5, 10, 20 and 50 years and decide on the socialist consumption pattern of our country. It is necessary to make efforts to present as quickly as possible the results of research which have both a scientific basis and guiding significance in practice and regard them as our basis in drawing up construction policies and economic plans.

The most important factor affecting consumption patterns is the economic situation of a country. With this fundamental starting point, it is possible to handle well the relations between production and consumption. In this respect, it is especially necessary to pay attention to the following situation in our country at present: 1) Big population and large consumption. There are 1 billion people in our country. If there is an increase of 12 million people every year, and we calculate 250 yuan per capita for individual consumption and social consumption, it will be necessary to increase consumer funds by 3 billion yuan every year. Given 500 jin of grain ration per capita, it will be necessary to increase grain by 6 billion jin, and given 25 chi of cloth per capita, it is necessary to increase production by 300 million chi. These conditions call for extreme caution in handling the relations between production and consumption. Comrade Chen Yun said, "Ours is a country of 1 billion people, of which 800 million are peasants. It is in such a country that we are carrying out construction." "We should fully realize this point and see this difficulty. There are still not many people who have truly and soberly realized this point." 2) We have a poor foundation and our standards are low. At present, our productive force is not yet developed, agricultural labor productivity is very low and industrial labor productivity is not high. At present, our country's proportion of marketable grain is about 15 percent and each agricultural producer can provide only 80-odd yuan of surplus agricultural products every year. Such a small amount of surplus agricultural products cannot satisfy the daily needs and other needs of the population in the cities and towns. It is therefore necessary at present to import a certain quantity of grain, cotton and other agricultural products every year. The consumption level of the people of our country is also rather low and a large number of peasants are still rather poor. Education is not developed and the cultural and scientific levels of the people are not high. This condition determines that we should pay very close attention to the improvement of the people's material and cultural life. However, we should also see the limitation of the effect of the production level on the consumption level, and should never put forth excessive or unreasonable demands on consumption without considering the objective production condition. 3) At present we have fairly great difficulties economically and financially. Owing to the long-term interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," as well as the mistakes in our guiding thought and specific work, the economic structure of our country at present is very irrational. There is a serious imbalance in the proportions of the national economy and there is a financial deficit. In the past few years the state has worked very hard to increase the people's income. This was essential, although it exceeded our financial and material capabilities. In the course of readjusting the national economy and overcoming the economic difficulties over the next few years, the people's income should not be increased by too much; otherwise, the financial deficit will increase and inflation will be aggravated. Although we should, in accordance with necessity and possibility, strive to improve the people's life, we cannot expect to have a fast and big increase in the consumption level in a short time. In line with this condition, it is especially necessary to spend less money, do more work, raise the quality of our products and other services, and enrich the cultural and recreational activities so that the people can really benefit from them.

Owing to special features in the economic and other aspects of our country, we should by no means imitate indiscriminately the consumption pattern of other countries. Here, there are different aspects: One is what other countries have done but we should not do. A few developed countries have produced small cars on a large scale since World War II and have thus formed the life pattern of a "car civilization." As a result of the ever-growing energy shortage in recent years, the "car civilization" has caused serious problems in social life. This has been a headache for most people. When solving the problem of transportation, we cannot take the same track. In the light of our country's condition, not only should we not produce small cars in large numbers, we should also not produce motorcycles in large numbers. It would be better for our country to do a good job with regard to public transport vehicles and develop very effective quality bicycles. A few countries in the West have taken the road of consuming large amounts of energy both in production and in everyday life. Judging from our resources condition and on the basis of economic rationalization, our country should not do things the way Western countries have done them. Our resources should first of all be used to insure the fundamental needs of the people's lives. This is a policy that should be made clear. Another aspect is what we should do but do not have the conditions to do at present. For example, the residential conditions of a few developed countries have improved a great deal. Our country is now trying its best to improve the living conditions of its inhabitants, but, limited by its economic condition, it has not been able to reach the level of the developed countries. Still another aspect is what we have surpassed or can possibly surpass other countries in. For example, the long history and culture of our country has bequeathed to us a rich and varied legacy in the aspects of material life and cultural life consumption. We should retain and promote these aspects so that the people's life is varied and colorful.

According to preliminary studies, the socialist consumption pattern of our country will have the following characteristics in the coming period:

First, there will be marked changes in the consumption structure. In the light of the specific conditions of our country, the order of the main items required by the consumption of the people is roughly: 1) food; 2) clothing; 3) shelter; 4) daily necessities; 5) transportation; 6) education; 7) health and welfare; and 8) recreation. Some of these requirements occupy a bigger proportion while others occupy a smaller proportion; some increase faster and others slower; and some are at a standstill for a certain period and then later increase. In a word, they will increase periodically, sooner or later, faster or slower. On the basis of the development of production and the continued increase of the people's needs in material and cultural life, changes will take place in the consumption structure. An inkling of this can be seen from the practice of the more than 3 decades since the founding of the PRC. In the retail value of our country's consumer goods from 1952 to 1979, the proportion of food decreased from 56.5 percent to 50.2 percent; the proportion of clothing increased from 19.3 percent to 23.7 percent; the proportion of utensils increased from 20.9 percent to 22.1 percent, and the proportion of fuel increased from 3.3 percent to 4 percent. As for food commodities, the proportion of grain and oil dropped drastically while the proportion of sugar and wine rose. As for clothing commodities, the proportion of cotton cloth fell while that of chemical fiber products increased. As for consumer goods, durable goods increased at a high rate but the general daily necessities increased at a rather slow rate. However, the demand for medium-grade and new products has increased. Naturally, judging from the whole country, owing to the fact that a certain number of peasants are still living a rather poor life, many of the inhabitants are not so well off, and for a certain period of time, food will continue to occupy a primary position in the composition of consumption, but its proportion will drop while quality will improve and varieties will increase. In addition, a considerable number of inhabitants in town and country urgently need an improvement in their living conditions. At the same time, following the improvement in the living standard, the needs of the masses for commerce, services, and communications and transportation will also increase. It should also be noted that, at present, the masses urgently need to study culture, science and management in order to enrich their cultural and recreational life. Therefore, following the rise in the level of material life, the proportion of education, physical exercise and recreation in the people's consumption will increase.

Second, there will be the correct combination of individual and collective consumption. Referring to the socialist society's common enjoyment of the means of subsistence, Marx said, "From the outset this part grows considerably in comparison with present-day society (referring to the capitalist society) and it grows in proportion as the new society develops." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 10) Welfare measures such as free medical services, free education, social security as well as rent allowance for individual consumption and other kinds of allowances enjoyed by the laborers in our country are at a fairly high level in comparison with the development of production, their total amount being equal to income from salaries. Without a doubt it will grow gradually in proportion to the development of the economy. However, we should act according to our capabilities with regard to collective consumption. It is impossible to do things in excess of objective conditions. The methods of collective consumption should also be conducive to the development of production and the practice of strict economy and help to give full play to the individual initiative of the laborers.

Third, there will be the increase and rational use of spare time. The rise of economic and cultural levels of society brings with it two positive results: one is the increase of social products and the other is the increase of spare time. Spare time means the time at the free disposal of workers, and is the time used by the workers for enjoyment and further growth. Given the present level of productive forces in our country, we cannot but maintain a fairly long work day and, what is more, the poor development of commerce and service trades makes it necessary for the laborers to spend more time doing housework so that there is comparatively little time at their disposal. In the future, following the development of the economy, spare time will increase steadily. At the same time, society should assist in the development of all kinds of service trades and cultural and educational undertakings so that the spare time of workers can be utilized rationally.

Fourth, there will be diversification of consumption. Owing to the fact that our country has a vast territory and many nationalities, the economic and cultural development of various nationalities and areas are very imbalanced and, owing to the difference between town and country, between industry and agriculture and between manual and mental labor, there will always be differences in the level, structure and means of the socialist consumption of our country under the system of "to each according to his work." Economic workers should pay close attention to these differences.

Fifth, the people will live a life of comfort but without waste. Marx said: All thrift boils down to saving time. He also regarded the law of saving time as the principal economic law. A socialist society should strive to practice economy in production and to obtain material benefits in consumption. The economic effect that we require includes not only the economic effect of production but also that of consumption and the structure and means of rational consumption. This is an important condition in raising the economic effect of consumption. The people of our country have a fine tradition of being industrious and thrifty in managing a household, and we should always maintain and carry forward this tradition. The per capita gross national product of our country at the end of this century will still be at a low level compared with those of the economically developed countries and therefore, the marginal increase in income level cannot be very big. However, we should strive to satisfy relatively well the people's needs under the condition of a fairly low income level and establish a socialist consumption pattern which is comfortable but not wasteful and inexpensive but substantial, rich and varied so that the people of our country can live a cheerful and happy life.

In considering the long-range perspective in the development of consumption in our country, we should soberly notice that our socialist society has opened the way for the establishment of an incomparably happy and glorious life for the laborers. However, we should establish a happy life with our own hands. The party and the government are making every effort to raise the consumption level of all laborers. But the rate of increase in the consumption level depends, in the last analysis, on the actual increase in production. A considerable increase in production can only be accomplished by the hard work of all laborers. At present, there are some people who, owing to the past trauma or other reasons, entertain passive or even harmful sentiments toward life. They blame everyone and everything but themselves, and they do not temper their will and work with a desire to make the country strong. They impose various demands on the society and, if they dislike something even slightly, they feel that society has treated them unfairly. They do not ask themselves what contributions they have made while the people of the whole country have been waging collective struggles to overcome the difficulties and develop the economy. Obviously, this idea is wrong; it is conducive neither to the realization of the objectives of socialist production nor to the raising of their own consumption level.

With regard to consumption there is also a question of the correct guideline. As we all know, the people's choice of the way of life and consumption pattern is related to the viewpoint they hold in evaluating social practice and the measures (concept of value) they put into practice. However, experience also shows that people are unaware of their own methods of consumption and tend to be affected by the methods of consumption of other people. The exemplary role of consumption acts on the individual and often acts on a country as well. At the moment the people of our country urgently need to raise the level of material and cultural life. It is necessary to make every effort to satisfy reasonable needs. But it is imperative to provide guidance concerning those unfavorable tendencies which will possibly appear or have already appeared. For example, some people in some places go in for ostentation and extravagance during weddings so that they go heavily into debt. This does not bring convenience and comfort to life; on the contrary, it brings difficulties and worries. Take another example: It has become a regular practice in some places to give dinners and send gifts, which not only increases people's economic and spiritual burdens but also encourages the evil practice of squandering and wasting. There also exists the phenomenon of vulgarity and frivolity in recreational life. All these will by no means be favorable but harmful to providing a truly happy life for the people. Society should never let these things go unchecked. In accordance with the present consumption level and the practical needs of the people of our country, it is first of all imperative to satisfy the people's basic necessities of life--"food, clothing, shelter, expenses and transportation"--as the most important problem to be solved in developing the economy and raising the consumption level. Second, it is necessary to develop those products favorable to the construction of socialist material and cultural civilization, such as certain durable consumer goods and educational, scientific research, health and welfare undertakings. It is also necessary to stress developing those undertakings which bring conveniences to the people's lives, such as public utilities, commerce, service trades, preschool education, and collective welfare and cultural undertakings. On the basis of popularization, it is necessary to raise standards selectively. In a word, it is not only necessary for us to organize production according to the needs of the people, but also necessary to correctly guide the people's needs. In this way we can handle well the relationship between production and consumption.

Rationalize the Industrial Structure and Do Our Best To Satisfy the People's Demands

We have studied the relations between production and consumption under socialist conditions and the socialist pattern of consumption in China. It is necessary then to apply our scientific understanding to guide our economic work.

After the founding of the state, we scored great achievements by correctly handling the relations between production and consumption. However, because we deviated from the purpose of socialist production and there was a tendency of "production for production's sake," the industrial structure has been irrational for a long time. The main problems in the industrial structure were: agricultural production fell far behind industrial production; light industrial production could not satisfy the demands of the urban and rural people to improve their living standards; heavy industry developed alone without the relevant development of agriculture and light industry; the shortage of energy resources was accompanied by serious waste; communications and transportation became a weak link in the national economy; and the development of commerce, service trades and education and science did not suit the development of the national economy. The main consequences of these problems were: The economic effect was reduced, the people's living standard was not improved as it should have been along with the development of production, and their socialist enthusiasm was dampened.

Why have we for a long time made mistakes which deviate from the purpose of socialist production? What should we do to overcome these mistakes and better satisfy the needs of the people? Solving these problems will be of great significance to the smooth development of our socialist economy.

There were some objective causes for our failure to handle well the relations between production and consumption. Our country entered the stage of socialism with a poor productive force as the basis and considerably more accumulation was needed in order to consolidate the socialist system and develop the productive force rapidly. In the meantime, national defense construction was imperative since our country faced the danger of imperialist and social imperialist aggression. Under such circumstances, it was certainly difficult to handle well the relation between production and consumption as well as the relation between accumulation and consumption.

However, our failure to handle well the relation between production and consumption was chiefly owing to subjective causes. Since there was for a long time the "theory of rash advance" in economic construction and we did not have a profound understanding of the conditions of our country, the following problems appeared in our past strategy of economic development: 1) We blindly sought high targets, especially in heavy industry; 2) we one-sidedly gave priority to the development of heavy industry and practiced "taking steel as the key link," which resulted in industry squeezing out agriculture and heavy industry squeezing out light industry; 3) we blindly expanded the scale of capital construction and neglected to give full play to the role of the existing enterprises; and 4) we engaged in high accumulation, which resulted in accumulation exceeding consumption. These problems in development strategy led to serious irrationality in the industrial structure. As a result, our production could not satisfy the demands of the people.

Shortcomings in the system of our economic management were another important cause for our failure to handle well the relation between production and consumption. We practiced for a long time a highly centralized system with administrative management as the main organ, which excluded the market mechanism. This system dampened the enthusiasm and initiative of both enterprises and staff workers In some cases when the leading organs made mistakes in economic policies, the enterprises had no choice but to obey orders. There was no mechanism to automatically satisfy the demands of the people. All these things were unfavorable to the realization of the purpose of the socialist production.

In order to overcome the past shortcomings and mistakes, we are now carrying out the eight-character policy with readjustment as the central task. The chief purpose of readjusting the national economy is to rationalize the industrial structure step by step and make it conducive to the realization of the purpose of socialist production. At present, besides resolutely curtailing the capital construction front, it is necessary to work hard to produce more products that are in short supply in the national economy, especially consumer products. This is the key link in the realization of the task of readjustment.

In developing the production of consumer goods, it is primarily necessary to consolidate and strengthen agricultural production which is the foundation of the national economy. As has just been pointed out in the consumption structure of our people, food is of primary importance, consisting mainly of agricultural and sideline products; clothing is secondary, and most raw materials are acquired from the agricultural sector, and a good part of goods for daily use are also provided by the agricultural sector. All this means that the key to improving the people's living standard is to promote agriculture. In recent years, since we have implemented the correct policy of "first depending on policy and second depending on science," our agricultural situation has been very good. But this does not mean that our problems in agriculture have been solved. Instead, we must realize that the agricultural problem is still the main problem today. Thus, it is necessary to uphold the correct policy and appropriately solve the continuously emerging new problems in order to achieve a constant and steady growth of agricultural production. In developing agricultural production, we must pay great attention both to increasing the output of grain products and to developing comprehensively farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery as well as a diversified economy. It is necessary to handle well their reciprocal relations in line with local conditions and different seasons. In the meantime, it is also necessary to restore and maintain the ecological balance. This is not only the key problem in increasing agricultural production at present but also a matter which will affect our descendants, and it cannot be taken lightly.

In developing the production of consumer goods, it is also necessary to greatly develop the production of the light and textile industries. The investment needed for the light and textile industries is small and results will be obtained quickly. Their products will not only meet the needs of the market but also will help to withdraw currency and increase financial income. Along with the development of agriculture and the increase of the peasants' income, more and more light industry and textile products are needed in the countryside. Thus, developing light and textile industries is also an important concern in meeting the demands of the peasants and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. In the readjustment of the past 2 years, although the light and textile industries were developed to some extent, this development was somewhat aimless in the previous period owing to insufficient study of the demand and consumption structures. We must overcome this blindness in development, and in view of the dislocation of supply and marketing, put into effect plans and measures for increasing both production and income item by item by first selecting several products that have a good market and then promoting the gradual development of high-speed light industry and textile production.

Coordination between departments is necessary in order to promote the production of consumer goods. All businesses and trades must serve the development of consumer goods and actively support the development of agriculture and the light and textile industries. It is necessary for heavy industry to get on the right track of serving agriculture and the light and textile industries. In the final analysis, this is the right track for satisfying the demands of the people so that heavy industry can also have a healthier development. In the machine building industry, it is necessary to change from chiefly serving capital construction of heavy industry to serving the existing enterprises of all walks of life in the technical transformation centering on economizing energy and serving the light and textile industries in tapping potentialities and making innovations and reforms. In the meantime, we must actively develop in a planned way the production of electrical appliances for daily use. Other heavy industrial departments, such as the metallurgical and chemical industries, must readjust their production orientation or make the necessary organizational changes as to meet the need for the production of more consumer goods and the need for the technical transformation of the national economy. Undertakings in such fields as communications and transportation, commerce and service trades, science and education and so on must also play an active role in developing the production of consumer goods, agriculture, and the light and textile industries. In the process of supporting the production of consumer goods, all businesses and trades are at the same time making readjustments in accordance with the goal of socialist production. By so doing, a rational economic relationship will be established among and within the departments, and a rational industrial structure will also be set up step by step to satisfy the needs of the people.

In order to satisfy the needs of the people, it is also necessary to develop the commercial and service trades and endeavor to raise the quality of services. Owing to the neglect over a long period of time, the commerce and service trades in our country are not flourishing. There are very few service points, and networks and services are poor, which is inconvenient for the people. The development of the commercial and service trades, which are labor-intensive undertakings, will be favorable to solving the problem of employment and will be the main way in the future for the productive force in towns and cities to obtain employment. In the future, we must chiefly adopt the collective ownership system in developing the commercial and service trades and, in the meantime, allow the existence of individual economy.

In our present national economy, serious irrational phenomena not only exist in the industrial structure but also in the organizational structure. Our economic base is not so very poor after more than 30 years of construction, but owing to the irrationality in the industrial and organizational structures, potentialities are not brought into full play. According to Marx, there is expanded reproduction both by extension and intension. In the past, we mainly relied on expanded reproduction by extension, which was necessary when the industrial foundation was poor. Now, since we have already established a sound industrial base and there are great potentialities within the industrial enterprises, we must mainly rely in the future on expanded reproduction by intension. Thus, we must readjust the organizational structure in industry while readjusting the industrial structure, and, in accordance with the principles of coordination among specialized departments and economic rationality, carry out an overall reorganization in industry step by step and fully tap the potentialities of all existing industrial enterprises.

The industrial reorganization of our country is being carried out under the condition that the reform of giving more decisionmaking power to enterprises has been widely implemented in the main enterprises. Its basic form should be various joint undertakings among enterprises on a voluntary and mutually beneficial basis which are favorable to all participating units. But this industrial reorganization cannot be conducted without the powerful guidance of plans and administrative intervention. Without an impetus from above to below, there would be no joint undertakings. At present, it is necessary to do experiments in reorganization among trades, starting in the major cities and keeping the whole country in mind. It is necessary to break down the barriers between different trades and departments. Around the brand-name, high-quality products which are competitive both at home and abroad, we must organize companies, and establish main factories or joint undertakings under a unified plan, with the factories producing brand-name products as the center. This will promote the production of these products by changing the production structure, coordinating specialized units, popularizing and applying new techniques, and attaining better economic results.

In short, by implementing the eight-character policy centering on readjustment, we shall be able to establish step by step a relatively rational economic structure, which will enable our socialist economic construction to get onto a new track for achieving better economic results and for satisfying the needs of the people. The main signs of this are: the proportional relations between and within different branches of the national economy, as well as all links in social reproduction, are generally well coordinated. The social manpower and the material and financial resources are used in a relatively rational way, and the economic superiority of all local districts are brought into fuller play under the principle of rational distribution. The development of production directly results in the improvement of the livelihood of the people and the two promote each other. Finally, the social production relations including economic systems are more suitable for the development of the productive force. In this way, we will be able to achieve a coordinated development and a steady increase in the economic effect and bring into full play the superiority of the socialist system. The people will also obtain more material benefits.

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We must strive for the realization of the lofty mission of our socialist construction to meet the needs of the people. After decades of hard work, we are sure that we will build up a Chinese-style socialist material and spiritual civilization. We must learn from the strong points of other countries and, at the same time, avoid duplicating their weak points. The socialist material and spiritual civilization we are now building should be full of variety and color and be superior to capitalist and social imperialist countries. Under the leadership of the party, and by developing the spirit of patriotism and the spirit of everyone working hard for the prosperity of our country, we are certain that we will be able to build a lofty, Chinese-style socialist material and spiritual civilization with our untiring hands and intelligence. We are determined to attain this goal, and we must be confident that this goal will be attained.

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WITHOUT THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY THERE COULD NOT HAVE BEEN THE EMANCIPATION OF CHINESE WOMEN

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[Article by Kang Keqing [1660 0344 3237]]

[Text] Sixty years have passed since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. Over the past 60 years, our party creatively applied the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of Chinese revolution and construction, and thus developed the great Mao Zedong Thought. Under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, the party has led the people throughout the country to advance wave upon wave, continue to fight in spite of setbacks, arduously carry out all undertakings, and eventually turn the extremely decadent and moribund, semicolonial, semifeudal old China into the prosperous socialist new China, thereby making splendid historical contributions. Here, I would like to look back at the road which Chinese women have taken in the past 60 years under the leadership of the party.

In old China, since the feudal dogma of "only women and persons of low positions are hard to educate" was prevalent, women were treated like slaves. They were tightly bound by the four thick ropes of political power, clan power, religion and the authority of the husband, and were deprived of all rights and any status. In one of Lu Xun's short stories, he depicted his leading character's life as one of "living in humiliation and dying in misery," and that was the destiny of hundreds of thousands of poor laboring women in those times. In contrast, women in new China are highly appreciated for their contributions in holding up "half the sky." This vivid description reflects on the one hand the important role which the broad masses of women in our country are playing in revolution and construction and, on the other how they are respected by all circles in society. The realization of the equality of men and women is indeed a vivid example of the superiority of the socialist system. A period of 60 years is merely an instant in the span of human history; how could the women of our country undergo such a drastic change as being liberated from the miserable conditions and humiliating status that had bound them for thousands of years? This was because of the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, which correctly directed the emancipation of women; because of socialist political and economic system, which opened up the broad road to the emancipation of women; and because of the courageous struggle and arduous work of the broad masses of women, which won them the respect of society. It is because of all this that the cause of emancipating Chinese women could achieve such brilliant victories. That is the direction we have taken!

I

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our guiding thought. Marxists, who believe the great truth that history is created by the masses, have always regarded women, who had been repressed to the lowest social strata, as a great revolutionary force. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out many times that when the power of women was mobilized, revolution and construction would be achieved; otherwise it would not. During the years of revolutionary war, he said, "Women form half of the population. The economic status of laboring women and the fact that they are in the particularly oppressed status not only proves that women are in real need of the revolution, but also that they are a force which will affect the destiny of the revolution." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," northeast edition, p 568) In the period of socialist construction, in appealing to the whole party and the people throughout the country, he said, "Women form a great reserve of labor power in China. This reserve should be tapped in the struggle to build a great socialist country." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, pp 252-253) He also presented a vivid analogy on fully mobilizing women in socialist construction by comparing the power of women to one of the two hands of a person which function together. Like two hands working together, the power of women is also necessary.

Comrade Mao Zedong also clearly pointed out that the emancipation of women could only be accomplished by achieving the proletarian revolution and socialist construction, and that close attention must be paid to the immediate interests of women by mobilizing and organizing them. I can still clearly remember that after 1930, in the successive investigations conducted in Xinwu, Xingguo, Caixixiang and Changgangxiang, Comrade Mao Zedong made detailed surveys of such problems as women's livelihood, production, political activities, armed struggle and so on, as well as such problems as children's livelihood, education, and the activities of the children's corps and so on. He also looked into the work of women's organizations. He pointed out that the correct way to undertake the tasks of representative assemblies of women workers and women peasants is first to strive to solve problems concerning the immediate interests of the masses of women, and then integrate this work with political mobilization by motivating and organizing the masses of women. Comrade Mao Zedong set a good example in going deep among the masses of women to carry out investigations and studies, and in motivating and mobilizing women.

It is under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought that our party has persisted in closely combining the women's emancipation movement with the new democratic revolution, socialist revolution and construction, and making it an inseparable part of the whole struggle. Since its first national congress, our party has repeatedly placed the promotion of the women's emancipation movement on its important work schedule. The resolution concerning the women's movement, drawn up at the second national party congress, emphatically declared, "The Chinese Communist Party believes that women's emancipation must coincide with labor emancipation. Only when the proletariat has seized political power can women be really emancipated." At the same congress a department of women was set up and Comrade Xiang Jingyu was named its first head. In the past 60 years, whether during the period of the new democratic revolution or the period of socialist revolution and construction, our party always put forth concrete tasks, guidelines and policies for the women's movement in accordance with the general tasks, and led women to vigorously struggle to complete the party's general tasks and realize the emancipation of women. "The decision concerning the guiding principles for women's work at present in all bases of resistance against Japan" drawn up by the party's central authorities in 1943 and "the decision concerning women's work at present in the rural areas in the liberated zones" in 1948 directed women's work in the bases of resistance against Japan and the liberated zones during the period of the new democratic revolution. The guideline reiterated in these two decisions, namely, that women's work should center on production, is still valid now during socialist construction even long after nationwide liberation.

In the 28 years before nationwide liberation, the revolutionary path our party followed was a special one which led to the eventual seizure of political power throughout the country by establishing revolutionary bases in the countryside and by surrounding the cities from the countryside. Following this path, the party mobilized the masses of women and gave full play to their special skills in supporting the revolutionary war. During these 28 years, the masses of women made many great contributions to land reform in the bases, to agricultural and military supplies production on the cultural and educational front, and to the construction of the party. In those war-ridden years, the masses of women displayed extraordinary courage: they armed themselves with red-tasselled spears to support the front; mothers encouraged their sons and wives encouraged their husbands to join the people's army; they made shoes for the army and gave their support to the armymen; and many of them devoted their precious lives to rescuing and protecting the sick and wounded. All these moving examples still remain fresh in our memories. It was because of this tremendous army made up of the broad masses of men and women that our party won the great victory of the new democratic revolution and founded the People's Republic of China.

During the war years, the party pushed forward its policy on the equality of men and women, safeguarded women's rights and interests, and enforced the principle of freedom of marriage wherever the people's army advanced and set up a base. The mass women's organizations of various types functioning as links between the party and the masses of women played active roles in motivating women to carry out the policies and decisions of the party. While at the same time, a great number of women cadres came forth on various fronts. The practice of equality of men and women and freedom of marriage was gradually fostered in revolutionary bases and liberated zones, the feudal tradition of looking down on women and respecting men was gradually weakened, and the independent status of women in the society and family was given a more solid foundation.

II

The Chinese people stood up and the Chinese women changed from slaves into masters of the country as soon as the People's Republic of China was founded. As the party and government were closely concerned about the immediate interests of women, all laws of old China which had bound and enslaved women were abolished. In old China, where the feudal system had existed for thousands of years, women were the greatest victims of feudal oppression; the practice of arranged mercenary marriage adversely affected the people, in particular the masses of women. Therefore, the marriage law of the People's Republic of China was the first law worked out by the people's central government and signed by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1950, and it aimed at banning feudal arranged mercenary marriages and establishing an equal and harmonious new marital and family relationship. In February 1953, the central authorities of the Chinese Communist Party and the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government launched a month-long campaign to enforce the marriage law. The basic aim was to educate the broad masses and cadres so they would make a clean break with feudal ideology and put an end to the feudal marriage system. A small number of serious criminals who had raped, ill-treated and persecuted women, and those who had infringed upon the freedom of marriage and hence caused grave consequences, were punished according to the law. After the 10-year upheaval was ended, the new marriage law of the People's Republic of China went into effect in January 1981. Besides this, rules which guarantee women's rights have been attached to a series of laws and regulations which have been promulgated. The constitution, the marriage law and other laws of new China insure that women share equal rights and interests with men in various fields such as politics, economics, culture, and social and family life. Marriage, families, mothers and children are protected by the state.

As the socialist political and economic system has opened a broad road to the emancipation of women, the long-suppressed revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of women has been aroused, and their wisdom and abilities, which had been neglected for so long, can now be displayed. Heroines, exemplary women, women specialists, and women of action are emerging everywhere; they are highly respected and appreciated by society. Today, under the party's leadership, women who used to be overlooked and enslaved in the past are making great contributions to socialist construction by upholding the principle of being industrious and thrifty in building the countrv, managing a household and running all undertakings.

After nationwide liberation every woman received her allotment of land as every man did at the completion of the land reform. Their enthusiasm in participating in agricultural production was enormously aroused, and more and more able-bodied women in rural areas began to engage in field work. Some of them even began to learn how to use new types of farm implements and apply new cultivation techniques in farming. A great number of women cadres fostered during the land reform movement led the broad masses of women to take part in productive labor and in political and cultural activities, and paid attention to problems involving the immediate interests of women and helped to solve them. Many women core members took the lead in organizing productive mutual aid groups and cooperatives and in gradually following the socialist road. Wi 1 the successful realization of agricultural cooperatives, the economic life of the broad masses of women underwent changes during the land reform. Women became new-type socialist peasants just like men. As the principle of equal pay for equal work for both men and women was enforced step by step, women's economic status was raised. The relatively rational division of labor between men and women made it possible for women to take part in labor which conforms to their physiological characteristics, and provides opportunities for them to learn from their male counterparts and from scientific and technical personnel in order to raise their technical level. To develop production, the organizations concerned strove to solve step by step and in various ways such problems as labor protection for women, housework, the nurturing of children and so on. Some women were even trained to take leading posts on the agricultural front. As women's productive enthusiasm was raised higher and higher, the fields they worked in were expanded tremendously. All these changes have helped to raise agricultural and sideline production, to promote diversified economy, to increase peasant families' income and to support the state's industrial construction.

The agricultural policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, in particular the introduction of various forms of the production responsibility system and payment according to work, have provided advantageous conditions for displaying women's special skills, developing a diversified economy and household sideline production, steadily improving technology and production specialization, and broadening production diversification. With the introduction of the production responsibility systems, men and women commune members have been divided into groups according to their specializations. This has led to a more rational allocation of women laborers and facilitated their participation in planting, breeding, weaving, gathering, and food processing, in the service trades, in commune- and brigade-run industries and commercial enterprises, in cultural and educational undertakings, in the scientific cause and in the public health services, thus boosting the rural economy. Since the payment for labor has been directly related to work, the principle of equal pay for equal work without discrimination between men and women has been further enhanced. Since production duties have been well defined, and bonuses issued for overfulfilling assigned tasks, everyone is willing to strive for high outputs and bumper harvests in their respective specializations. Therefore, women's consciousness in acquiring cultural, scientific and technical education has been greatly raised, and core technological women specialists of all kinds are gradually developing. Of course, with new circumstances, new problems will emerge which will require our attention.

In the cities, along with the development of socialist construction, the number of women workers in our country has increased from 6 million at liberation to 30 million at present. In the textile and light industrial departments, the number of women workers is over 60 percent of the total. In public health, culture and education, industry and communications, finance and trade, science and technology and so on, women are also playing important roles. In order to meet the requirements of socialist construction for the four modernizations, our country is striving to raise the cultural and scientific level of the whole Chinese nation and foster an enormous scientific and technological contingent. This provides more favorable conditions for educating women, and thus will lead to a rapid rise in the number of qualified female personnel.

Right now, in city and countryside people are launching a campaign to raise democratic and harmonious new-type families, which advocates loving the country (collective), becoming rich through work, family planning, unity and mutual aid, observing discipline and abiding by the law; in other words, a campaign to promote "five good" families. This is an important aspect in insuring the political and ideological education of women and in developing a socialist spiritual civilization, which is vital in further enhancing the already very good situation of stability and unity and in doing well in the construction of the four modernizations. Therefore, we must combine this campaign with the activities to promote the "five stresses" and "four beautifuls" and continue to develop them persistently and in a deep-going way.

In motivating and organizing women to take part in socialist construction, we have already achieved great successes, and given full play to the great superiority of the socialist system. However, we have also suffered setbacks. During the period 1958-1960, being overanxious for quick results, we blindly motivated all women to participate in social labor irrespective of their physiological characteristics. We hoped to achieve in a short time the complete socialization of housework and basically fill children's education with social content. Practice has proved that this policy and its implementation were divorced from the actual production level and the desires of the masses. In the 10-year turbulence of the "Cultural Revolution," the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, which plotted to usurp the leadership of the party and the state, seriously harmed the whole country as well as the women's front. In those days, the results of women's work achieved in the previous 17 years were completely negated, and women's organizations at all levels were forced to cease functioning. Many women leading cadres, women model workers and women intellectuals were persecuted. Women's socialist initiative was severely suppressed, the work to improve the welfare of women and children suffered, and feudal ideology and customs which had oppressed women were revived. All these activities proved to be catastrophic to women. However, they also taught us a lesson by negative example: women's emancipation cannot proceed without the correct leadership of the party and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Whenever the whole revolution and the construction cause suffers setbacks, or takes the wrong road, the cause of women's emancipation is affected. We should learn a useful lesson from this.

III

To realize the grand alliance of women is a very important step. The women's emancipation movement has always been pushed in accordance with the general task of the party and the concrete tasks, principles and policies of the women's movement and with the efforts of the broad masses of women workers, peasants and intellectuals of all nationalities, and through the unity of women of all nationalities, all strata and different religious believers.

In the past 60 years, we first of all placed emphasis on the integration of women workers and peasants with women intellectuals. I still clearly remember that the first teachers who introduced me to the cause of the revolution were a group of young female students who came to my native place to conduct propaganda activities in 1925. The integration of women intellectuals with women workers and peasants, together with the socialization of women laborers, helped to strengthen the unity of women intellectuals and women laborers and to speed up the cause of the revolution.

In the past 60 years, we have achieved quite a few successes in expanding and strengthening the united front. During the first revolutionary civil war period, KMT-Communist cooperation was established for the first time. During the war of resistance against Japan, KMT-Communist cooperation was established for the second time and the national united front of resistance against Japan was set up. After nationwide liberation, we continued to strengthen the united front and carried out the principle of peaceful persuasion and transformation through unity. Under the guidance of the above-mentioned general principles, we have extensively united with women of all walks of life and all strata, including the bourgeoisie, capitalists, overseas compatriots and so on. We have also expanded and strengthened the women's united front. All these undertakings greatly contributed to pushing forward the new democratic revolution before the founding of the republic, and to boosting socialist revolution and construction and speeding up the revolutionization of women of the upper stratum after the founding of the republic.

Today, we must further develop the revolutionary and patriotic united front, expand and strengthen the unity of women, in particular the unity with women compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and with overseas women compatriots, and with women of the upper stratum of all minority nationalities; we must work with them to smoothly carry out the construction of the four modernizations and realize the glorious reunification of Taiwan with the motherland.

IV

In looking back on the road Chinese women have traveled over the past 60 years, we can clearly see that without the Chinese Communist Party, there would neither have been a new China nor the emancipation of Chinese women. It was only socialism that saved China, and only socialism that liberated Chinese women. The victory of the socialist cause in our country is the result of the side-by-side struggle and arduous labor of the broad masses of both sexes. In this sense, we can say that women's emancipation depends on women's struggle. Women can only "seek emancipation through struggle and equality through work." Just as Lenin said, "The liberation of workers should be the workers' own business. In the same way, the emancipation of women workers should be the women workers' own business." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 73)

All the successes the Chinese people of all nationalities have achieved under the leadership of our party in the past 32 years have laid a solid foundation for further advancement. The tortuous road we have traveled has provided us with much experience, both positive and negative. People today and the generations that follow should take up the responsibility of carrying forward and enhancing the glorious revolutionary traditions, uphold the four basic principles, closely unite around the party Central Committee, and strive to turn our country step by step into a modern powerful socialist state which has a high degree of democracy and civilization, and hence accomplish the further emancipation of women.

At present, women throughout the country and women's federation cadres are conscientiously studying the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." In the course of this study, we will surely be spurred on to unite more closely and do our part for the realization of the four modernizations. We all know that the cause of communism which the revolutionary pioneers started and strove for all their lives cannot be completed in only one or two generations. Therefore, we must not only pay close attention to the tasks at present but also keep the future in mind. A long march needs runners to carry on; likewise, the construction of the four modernizations needs a reserve force. That is to say that the cause of communism needs successors. Therefore, we women comrades should work together with our male counterparts in fostering the over 300 million children and youths to maintain the lofty ideals of communism, to be moral, to be well educated and physically fit, and to be determined to devote their lives to the people, the state and mankind. In this way, we can be assured that the cause of communism will be handed down from generation to generation and that the revolution will remain forever young. This is a grave strategic task which is both arduous and glorious. We must strive unremittingly to carry it out.

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CONSCIENTIOUSLY STUDY THE 'RESOLUTION,' PERSIST IN SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 pp 23-27

[Article by Jiang Hua [3068 5478]]

[Text] During the splendid festival celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, the CCP Central Committee published the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." This was a major event of enormous real significance and far-reaching historical significance in the political lives of the whole party and the whole Chinese people. In a solemn scientific attitude, the "resolution" reviewed our party's history of struggle during the 28 years before the founding of the PRC, comprehensively summed up the experience and lessons in the socialist revolution and socialist construction carried out by the whole Chinese people under our party's leadership during the 32 years since the founding of the PRC, realistically and appropriately appraised the historical role played by great leader and teacher Comrade Mao Zedong in the Chinese revolution, fully expounded the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought as our party's guiding ideology, and further pointed out the correct path of socialist modernization corresponding to the conditions of our country. The "resolution" is a historical document resplendent with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It will invariably lead to greater unity in thinking within the party and among all the Chinese people and push our country's socialist cause to flourish with each passing day. With its incomparable correctness and profound ideological content, it will shine forever in the great annals of the CCP and the PRC.

Since its founding in 1921, the CCP has covered a glorious militant course of 60 years. Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, our party led the whole Chinese people in winning a complete victory of the new democratic revolution after fighting against extreme hardships and difficulties for 28 years. After the founding of the PRC, it continued to lead the whole Chinese people in winning great achievements in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The path of the past 60 years has been uneven, developing rather smoothly some times and obstructed by serious setbacks at other times. Studying the "resolution" makes us understand more clearly that each victory or setback in the party's cause was inseparable from whether the party's guiding ideology at that time tallied with the dialectical-materialist ideological line of proceeding from reality and seeking truth from facts in doing everything. The party's cause developed triumphantly whenever the party proceeded from the reality of the Chinese revolution, realistically estimated the situation and the subjective and objective conditions at that time and drew up and carried out correct principles and policies; otherwise, the party's cause would take a tortuous path, meet with setbacks and suffer damages and losses. As the mistakes made by the party during the period of the new democratic revolution, the mistakes occurring several times during the 32 years after the founding of the PRC and, in particular, the serious leftist mistake of the "Cultural Revolution," a mistake comprehensive in magnitude and protracted in duration, were caused by the adoption of a guiding ideology which went against the principle of seeking truth from facts, and by the divorcement of the subjective from the objective and theory from reality. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the CCP Central Committee has penetratingly summed up experience and lessons, rectified the leftist mistakes and, by proceeding from the current situation of our country and seeking truth from facts, laid down a number of major principles and policies, thereby creating favorable conditions for our various tasks. Seeking truth from facts is the core of the ideological line adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The "resolution" is another example of our party's method of handling a problem of a political nature by persisting in seeking truth from facts. It is also a concrete manifestation of our party's strong vitality and high combat effectiveness in upholding the truth, correcting its mistakes and preserving its vitality.

Since the founding of the PRC, enormous achievements have been made in people's judicial work under the party's correct leadership. This played a tremendous role in consolidating the political power of the state which is under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and in facilitating the socialist revolution and socialist construction. During the period between the founding of the PRC and 1956, people's judicial work developed healthily and quickly on the basis of the principles of the socialist legal system. During the decade from 1957 to the eve of the "Cultural Revolution," people's judicial work mainly adhered to the correct orientation and achieved remarkable results. However, the serious faults and errors in the guidelines and policies in the party's work during this period could not but be reflected in people's judicial work and cause some defects and mistakes in people's judicial work. During the "Cultural Revolution," the socialist legal system was completely sabotaged by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, the people's judicial organs were disrupted and the masses of judicial cadres were persecuted. As a result, in the administration of justice, the distinction between the people and the enemy was confused and the line between guilt and innocence was blurred, resulting in a great number of cases in which people were wronged, misjudged or framed. Of course, some achievements were made during this period. They were not a fruit of the "Cultural Revolution" but an outcome of the struggle against the leftist mistakes and the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques by the masses of judicial cadres who were loyal to the party and the people, loyal to the facts and loyal to the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist cause. In October 1976, our party smashed the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and put an end to the "Cultural Revolution," which was an internal strife bringing serious disaster to the party, the state and the whole Chinese people. In 1977 and 1978, people's judicial work was resumed but some mistakes occurred as a result of the influence of the erroneous "two whatevers" policy. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in December 1978 marked a crucial turning point of far-reaching significance in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC. It began to conscientiously and comprehensively correct the leftist errors of the "Cultural Revolution" and earlier. It decided on the guiding principle of emancipating the mind, using our brains, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one in looking forward to the future. It stressed the task of strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. Seven important laws including the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure were adopted by the first session of the Fifth NPC, which was subsequently held later. The CCP Central Committee promptly issued instructions calling on all party members to firmly guarantee the realistic implementation of the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure. These indicated the beginning of a new period of development in the socialist legal system and people's judicial work in our country. In the past 3 years, guided by the line and general and specific policies laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, people's judicial work continued to rid itself of the influence of the erroneous leftist guiding ideology and at the same time surmounted interference and constantly advanced along the correct path of persisting in seeking truth from facts and acting according to law. Taking the requirement of "faithfully abiding by the laws, rules and regulations, serving the people's interests and keeping to the facts," put forth by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, as the criterion, the masses of judicial cadres adhered to the fine tradition and work style of making investigation and seeking truth from facts and firmly enforced the criminal law, the law of criminal procedure and other laws. Generally speaking, criminal cases and civil disputes were handled correctly, legally and promptly, the criminals punished and the people protected. This played an active role in upholding social order. Of course, a very small number of cases were not handled properly. Led by the CCP Central Committee and persisting in taking the facts as the base and the law as the criterion, the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court smoothly tried and passed sentences on the 10 principal culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. This was a great political victory won by the whole Chinese people. In the past 3 years, under the direct leadership of the local party committees at various levels, the people's courts at all levels in the country acted according to the decision made by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee on the redress of wrongs suffered by those who had been unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged, and conducted a general review of the criminal cases which were handled and decided during the "Cultural Revolution," thereby correcting the verdicts on many unjust, false and wrong cases. Those who had been wronged and their family dependents were properly placed and duly compensated. This promoted stability and unity in society, aroused the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses and exerted good influence politically. This also was a great achievement won in people's judicial work by firmly carrying out the line and general and specific policies laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. Reviewing people's judicial work carried out since the founding of the PRC, we can arrive at this basic experience on both the positive and negative sides: Trial of cases should persistently adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts as consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong.

Conscientiously study the "resolution," sum up the experience in people's judicial work, firmly carry out the line and general and specific policies laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts. This has decisive meaning in further strengthening people's judicial work.

To carry out people's judicial work by adhering to the principle of seeking truth from facts, we must study the new conditions and solve new problems by taking the actual situation of our country into consideration. In our country, both the state power under the people's domestic dictatorship and the socialist system have been consolidated and strengthened on an unprecedented scale after going through a course of construction and development in the past 32 years. In Chinese society, the contradiction which chiefly took the form of class struggle between the exploiters and the exploited has mainly turned into the contradiction among the working people. After the extermination of the exploiting class, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within a certain sphere. With the change in the conditions of classes in society, great changes have taken place in the conditions of offenses. These changes find expression chiefly in the fact that, among criminal cases, the number of counterrevolutionary criminal cases which sharply reflect class struggle has greatly diminished, and most of the cases involve ordinary crimes; that among the criminals, a very small number of them are counterrevolutionaries and bad elements who are remnants of or appendages to the exploiting class, and the overwhelming majority of them belong to the working class; and that the majority of the criminals are youths and teenagers. The causes of crimes also differ from those of the past. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques held sway for many years, poisoning a great number of people ideologically. In particular, the youths and teenagers were poisoned most deeply and a few of them took the criminal route. With the implementation of the two major policies of relaxing restrictions at home and opening the door to foreign trade, our country's economy is in a rarely fine situation. However, some new problems have cropped up. Some unstable elements have been corrupted by decadent bourgeois thinking and have gone astray. Tempted and bought over by foreign anti-socialist forces, a few elements who are discontented with reality have fallen into the quagmire of counterrevolutionary crimes. These factors destroy social stability and should not be underestimated. Some new conditions are also manifested in civil disputes. There has been a rather big increase in the number of disputes over ownership of farmland, forests and houses, which seldom happened in the past, and the trend shows that such disputes will continue to increase. There has also been a marked increase in the number of financial disputes over contracts. These new conditions and characteristics are actual problems on which people's judicial work should be focused. We should proceed from the objective reality and our country's actual conditions, apply the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in making careful investigations, and find the correct policy and method for solving these problems. Only thus can people's judicial work correspond to the new situation and continue to develop.

To carry out people's judicial work by adhering to the principle of seeking truth from facts, we must realistically conduct a trial and arrive at a verdict by keeping to the facts. The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge tells us that correct knowledge means the correct reflection of the objective reality in the sphere of subjective consciousness. As far as a trial is concerned, the correctness of a verdict is primarily determined by whether the judge's knowledge of the case reflects the facts of the case. The facts of a case exist objectively. They exist independent of man's recognition. They do not change when they are exaggerated or suppressed. The responsibility of a judge is to correctly view the facts of a case through the legal proceedings and to handle each case approximately according to this correct view and the state's laws. Seeking truth from facts and keeping to the facts of a case is the political and ideological quality which a judicial worker must have.

In people's judicial work, the principle of seeking truth from facts is identical with the policy of strictly acting according to law. Taking the facts as the base and the laws as the criterion, punishing those who are guilty and exonerating those who are innocent, and imposing heavy punishment on those who have committed serious offenses and light punishments on those who have committed minor offenses--this requires the application of the principle of seeking truth from facts. Our struggle against the criminals who jeopardize stability and unity in society must follow the principles of the socialist legal system and be carried out within the sphere of the law. The "resolution" points out: "It is essential to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, improve our constitution and laws and insure their strict observance and inviolability. We must turn the socialist legal system into a powerful instrument for protecting the rights of the people, insuring order in production, work and other activities, punishing criminals and cracking down on the disruptive activities of class enemies. The kind of chaotic situation like that during the 'Cultural Revolution' must never be allowed to happen again in any sphere." Knowing how to use the law as an instrument to fight crime is a new lesson which we must learn as quickly as possible in the course of developing socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system at present and in the future. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: "In order to safeguard people's democracy, it is imperative to strengthen the socialist legal system so that democracy is systematized and written into law in such a way as to insure the stability, continuity and full authority of this democratic system and these laws; there must be laws for people to follow, these laws must be observed, their enforcement must be strict and lawbreakers must be dealt with." "Procuratorial and judicial organizations must maintain their independence as is appropriate" and "they must guarantee the equality of all people before the people's laws and deny anyone the privilege of being above the law." Practice of judicial work in the past 3 years shows that these principles put forth by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are entirely correct. Practice also shows that strictly acting according to the law creates favorable conditions for the people's judicial organs to fight crime and does not impede the fight against crime and that acting according to law does not and cannot possibly tie the judicial cadres hand and foot but really plays the role of a strong rope tying up the criminals. The seven laws adopted by the second session of the Fifth NPC have been enforced for only a year or so and have produced such enormous results, bringing a completely new look to people's judicial work. At present, we should continue to stress the principle of strictly acting according to law. We must make still greater efforts to insure all-round implementation of the criminal law, the law of criminal procedure and other laws, decrees and regulations.

The "resolution" pointed out that the principles and methods of proceeding from reality, conducting investigations, combining theory with practice, seeking truth from facts and testing truth by practice, as contained in Mao Zedong Thought represent the ideological line which we must uphold forever. This Marxist ideological line guarantees that the party's cause will win one victory after another. Our judicial workers must, by conscientiously studying the "resolution," go further to put our thinking on the right track and, in the course of carrying out judicial work, uphold the four basic principles and persist in seeking truth from facts and acting according to law, so as to accomplish our tasks with better results. Answering the call of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we must rally round the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, work concertedly and undauntedly, and make all-out efforts to attain the great goal of gradually transforming China into a powerful modern socialist country with democracy and civilization of a high level as put forth in the "resolution."

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HAVE PROFOUND FAITH IN THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, UNITE TO WORK FOR THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 pp 26-30

[Article by Tan Qilong [6223 7893]]

[Text] On the eve of the 60th anniversary of the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, which is of great historical significance, was convened and the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" was adopted. The session has readjusted and strengthened the leadership of the party Central Committee. The "resolution" profoundly sums up the positive and negative experiences of our party, and scientifically expounds the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. It will play a great historical role in unifying the understanding of the whole party and the people throughout the country and summoning up their resolve to go all out to build a powerful modern socialist country. The readjustment and strengthening of the leadership of the party Central Committee has reflected the common desire of comrades of the entire party and people of various nationalities throughout the country, accords with the basic interests of our party and socialist cause and is a basic guarantee for the implementation of the party's correct guiding principles. I wholeheartedly and resolutely support the "resolution" and the important decisions adopted by the sixth plenary session and the guiding principles and policies worked out by the party Central Committee since the third plenary session. While celebrating the 60th anniversary of the birth of our party, I, a communist who has lived and fought for the party for more than 50 years, could not but let thoughts fill my mind. I felt that I had a lot to say. To put it in a nutshell, I hope that the comrades of the whole party will have profound faith in the party and, under the unified leadership of the Central Committee, follow the basic guiding principles adopted since the third plenary session and unite as one to march forward.

Reviewing the party's history of unflinching and arduous struggle over the past 60 years, I fully realize that the failure or success and the victory or setbacks of the party's cause depend on the correct leadership of the party Central Committee and the comrades of the whole party uniting as one and working in cooperation with the masses to strive for the realization of the correct guiding principles of the party Central Committee. In 1927, due to the leadership of Chen Duxiu's right-deviationist capitulationism, the stormy and heroic great revolution suffered defeat under the enemy's surprise attack. At that time, I was young and did not experience this in person. During the second revolutionary civil war period, the bitter lesson resulting from the left-deviationist adventurism headed by Wang Ming which made our party's cause suffer serious setbacks still remains fresh in my memory. The setbacks that resulted from Wang Ming's leftist mistakes caused heavy losses to the workers' and peasants' Red Army founded by Comrade Mao Zedong and other comrades, the revolutionary base areas and the revolutionary forces in the white areas. A great number of outstanding comrades and millions upon millions of people gave their precious lives. The Zunyi conference put an end to the domination of the left-deviationist adventurism inside the party and established the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong in the Red Army and the party Central Committee. From then on, the revolution took a turn for the better and was out of danger, and marched from victory to victory. In particular, through the Marxist ideological education and rectification movement, the whole party, under the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, attained unprecedented unity and unification, the revolutionary cause forged ahead and brought about changes day after day, and the enemy was smashed. During a period of 10 years or so from the "7th party congress" in 1945 to the "8th party congress" in 1956, we defeated the Japanese aggressors, overthrew the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang and founded the People's Republic of China based on democratic dictatorship. After that, we basically accomplished the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and turned new democracy into socialism. This was a period of growth and prosperity in the history of the party, in which the party's cause advanced by leaps and bounds. At that time, although our cadres and masses lived a hard life, they had peace of mind and worked wholeheartedly. During the 10-year period from 1957 to the eve of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the party led people throughout the country to carry out overall and large-scale socialist construction. The party achieved great results and accumulated important experience in leading socialist construction. However, due to serious mistakes in guiding principles, we suffered setbacks and followed a tortuous course. Later, owing to Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes of initiating and leading the "Great Cultural Revolution," our fierce and malicious enemies--the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques--seized the chance to sneak into the core of leadership of the Central Committee and used the portion of power they had usurped to carry out counterrevolutionary and conspiratorial sabotage activities. They brought enormous losses to the socialist cause and great suffering to the party and people. However, due to the unflinching struggle of the party and people, we succeeded in crushing the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Our party corrected the leftist mistakes in its guiding thought. All this has fully shown that a party like ours which is nurtured by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and has withstood the trials of long-term and severe struggle is indomitable. It is able to lead the people throughout the country to push the revolution forward.

Like the Zunyi conference, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was another turning-point in the history of our party. It put an end to the situation that occurred during the 2 years after the smashing of the "gang of four," when the work of the party stagnated. We began to comprehensively and conscientiously correct the leftist mistakes and completely bring order out of chaos and engage in thorough reform. In so doing, the guiding principles of the party got onto the right track of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Engels said: "A large class, like a great nation, never learns better or quicker than by undergoing the consequences of its own mistakes." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 418) Two years or so after the third plenary session, the party Central Committee has followed the principle of seeking truth from facts to conscientiously sum up positive and negative historical experience. When the party and state have just recovered from serious illness, the party Central Committee has shouldered a strenuous task of carrying out construction and reform and formulating a series of important strategic decisions. All this has brought vigor and vitality to the development of our socialist cause. We have scored rapid progress and enormous success of world renown in the fields of economics, politics, science, culture, education, military and foreign affairs. Of course, at the turning-points of history, not all comrades can completely understand and accept a series of correct guiding principles and policies at one go. In the process of implementing the guiding principles and policies adopted by the third plenary session and upholding the four basic principles, we encountered interference and obstruction. Some people within the party and in the society once lacked confidence and cast doubt upon us. However, facts have taught us extensively, and great practice has substantially proved the correctness of the line of the party Central Committee. The party's guiding principles are taking root in the hearts of the people day by day. Effective results have been achieved after the implementation of various policies, and the initiative of various quarters has been aroused. An excellent situation seldom seen since the founding of the People's Republic of China has occurred in the economic field. The present political situation is the most stable since the 1960's.

Like other places throughout the country, the situation of Sichuan Province is also good and developing rapidly. The rural areas got the chance to recuperate, and bumper harvests have been gathered in for several years running. We have made encouraging progress in the readjustment and reform of industry. Our production has gradually increased and our markets are getting lively. We have stabilized public order and considerably improved people's living standards. People's mental attitude is getting better and better. All this results from the resolute implementation of the guiding principles and policies of the third plenary session. I have been working in Sichuan for more than 1 year and have visited a number of places. I was really glad that great changes have taken place in many units. Many cadres and masses talked about this with great emotion. There is a production brigade in the mountain area of Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture. During the 10 years of chaos, every commune member got an average of 200 to 300 jin of grain a year. The amount of grain increased to 800 jin last year, and the production brigade sold more than 200,000 jin of surplus grain to the state. I asked the party branch secretary of the production brigade: What do you think of the situation? He replied cheerfully: "The fact that we have enough to eat means a good situation. The fact that we have surplus grain means that the situation is excellent." He added: "We are living a better life year by year. The leadership of the party Central Committee is completely correct!" These sincere and honest remarks of this comrade of Yi nationality show that the broad masses of cadres and people in our province wholeheartedly support the guiding principles and policies of the third plenary session and resolutely trust the leadership of the party Central Committee. Their support and trust are neither blind nor superstitious. They are fully based on scientific grounds.

We have profound faith in the party Central Committee because it has upheld the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the present specific conditions to work out guiding principles and policies that conform with our national conditions. The practice of seeking truth from facts is the fundamental proposition and starting point of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is also an ever-victorious magic weapon of our party. The correctness of a guiding principle or policy is, in the final analysis, determined by whether it is in accord with reality and based on real conditions. If we deviate from the basic principle of seeking truth from facts, we are bound to commit leftist or rightist mistakes. Since the third plenary session, the party Central Committee has stuck to the principle of seeking truth from facts and paid attention to the practice of investigation and study. We have repeatedly stressed that ours is a country with a population of 1 billion and 800 million peasants. We are carrying out construction in such a country. The series of strategies, tactics and policies worked out by the party Central Committee are based on this national condition. As far as the work in rural areas is concerned, after drawing the lesson of leftist ideology and policies which fettered the peasants' initiative over a long time in the past, the party Central Committee has readjusted economic policies for rural areas; the readjustments include reducing state purchase quotas of public grain, increasing the purchase prices of agricultural and sideline products, appropriately increasing commune members' private plots, encouraging and supporting the development of domestic sideline occupations, enlivening rural market fairs, respecting production teams' decisionmaking powers, assisting and leading peasants to pursue various responsibility systems of linking remuneration to output in light of local conditions, vigorously developing diversified economy in rural areas, which has been encouraged recently, strengthening economic and cultural construction in towns in a planned way and further promoting the rural economy and so on. All these policies and measures have enabled us to give greater play to the advantages of collective economy and individual enthusiasm of commune members and to rapidly restore and develop agricultural production. The fact that we have stabilized the peasants, the majority of our population, is a matter of decisive significance and has politically further strengthened the worker-peasant alliance. It is obvious that the present rural economic policies are entirely different from the leftist stuff such as "transition in poverty" which exceeded the development level of the productive forces, subjective "arbitrary orders" and the egalitarian practice of "eating out of a big pot" and so on. They have also made a clean break with rightist ideas which negate the collective orientation and depart from the socialist road. Peasants in our province generally praise them as "the most successful policies since the cooperative movement" and "policies which will make our country and people rich." All this has shown that the guiding principles and policies adopted by the third plenary session are truly in accord with our national condition, conform with the will of the people and enjoy popular support. The party Central Committee has explicitly called on various localities and party organizations at basic levels to solve their own problems in accordance with specific and local conditions. In so doing, party organizations and party members in various localities, production teams and workshops will be able to give play to their creativity and initiative, instead of indiscriminately copying the experience of others and "doing things in a rigid way regardless of specific conditions." I believe that it is a matter of vital importance to adopt an overall viewpoint to understand the basic national condition of our country. It is equally important to understand the conditions of the localities and local units. This practice embodies the universality and particularity of contradictions and reflects the relations between generality and individuality. If we conscientiously act in accordance with the instructions of the central authorities, we will be able to integrate subjective understanding with objective reality, so that the correct guiding principles and policies adopted by the central authorities will be truly implemented and constantly developed and improved, and turned into powerful material strength by the practice of the party and people.

We have profound faith in the party Central Committee because it wholeheartedly works for the interests of the people and firmly believes and relies on the masses, and its heart and the masses' heart beat as one. Working for the interests of the people is the principle of our party. The objective of socialist production is to unceasingly satisfy the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the whole people. However, for a fairly long period in the past, these basic concepts became dim in our minds and we even did some erroneous and stupid things. Since the third plenary session, the party Central Committee has again regarded the interests and needs of the people as the starting point and end result of its action when considering all matters. It has placed the people's food, clothing, shelter, transportation, education, medical treatment, culture and so on on the agenda. The problem of food and clothing and well-being of 800 million peasants is a matter of primary importance which the party Central Committee always pays attention to and takes care of. While gradually improving the living standards of the peasants, the Central Committee attaches equal importance and shows concern for the livelihood of people in towns and cities. In the past, we accumulated a lot of problems in this respect and the masses encountered a number of difficulties which should be solved urgently. The party and government have done what they can and adopted a series of effective measures to build more houses for residents, solve the problem of employment, increase salaries and welfare, improve market supplies and strengthen urban construction and so on, so that state personnel and people in towns and cities can improve their material and cultural life to varying degrees. While gradually improving people's living standard in accordance with practical needs and possibilities, the party has also looked far ahead and aimed high to formulate long-term plans for our country's economy, politics, culture and society, and energetically encouraged us to build socialist spiritual civilization. It has also truly told the people about the difficulties which cannot be solved for the moment, and actively guided the masses to carry forward the spirit of hard struggle and building up our country through thrift and hard work and to handle well the relations between developing production and improving living standards on the one hand and the relations between the interests of the state, the collective and the individual on the other. The party has also linked temporary with long-term interests and integrated present development with future objectives. In so doing, the broad masses of people truly have something to hope for, are full of drive, summon up all their vigor, establish the sense of responsibility of being the masters of their own affairs and greatly enhance their initiative in production. All this represents the solid foundation and internal motive force for the vigorous development of the socialist modernization in our country.

We have profound faith in the party Central Committee because it has restored and carried forward the fine tradition of democratic centralism and collective leadership. Since the third plenary session, the party Central Committee has done a great deal of work in restoring normal inner-party democratic life and reforming and improving the leadership system of the entire party, including electing and setting up the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, working out the guiding principles for inner-party political life and the draft of the new party constitution, issuing instructions on "less propaganda for individuals," electing additional members of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee, establishing the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee, abolishing the existing lifetime tenure system for leading cadres and gradually making the cadre force at all levels younger, more educated and professional and so forth. These important measures, which have increasingly improved the party's democratic centralism, have not only politically insured the strong power of the party Central Committee and its high work efficiency, but also organizationally prevented the recurrence of overconcentration of individual power, arbitrary decisions by individuals and the personality cult. After attending various plenary sessions and work meetings convened by the party Central Committee in these past few years, I personally feel that the party Central Committee is good at listening attentively to the opinions aired by participating comrades, including those presented by comrades from various areas, and encouraging people to speak without any inhibitions, instead of adopting the practice of "what I say goes" and "rule by the choice of one man alone," the party Central Committee is also good at correctly pooling the wisdom of all people, being sagacious and resolute, and making judgments and decisions that conform to reality under complicated circumstances. After attending those meetings, I also have an impression that the political situation encouraged by Comrade Mao Zedong during his lifetime in which "there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness" is being realized in our party's life. It has radiated vigor and kept alive the fervor of youth. Our party's cause is without parallel in history. It is always unavoidable that there are various kinds of defects, shortcomings or even mistakes in our party's work. However, after attaining perfect democratic centralism and fully exercising collective leadership, we can insure that the party will make correct decisions under most circumstances and that the correct guiding principles and policies of the party will be implemented. Even if there are shortcomings and mistakes, we can promptly discover and correct them and avoid severe setbacks. This is the reason why the broad masses of party members and people have profound faith in the Central Committee and full confidence in the future of our party and country.

Lenin said: "The best way to celebrate the anniversary of a great revolution is to concentrate attention on its unsolved problems." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, Part 2, p 603) During the period from the third to the sixth plenary sessions, the party's correct guiding principles and policies took root among the masses and we scientifically summed up historical experiences. Our socialist motherland is thriving and prospering. The main revolutionary task of the entire party is, under the leadership of the party Central Committee, to work with one heart and one mind and carry out the four modernizations wholeheartedly. To accomplish this task, I believe that the most important thing for us to do is first of all to call on the comrades of the entire party to conscientiously study the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and other documents adopted by the sixth plenary session, continue to eradicate the leftist influence and other erroneous ideology and merge our understanding and actions in the spirit of the sixth plenary session and the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." Each and every Communist Party member should proceed from the basic interests of the party and state and, under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, uphold the four basic principles, resolutely follow the unified leadership of the party Central Committee, strictly observe party discipline, unconditionally implement the party's decisions and cherish the unity and unification of our party as his or her own eyes. It was not easy to achieve the situation of unity and stability, and we should cherish it. We should draw lessons from those historical problems and regard them as our motive force for our common struggle in the future. We should avoid endless quibbling over them. Otherwise, our unity and progress will be hindered. Apart from that, it is a long-term and arduous task to build our country into a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized socialist power. We should possess not only lofty ideals, but also fighting will that defies personal danger and the spirit of hard struggle and solid efforts. Whether we are building material or spiritual civilization, we should start by taking the first step, do a solid job and progress step by step. Communist Party members should set an example with their own conduct to carry forward the party's fine traditions and work style initiated by Comrade Mao Zedong, and disdain various unhealthy tendencies and the bad practice of only issuing verbal calls without taking personal action. They should become men of action of socialism. They should, in their different posts, maintain close ties between the party and the masses and do good turns for the masses wholeheartedly. Each and every locality and unit should take measures to do several good turns for the people every year in a planned way. By so doing, the situation will be gradually improved and the four modernizations expedited. Furthermore, we should promote and train outstanding middle-aged and young cadres. This is an imperative task of strategic significance. We, the veteran comrades, should perform our solemn duties and do a good job in passing on experience, giving help, setting an example and firmly grasping the selection and training of middle-aged and young cadres. We should avoid the practice of only issuing verbal calls without taking personal action. We should live up to our own words and do our job conscientiously. Middle-aged and young comrades should be bold in shouldering heavy tasks, study hard and enhance their ability through practice, so that our cause will be carried forward resolutely.

At the party's "seventh congress" in 1945, Comrade Mao Zedong called on the whole party to promote the spirit of the "old man who removed the mountains" to win victory in the democratic revolution. After the basic accomplishment of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production in 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong again called on comrades of the whole party to "learn from the foolish old man who removed the mountains to reform China." In the new Long March of carrying out the four modernizations and making the Chinese nation thriving and prosperous, we should continue to carry forward the revolutionary spirit of tenacious struggle, work with one heart and one mind, keep on fighting in spite of setbacks, unite with the masses and work hard and do a solid job. We should work hard from one generation to another, unceasingly overcome various difficulties arising on the road of advance and initiate the road of socialist modernization in line with our national condition. Let us unite closer around the party Central Committee and march on triumphantly with full confidence along the correct line adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee.

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AN EXAMPLE OF SUMMING UP HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE--STUDYING THE 'RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PRC'

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[Article by Shi Zhongqiang [4258 0112 3123]]

[Text] Since the founding of the PRC, our party has led the Chinese people in traversing a great but uneven historical road for 32 years. The party's theories, line, principles and policies have been repeatedly tested in practice. We have won tremendous victories, but we have also suffered serious setbacks. We have accumulated rich experience and have tasted the fruits of bitter lessons. After smashing the "gang of four," especially after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, many comrades seriously summed up the history since the founding of the PRC from different angles and in different ways and expressed many inspiring, courageous and profound views which were of great help for the party in comprehensively summing up historical experience. It can be said that the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" has concentrated the correct views of the whole party and has made use of all good results of the past few years in summing up historical experience.

In a famous poem describing the Lushan Mountains, Su Shi, a great poet during the Song Dynasty, wrote, "Peaks and mountains of different heights are seen everywhere. You will not be able to know exactly how the Lushan Mountains look as you are in the middle of them." Many comrades suffered during the "Cultural Revolution." When they recall their painful experiences in the past, they are easily affected by their emotions and exaggerate the seriousness of the mistakes made since the founding of the PRC. They have been unable to make an objective and just appraisal. This is quite understandable. However, Marxism requires us to shun subjectivity, one-sidedness and superficiality in approaching problems and to keep a cool and sensible head and a scientific analytical attitude in strictly examining history. Comrade Mao Zedong once said in Yanan: In looking at problems, we must first look at them objectively and not subjectively; second, we must look at them all-sidedly and not one-sidedly; third, we must look at the essence and not the phenomena. These three sentences were a brilliant generalization of the Marxist method of cognition and are also basic methods for us to use in analyzing questions in the history since the founding of the PRC. The recently published "resolution" used precisely this Marxist method to sum up profoundly the historical experience and lessons since the founding of the PRC. It is a model in summing up historical experience by the party and is also a great Marxist historical document.

Take the Stand of the Masses of People and Correctly Understand the Historical Achievements Since the Founding of the PRC

"Historical activities are the undertaking of the masses." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 104) This is a basic viewpoint of historical materialism. Not only were ancient historical activities the undertaking of the masses of people, the contemporary socialist historical activities are also the undertaking of the masses of people. This is even more so in socialist countries. In our country, after the seizure of political power in 1949, the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals and other laborers became the masters of the country and the creators of the new socialist life. All creators of this new life take part in this great undertaking. Everything that our party and leaders of our party do is also for this great undertaking and they play the role of leaders and organizers in this great undertaking. Therefore, in recalling history, we should first of all look upon the history of the past 32 years of our country as the history of the struggle for socialism of the masses of people, the history of the struggle of the masses of people themselves and not merely a record of the merits and faults of a certain leader. Much less should we set leaders of the party against the masses of people. In summing up history, only if we take the stand of the masters of the country, have the broad masses of people in mind and are not biased by wounds of personal misfortunes can we avoid being misled by a variety of superficial phenomena, grasp firmly the essence of historical development and look at problems relatively objectively.

In summing up the historical experience since the founding of the PRC, the "resolution" based itself precisely on the basic concept that the masses of people are the creators of the history of new China. It looked upon the party's undertaking as the people's undertaking and looked upon the revolutionary practice of the broad masses of people as the main body of historical activities. It took the revolutionary practice of the broad masses of people as the standard for appraising history and judging rights and wrongs. So it made logical conclusions in keeping with popular feelings in summing up the history since the founding of the PRC. The conclusions are objective and have brought to light the actual features of the process of our country's historical development. These conclusions are positive and will inspire the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of people in making further contributions to the cause of socialist construction.

The "resolution" pointed out that, on the whole, the history since the founding of the PRC was one of our party leading the people in carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction and in scoring tremendous achievements under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The "resolution" generalized the major achievements of our party in politics, economics, culture, national defense, foreign relations and so on. These achievements are objective facts which any unbiased person will recognize. Of course, these achievements are preliminary, especially the economic achievements. They still fall very short of the people's expectations, and there is really no reason for us to be conceited. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" rode roughshod, they closed the country to international intercourse, had too high an opinion of themselves and mistook the backward for the advanced. We cannot do such foolish things again. However, if, with the continuous increase of international intercourse, with the continuous exposure of our weak points and backwardness and with a deeper understanding of the influence of mistakes and setbacks in our work on the national economy and the people's livelihood, we belittle or negate our achievements and talk as if our country has no saving graces or is in a complete mess, this would also be wrong. Compared with some industrialized countries, our country is backward in some aspects but there are various causes for this and we should make specific analysis. There are great differences in historical conditions and natural conditions between our country and these industrialized countries. If we compare in an oversimplified way things that should not be used for comparison, it will be difficult to arrive at correct conclusions.

We do not oppose making comparisons. We are for making rational comparisons between objects with similar objective conditions so as to help our analysis of problems with inspiring comparisons. It is fair and reasonable to compare our country with India because there are many similarities between us. We won our independence or liberation after World War II, have ancient civilizations, have large populations and are poor and backward large countries. The difference is that one is under the socialist system and the other is under the capitalist system. In making this comparison, we can see from one aspect which of these two social systems is superior and how our people are constructing our country.

(Ramaswami), an Indian economist, came to visit our country last year and made a comparison of the historical development in the past 30 years or so between India and China. According to data provided by this specialist, in 1949, China's conditions were worse than those of India but in 1980 the situation was reversed because these two big countries had chosen different roads. For example: China produced 330 million tons of grain and India produced only 140 million tons and India had 30 million hectares of arable land more than China; China produced 33 million tons of steel and India produced only 8 million tons; China produced 600 million tons of coal and India produced only 120 million tons; China produced 106 million tons of petroleum and India produced only 12 million tons; China generated 282 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity and India generated only 103 billion kilowatt-hours. Viewed from the people's standard of living, the average income of China based on the population, according to this specialist, was 200 percent to 300 percent higher than that of India. Although the standard of living of the richest Indians in the upper social stratum which accounted for 10 percent of the population was much higher than that of the Chinese people, the standard of living of the Chinese people was higher than that of the remaining 90 percent of the Indian people. In addition, according to statistics concerned, the rate of increase of industrial production in our country from 1949 to 1979 was 4,000 percent and that of India was only 400 percent; the rate of increase in our country's agricultural production was 270 percent and that of India was only 120 percent; in 1979, the total output of national production per capita in China was $260-270 and that in India was only $183; the grain output in China per capita was 332 kilograms and that in India was 201.2 kilograms. Of course, it should be pointed out that India has its strong points. Many things in the Indians' efforts to increase grain output, to develop modern industry, science, technology, education and so on in the past few years can be used for reference.

Comparisons have all along been relative and have their limits. We cannot rashly try to make a comprehensive conclusion based on this. But one thing is certain in this comparison: The differences in economic development and in other aspects caused by different social systems between China and India are very great. This shows in one aspect that we should not underestimate achievements scored in the 32 years since the founding of the PRC and that we should not belittle ourselves. There are no grounds for being pessimistic or underestimating our own capability. The "resolution" said that our achievements were "the product of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism by our party and people, the manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system." The correctness of this conclusion in the "resolution" can be clearly seen from the above comparison. The reason why we affirm these achievements in a practical and realistic way is not to show off or to propagandize but to affirm the great creative force of millions of people and to affirm the socialist road which the people of our country have firmly taken. They are things we have accomplished and the foundation for making further progress. We should treasure by a hundredfold the achievements we have already scored and strive to develop these achievements.

Look Dialectically Upon the Historical Setbacks With a Historical and Analytical Attitude

In affirming the achievements, the "resolution" admitted without mincing words that in the past 32 years, our party made mistakes in its guiding principles and the country suffered grave setbacks. How should we view these historical setbacks?

First, judged from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism, it is not unusual to have had historical setbacks. Mankind's history has never been as smooth as one would wish but has developed in a zig-zag. Since Marxists understand the objective laws of historical development and can take into account the emergence of the most complicated and most fantastic setbacks, they avoid as many detours as possible to reduce the losses to the revolution. However, Marxists are in fact after all men and are not imaginery gods and cannot change the law of historical development in spirals and advancing wave upon wave. In practice, it is quite impossible to avoid all detours and setbacks. We must change the concept of avoiding all detours and setbacks in our understanding. Lenin said, "To think that the world's history will develop smoothly without any big leaps backward is not dialectic, not scientific and not theoretically correct." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 851) The world's history is a history of tortuous advancement and the history of the development of socialism is the same. In its development of over one century starting from the publication of the "Communist Manifesto," the scientific socialist movement has undergone many setbacks. For example, it experienced several ups and downs in the First International, the Second International, the Third International and the historical period that followed. The strength of socialism sometimes expanded and sometimes contracted. Up until now, the socialist revolution has won victory only in a few countries. Have not crises of political upheavals and economic collapses even occurred in several countries where socialism has won victories? In some countries, socialism even failed after its initial success. Compared with those countries, the development of socialism in our country should be said to be relatively solid. The socialist system still stands lofty and firm even after such a great internal disorder as the "Cultural Revolution." This fully shows the great vitality of our country and also shows that historical setbacks after all cannot reverse the direction of the progress of history.

Second, the setbacks our country suffered occurred in the process of advancement in probing socialism. Our country was formerly a large and backward semicolonial and semifeudal country which had not undergone a complete stage of capitalism and whose level of productive forces was relatively backward. However, tempered in the long-term revolutionary struggle and educated with scientific socialism under the party's leadership, the masses of people urgently demanded the rapid eradication of poverty and backwardness in our country and were determined to take the socialist road to realize this. This is not something imposed upon the people but is the people's own choice. This choice is correct and is not "ultra-revolutionary" at all. As pointed out by Stalin, "Socialism may serve (and is already beginning to serve!) as the banner of liberation for the millions who inhabit the vast colonial states of imperialism." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 5, p 283) Of course, it cannot be denied that it is unprecedented in the world's history to build socialism in a country like ours and many problems we encounter were not envisaged by classical Marxist writers. Being without experience, we have to grope our way forward. Consequently, we sometimes succeeded but we were bound to make mistakes at other times. Our guiding principle for socialist transformation was correct and we succeeded in finding a unique way for victoriously realizing the socialist transformation of our country. After the socialist transformation was basically completed, we hoped to find a good way to correctly handle various social and political contradictions within the socialist society, to rapidly eradicate our country's economic backwardness and to find a way to build socialism which was suited to our country's national conditions. However, we were not ideologically prepared for the newly emergent socialist society which came so quickly and we did not seriously study class struggle which still existed within a certain scope and other social and political contradictions after the socialist transformation was basically completed. So when some new problems appeared in the process of development, especially after some serious political incidents occurred, our party failed to remain cool-headed and did not carry out objective and scientific analysis on these new and complicated social phenomena but became accustomed to sticking to old experience and mistook problems which no longer involved class struggle as class struggle, looked upon class struggle within a certain scope as overall class struggle and mechanically used large-scale violent struggle methods. This led to the mistake of magnifying class struggle committed in the antirightist struggle in 1957 and eventually developed into serious mistakes such as the "Cultural Revolution" which affected the whole situation and lasted for a long time. We lacked experience and did not carry out enough scientific study of the magnificent cause of building socialism on a nationwide scale. We did not have a clear understanding of the basic characteristics of our country's economic development and our national conditions in other respects, exaggerated the function of subjective will and subjective efforts, overlooked the objective laws of economic development, were overanxious for quick results and were impatient to make rash advance, resulting in defects in economic construction since the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958. These defects and setbacks undoubtedly brought misfortune to the people but we should distinguish setbacks occurring in the process of our party's probing socialism from crises caused by exploiting class ruling cliques' ruthless oppression of the people and snatching surplus value to the greatest extent. These two are essentially different and should not be lumped together. Only by drawing a clear line of demarcation on this basic point can we correctly understand the historical setbacks in our country.

Third, we should make specific analysis on different mistakes and setbacks. Mistakes and setbacks that appeared since the founding of the PRC were not exactly the same. The "resolution" made a deep analysis of these mistakes and setbacks and distinguished one from another: 1) Mistakes affecting the overall situation were distinguished from partial mistakes. The mistake affecting the overall situation was mainly the "Cultural Revolution." All other mistakes such as magnifying the antirightist struggle, the socialist educational movement in towns and countryside and criticism in the ideological field carried out before the "Cultural Revolution" occurred only within a certain scope and did not affect the whole situation. 2) Mistakes in guiding principles were distinguished from work done by the broad masses of cadres and people. The fundamental guiding principle of the "Cultural Revolution" was completely wrong. However, we should affirm the tremendous efforts to put an end to the mistake of the "Cultural Revolution" that were made during the period when Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Deng Xiaoping were in charge of the routine work of the Central Committee in succession. Nor should we obliterate the fact that during those 10 years, the broad masses of cadres and people persisted in their work and persisted in production under very difficult conditions so that although the national economy suffered great losses, it still developed and our socialist construction was not interrupted. 3) Mistakes which were not thoroughly corrected were distinguished from mistakes which were not corrected. Mistakes before the "Cultural Revolution," with the exception of a few which we were not conscious of, were all corrected to a certain extent. It is not correct to say that there were no corrections made at all. In politics, we reexamined the cases of most of the comrades who were wrongly criticized in the "campaign against right-opportunism" and rehabilitated them and removed the political label of being "rightists" put on most of them in 1962. As for economic mistakes, we took a series of measures to start correcting them in 1958 but the work was interrupted by the "campaign against right-opportunism." Starting from the winter of 1960, our party made tremendous efforts to correct the leftist mistakes in rural areas and decided to adopt the policy of "readjusting, consolidating, filling out and raising standards" for the national economy, and the national economy was relatively smoothly restored and developed. Of course, the correction made at that time was not thorough but we should not deny our party's efforts in correcting mistakes of which it was conscious. Mistakes vary in their seriousness and refusing to correct mistakes and correcting mistakes once one is conscious of them are two different matters.

Fourth, we should not take a pessimistic attitude toward mistakes and setbacks. Everything has a dual nature. Mistakes in themselves are not good but if we understand our mistakes and sum up the experiences and lessons, the mistakes will become precursors of correctness and will be of some value. Our major setbacks on several occasions, especially the serious setbacks of the "Cultural Revolution," fully exposed the past shortcomings in the system and mistakes in the guiding ideology and policies, and thus our party's understanding of these things became clearer and clearer. The series of correct decisions made by our party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee were the outcome of a deep understanding of the mistakes and of the summing up of experiences and lessons. As pointed out by the "resolution," our party has gradually mapped out the correct path for socialist modernization suited to China's conditions. It is based on the summing up of the negative as well as positive experiences since the founding of the PRC, and particularly of the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution." We must change the prevalent metaphysical view toward mistakes and setbacks, which sees only the aspect of their direct destructiveness and overlooks the aspect of their being able to change into something of value under specific conditions. To learn from mistakes is not merely empty talk and only those who probe can understand its profound meaning. Historical disasters are bound to be compensated by historical progress. The negative education of the "Cultural Revolution" will surely compensate us in our understanding and mastering the laws of development of the socialist society so that we will score greater achievements in the course of building socialism.

Distinguish Between Rights and Wrongs and Achievements and Errors; Scientifically Appraise the Historical Role of Comrade Mao Zedong

In appraising historical questions since the founding of the PRC, the most central and most fundamental question is how to appraise the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong. When the question of the historical appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong is correctly resolved, we should be able to do a good job of summing up the experiences and lessons of other significant historical questions. This is because he was always the principal leader of our party and state ever since the establishment of the PRC. All significant work was actually carried out under his leadership. Achievements were scored under his leadership, and mistakes were made under his leadership. No significant achievements and mistakes and rights and wrongs could be separated from his role. Therefore, the "resolution" has placed the appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong in the most important position.

Comrade Mao Zedong is a great historic figure. The revolutionary cause he carried out and the revolutionary theories he put forth have in fact left a profound and indelible mark on both the history of China and on world history and have produced tremendous and far-reaching influence. All our large numbers of revolutionaries have grown up under the nature and guidance of his thought. He opened up a new epoch of study and literary writing. Until now, our frequently used scientific, political language was mostly developed by him. Despite the fact that he made serious errors during his later years, he scored together with his comrades-in-arms a lot of great historical meritorious achievements in the history of China. It is certainly a very difficult task for his comrades-in-arms, students and successors to make a scientific appraisal of such a great historic figure. However, to be responsible to the people and to the party's cause, it is necessary to make an appraisal of his achievements and errors and rights and wrongs. With a respectful and a cautious attitude, the "resolution" has strived to distinguish Comrade Mao Zedong's correct aspect from his erroneous aspect so that our party's appraisal of him is objective, honest and fair.

First, it has both fully affirmed his historical meritorious achievements and seriously pointed out his historical errors. The "resolution" pointed out: Although Comrade Mao Zedong "made gross mistakes during the 'Cultural Revolution,' if we judge his activities as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes." On the basis of the close relations between the history of the development of the CCP since it was founded 60 years ago and Comrade Mao Zedong's revolutionary activities, the "resolution" discussed his great meritorious achievements rendered to the founding of the PRC and the development of the socialist cause. At the same time, it also discussed the mistakes he made in the guiding principles of our party's work after socialist transformation was basically completed. It did not hide his mistakes because of his great meritorious achievements, nor did it underestimate or obliterate his great meritorious achievements because of the gross mistakes he made during his later years. It was completely correct for the "resolution" to say that his achievements outweighed his errors. This was because first, the weights of his achievements and errors were different. Take for example his meritorious achievements in leading the founding of the socialist new China. He in fact opened a new epoch in the history of the Chinese nation. On the other hand, however, the "Cultural Revolution" did not cause our new China to become once again old China. Second, the lengths of time of his achievements and errors were different. Comrade Mao Zedong was the principal representative of the Chinese revolution for half a century ever since he opened the road to the Jinggang Mountains. It was generally acknowledged that he scored great achievements during the first 40 years, and it was only during the last 10 years that he made gross mistakes. Third, the historical influences of his achievements and errors were different. His meritorious achievements were factors that should play a long-term role; and the Chinese people will advance for generations along the road opened up by him. As for his mistakes during his later years, they were gradually corrected after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. As a matter of fact, they were corrected by following or developing the correct thinking he advocated in the past. Therefore, it was really no exaggeration when the "resolution" said "his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes."

Second, it has made clear the nature of his mistakes, and drawn a clear line of demarcation with the evil of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Comrade Mao Zedong made gross mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution." We should not ignore or cover up the seriousness of his mistakes, because that would lead to even more serious mistakes. However, as was pointed out in the "resolution," Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes were, after all, the mistakes made by a great proletarian revolutionary. It is thus very important to distinguish Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes from the evil of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Otherwise, we would still be confusing right and wrong and thereby confusing enemies and friends. The distinction between the two was quite obvious. First, their objectives were different. In launching the "Cultural Revolution," Comrade Mao Zedong constantly maintained that his theory and practice were Marxist and that they were necessary for saving China's socialist revolution and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was in fact where his tragedy lay. On the other hand, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and members of their cliques vainly attempted to usurp the supreme power of the party and state, overthrow China's people's democratic dictatorship system and destroy socialism and our party. Second, their activities were different. Despite the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong did not change the erroneous principles of the "Cultural Revolution" in the overall situation, he somehow accomplished many good deeds. Examples were: He protected some leadership cadres of the party and renowned figures outside the party; led the struggle that smashed the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique; made significant criticisms and exposure of Jiang Qing and others and thereby prevented their ambitious scheme of usurping the supreme leadership power of the party and state from succeeding; constantly and vigilantly paid attention to upholding China's security and formulated correct foreign policies; and so forth. Lin Biao's and Jiang Qing's two counterrevolutionary conspiratorial cliques brought calamity to the country and the people. They were guilty of the most heinous crimes and were public enemies. Their evil and Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes were two questions of different natures and they simply should not be mentioned in the same breath.

Third, it has pointed out the responsibility for the mistakes, while emphasizing the analysis of the circumstances and roots of the mistakes. Comrade Mao Zedong should bear primary responsibility for the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution," and this was clearly stated in the "resolution." However, Marxism holds that no significant and complicated historical phenomena is accidental. As for such a significant and complicated historical phenomenon, we must neither simply dismiss the issue just by affixing the responsibility to someone, nor should we explain the issue based only on some personal qualities and features. We should in fact emphasize analysis of historical circumstance. During the period of the rectification of incorrect work style in Yanan, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out when he summed up the party's historical experience: "In dealing with questions of party history, we should lay the stress not on the responsibility of certain individual comrades but on analyzing the circumstances in which the errors were committed, on the content of the errors and on their social, historical and ideological roots." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 892) Comrade Mao Zedong's words were meant to exhort other people at that time, and now we should assume this same attitude toward him. On the basis of this spirit, the "resolution" not only pointed out the subjective factors for Comrade Mao Zedong making mistakes during his later years (such as developing an arrogant attitude, divorcing himself from practice and from the masses, departing from collective leadership, acting more and more arbitrarily and even putting himself above the CCP Central Committee), but it also analyzed the complicated historical conditions for the development of this phenomenon, the domestic reasons and international background for his launching the "Cultural Revolution" and making the mistakes as well as the ideological, social and historical root causes. By domestic reasons, what was meant was mainly that Comrade Mao Zedong saw some contradictions in the course of development of socialism and also the dark side existing in the body of our party and state. His mistakes were that he did not correctly analyze problems, confused right and wrong and enemies and friends, and he should not have tried to solve these problems by launching the "Cultural Revolution." By international background, what was meant was mainly that the leaders of the Soviet Union expanded the ideological dispute between the two parties into political confrontation between the two countries, thus forcing us to carry out an international struggle against revisionism. His mistakes were that he led the international struggle against revisionism into our own country and our party and confused it with the divergence of views within the party. The ideological root of his mistakes was that he misinterpreted certain tentative ideas and views of classical Marxist writers and turned them into political dogmas, thus forming a set of erroneous theories concerning the class struggle in the socialist society. Moreover, he himself also regarded those theories as a development of Marxism-Leninism and struggled to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism. The social and historical roots of his mistakes mainly referred to the very long feudal history of our country and the influence of the pernicious influence of autocracy to our party's ideology and politics. As a result of them, we were unable to quickly institutionalize and legalize democracy within our party and in state politics and social life. They became the soil for the growth of arbitrary actions and the personality cult within the party. Once the "Cultural Revolution" was launched, it was therefore very difficult to stop it.

Fourth, it has emphasized the scientific nature of Mao Zedong Thought, and distinguished this scientific theory from Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous views during his later years. It has always been a question of great concern among the people how Comrade Mao Zedong upheld Mao Zedong Thought while committing mistakes during his later years. The "resolution" solved this problem. In connection with a summation of the historical experience of China's socialist revolution and construction, it made a comprehensive and systematic exposition of Mao Zedong Thought and emphasized that Mao Zedong Thought is a scientific guiding thought suited to China's situation and a scientific theory on China's revolution and construction. Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes during his later years, on the other hand, "obviously deviated from the track of Mao Zedong Thought, which signified an integration of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with the specific practice of the Chinese revolution." Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous views during his later years did not belong to the content of Mao Zedong Thought; and upholding Mao Zedong Thought certainly does not include Mao Zedong's erroneous views during his later years. It is very important to strictly distinguish the two. It has pointed out clearly to us the direction for upholding Mao Zedong Thought in the future. The content in different aspects of Mao Zedong Thought discussed in the "resolution" is in fact the specific content of our upholding Mao Zedong Thought. In upholding Mao Zedong Thought, we must not only uphold these correct principles and conclusions that have been tested through our long history. What is more important is that we must make use of its stand, views and methods and continuously study and solve the new situations and new problems emerging in our practice so as to enrich and develop Mao Zedong Thought with new principles and new conclusions that are in keeping with reality.

Fifth, it has discarded "the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," but maintained that it is necessary to uphold the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous views during his later years were once generalized to form the so-called "theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." The "theory" was neither in keeping with Marxism-Leninism nor in keeping with China's actual situation. The "resolution" both analyzed its theoretical fallacies and also pointed out its harm in practice. This "theory" brought pain and calamity to the Chinese people and they still remain fresh in the people's memory. We must resolutely discard it. Because of this "theory," a special meaning was given to the term "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." That is to say, it specially meant the revolution in which one class overthrows another. Therefore, this term should no longer be used. What should be pointed out is that despite the fact the "Cultural Revolution," which Comrade Mao Zedong launched on the basis of this "theory," was completely wrong and that it was in no sense a revolution, yet the kind of revolutionary enterprising spirit which he developed over the long period of revolutionary struggles should never be negated. Discarding "the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and using no more the concept of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" does not mean writing off the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. We must not only at the present moment carry forward our proletarian revolutionary spirit and carry out arduous revolutionary struggles for the realization of socialist modernization, but we must in the future also carry forward our proletarian revolutionary spirit and carry out even more arduous revolutionary struggle for the realization of the grand ideal of communism. We should never waver on this because it is determined by the nature and tasks of our proletarian revolutionary political party. The "resolution" has clearly and strictly distinguished between the two and pointed out: "In this new historical period, the whole membership of the CCP and the whole people must never cease to cherish lofty revolutionary ideals, maintain a dynamic revolutionary fighting spirit, and carry China's great socialist revolution and socialist construction through to the end." This is indeed a solemn declaration of our party in continuing to hold aloft our revolutionary banner and carrying forward our proletarian revolutionary spirit.

The "resolution" has made a penetrating and specific analysis of different aspects of Comrade Mao Zedong. It has resolutely rejected his mistakes and warmly protected what is correct, thereby scientifically appraising his position in history and correctly upholding his bright image. This analysis by the "resolution" has fully manifested our party's high level of Marxist theory.

Proceed From Reality, Solemnly Change Some Important Presentations of Historical Questions and Carry Out New Historical Generalization

In summing up historical experience and in making an appraisal of history, we should examine and test past historical concepts and past presentations of historical questions besides analyzing historical events and clarifying historical achievements and errors. Lenin said: We must understand that the whole thing now is practical work. "Theory is vitalized by practice, corrected by practice and tested by practice." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 398) Historical practice is the court for testing historical theory. All past historical understandings must be based on reasoning. Correct understandings will be upheld, mistaken ones will be corrected, incomplete ones will be supplemented and unscientific ones will be made scientific so that all new understandings will be established on exact expressions of the actual historical processes as they occurred. The "resolution" did precisely this. In recalling the history of the party's development, it changed some presentations of historical questions commonly used in the past and made new historical generalizations on some important questions.

1. The term "people's democratic dictatorship" was formally used again. The concept of the people's democratic dictatorship was a great creation by our party in the long-term struggle to find a form of political power for the Chinese revolution and it was also an important content of Mao Zedong Thought in integrating basic Marxist tenets with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution. In the past, when we said that the people's democratic dictatorship was in essence the proletarian dictatorship, there were two meanings: one was that the system of the people's democratic dictatorship in our country was in essence the proletarian dictatorship and was in conformity with Marxist theory on the state and that any doubt about its nature was wrong. The other was that the state system of the proletarian dictatorship had taken the concrete form of the people's democratic dictatorship in our country and this was a kind of the proletarian dictatorship of the Chinese pattern. Therefore, these two concepts were used simultaneously before the "Cultural Revolution." During the 10 years of chaos, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk abandoned the term of "people's democratic dictatorship." This historical setback has helped us by negative example to further clarify that the term "people's democratic dictatorship" is a scientific term suited to our country's conditions because the expression itself already clearly and correctly includes the two aspects of the people's democracy and the people's dictatorship. It helps us understand correctly the nature and function of our country's political power and is conducive for us to guard against any distortion or one-sidedness in practical work.

2. It clarified that the period from the inception of the PRC to the basic completion of the socialist transformation was a period of "transition from new democracy to socialism." Although this way of presentation was basically the same as that of the past--"the time from the founding of the PRC to the basic completion of the socialist transformation is a transitional period"--it expressed more clearly the characteristics of this historical stage. The past presentation only indicated "a transitional period" without mentioning a transition from what conditions to what conditions. Marx and Lenin looked upon the stage after seizing political power as "the transitional period from capitalism to socialism." However, our country did not undergo a complete capitalist stage. It developed capitalism only under semicolonial and semifeudal conditions and the revolution it carried out was a new democratic revolution. Only after it had won victory did it carry out the socialist revolution. The "resolution" generalized this stage as "the transition from new democracy to socialism" and it reflected more precisely the characteristics of our country's historical development.

Of course, admitting that there was a period of new democracy after the founding of new China does not imply that new democracy was an independent social form. Nor does it imply that socialist revolution could not be carried out during this period. Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago: This is a form resulting from the historical characteristics of the Chinese society and "this form suits a certain historical period and is therefore transitional." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 636) Taken as a whole, new democracy is not socialism but its politics, economy and culture "all contain an element of socialism, and by no means a mere casual element but one with a decisive role." (Ibid., p 665) In his report "On the Process in Formulating the 'Draft Resolution of the Common

Program of the CPPCC' and Its Characteristics" given shortly before the founding of the PRC, Comrade Zhou Enlai said that new democracy was a transitional stage. As a matter of fact, after the general line for the transitional period was put forth in 1952, the tasks of the socialist revolution were carried out in an all-round way and the principal internal contradiction became the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Therefore, the idea of completely separating new democracy from socialism is wrong. Besides, admitting that this stage is a transitional period from new democracy to socialism is not contradictory to calling new China a socialist country. As pointed out by Lenin, on the one hand, this implied our "determination to achieve the transition to socialism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 310) And on the other hand, it was "because we had taken this road, and our words would not be merely empty ones." (Ibid., Vol 26, p 436) When we say that in the transitional period our country was a socialist country, we mean its essence and orientation of development as well as the socialist economic components which played important roles. When we say that in this period our country was a new democratic country we mean certain characteristics of its form of political power and the existence of five kinds of economic components. This is the result of stressing different aspects from different angles and there is no fundamental difference in nature.

3. It clarified the principal contradiction to be resolved by socialism. The "resolution" said: "After socialist transformation was fundamentally completed, the principal contradiction our country has had to resolve is that between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of social production." This statement had absorbed the fruit of the resolution made at the 8th CCP's national congress and was in line with Stalin's generalization of the socialist basic economic laws. The socialist basic economic laws are actually the principal contradiction to be resolved by the socialist society. The reason is that after the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes, the principal task of the party and the state is to concentrate its strength to develop the social productive forces and to meet people's material and cultural needs. No matter whether we are talking about basic economic laws or the principal contradiction, what we want to generalize is the same. Only the way of expression is different.

There are two evident advantages in the "resolution's" way of expression. First, it has straightforwardly revealed the fundamental motive force which promotes the development of the productive forces in socialist society. Viewed from historical materialism, man's first historical activity was to make production satisfy the needs of subsistence. The history of man's society, in essence, was a history of continuously satisfying his own needs. However, in the class society, this was alienated and the needs of a portion of the people were sacrificed for the needs of another portion of the people. In the socialist society, with the elimination of the exploiting classes, the contradiction between production and needs appears in more direct form and pushes the socialist society forward. Productive forces are actually man's capability in conquering nature and meeting his needs. Therefore, the principal contradiction as stated in the "resolution" directly reveals the motive force for developing the socialist productive forces. Second, it has explicitly explained the purpose of socialist production. Societies of a different nature have different purposes of production. A capitalist's purpose of production is to squeeze to the greatest extent surplus value from the workers. In the socialist society, since the system of exploitation has been destroyed and laborers have become the masters in production, the purpose of production is no longer to meet the needs of a small minority of exploiters but to meet the needs of the broad masses of laborers, thus meeting the needs of the whole society. The statement in the "resolution" has explicitly expressed the purpose and urgency of developing production. This is conducive to overcoming various kinds of erroneous understandings about the purpose of socialist production that have occurred in practical work and to raise our consciousness of the strategic shift of the focus of the work of the party and the state.

The attitude adopted by the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" in summing up the experience since the founding of the PRC is extremely solemn. It has not glossed over any major problems. It is impossible for a political party of any other class in the world to do the same. It fully shows that our party is worthy of being a party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and a party which serves the people wholeheartedly. In studying the "resolution," we should fully understand this dauntless spirit of our party in strictly dissecting itself and seek unanimity of understanding of historical questions based on the spirit of the "resolution." We should no longer be confused by minor matters. The whole party should answer the call of the "resolution," unite closely together, continue to carry forward the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains and strive to build our country into a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized strong socialist country.

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SOCIALISM IS ADVANCING AMID PRACTICE

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[Article by Wang Renzhi [3769 1804 0037]]

[Text] A new chapter in our country's history started with the founding of the PRC. Over the past 30 years and more, the hundreds of millions of our people have rapidly cleaned up the filth and mire left over from the old society, established a new socialist system, and promoted and worked to achieve the greatest social progress in our country's history. The central force which points out the orientation of this course of history and which exercises leadership over this historical progress is the Chinese Communist Party.

For 28 years our party had led the people to wage extremely arduous struggles and to gain victory in the new democratic revolution. The inevitable trend subsequent to this victory was a move toward practicing socialism. To practice socialism in a country such as ours, in which lived nearly a quarter of the world's population and whose economy and culture were backward, was undoubtedly a very arduous and complicated cause. The CCP had to be guided by Marxism-Leninism, to exert efforts to get to understand the laws governing socialist revolution and construction under the conditions prevailing in our country, and to explore ways of advancing through practice. In the course of such endeavors, it was difficult to avoid mistakes of one kind or another, including very serious mistakes. However, the basic actual results were that our party succeeded in leading the people to exploit the political and economic conditions created by the new democratic revolution and thus to bring about the transition from new democracy to socialism in a step-by-step manner; our party accomplished, both in the field of theoretical buildup and in practice, the arduous task of instituting the socialist system in our country; and moreover, it has explored, step by step, a correct path of socialist modernization construction that is compatible with our national condition. It is pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC": "The history of the CCP subsequent to the founding of the PRC can be summed up as follows: Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, our party has led the people of all nationalities in our country to wage socialist revolution and carry out socialist construction, and has achieved enormous success." This conclusion is scientific and conforms with reality.

I

With the accomplishment of the new democratic revolution, the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratism was overthrown, and our new state regime embodying the people's democratic dictatorship was established. The working class, which exercised firm control over leadership during the new democratic revolution, naturally took a leading position in the newly established regime. The working class ascended to become the ruling class and its political party, the CCP, became the ruling party. Other classes and social strata which took part in the new democratic revolution, including laboring classes and nonlaboring classes, also joined the new regime to help manage state affairs. Thus, a state regime was formed which embodied the people's democratic dictatorship, which was led by the working class, which was based on the worker-peasant alliance, and which united the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. The broad masses of people became the masters of our country and society.

When our party was establishing the people's democratic dictatorship, it clearly pointed out that the historical tasks of the people's democratic dictatorship included not only the accomplishment of the new democratic revolution (including confiscating bureaucrat capital, carrying out land reform, and so on), the suppression of resistance of reactionary classes and counterrevolutionary elements, the defense of our country from subversion and possible aggression by foreign enemies, and the safeguarding of the fruits of revolution, but also the provision of guidance and education for the people with regard to taking the socialist road and eliminating the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes, so that finally communism might be achieved. In his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Achieve socialism and communism through the People's Republic, abolish classes and enter a world of great harmony." After the founding of new China, with the launching of socialist transformation, the people's democratic dictatorship began t[illegible]mbody a socialist state regime, that is, a state regime marked by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

That the dictatorship of the proletariat should take the form of the people's democratic dictatorship in our country is a scientific conclusion drawn by our party and Comrade Mao Zedong by creatively employing the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat in the light of our country's actual situation. In our country, because the working class constitutes a minority of our total population, it will be unable to undertake the historical mission of building socialism without establishing a firm alliance with the vast numbers of peasants. In our country, during the period of socialist revolution, on one hand the national bourgeoisie earn profits by exploiting the working class, and on the other hand, they support our constitution and are willing to accept socialist transformation. Their contradictions vis-a-vis the working class belong to the category of contradictions among the people. Proceeding from our country's actual situation, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong held that under the condition that the exercise of leadership over state power by the working class and its party is insured, and under the condition that state power will surely be used to implement the policies of the working class and to fulfill the mission of the socialist society, our country's dictatorship by the proletariat can and should allow a wide range of classes and social strata, including the national bourgeoisie, to participate in exercising political power, and we should take only a very small minority of enemies who oppose socialist revolution and disrupt socialist construction as the object of our dictatorship. Practice has proved that by taking the form of the people's democratic dictatorship, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been extremely successful in our country. The people's democratic dictatorship enables our state regime, which embodies dictatorship by the proletariat, to be backed by the broad masses, to unite all forces that can be united, to isolate counterrevolutionary forces and consequently to reduce the obstacles to socialist revolution and construction, and to insure the smooth development of the socialist cause.

Our party has led the people of all nationalities in our country to make unremitting efforts to perfect and consolidate our state regime, which embodies the people's democratic dictatorship. We have established people's congresses at various levels over the whole country, so that people can exercise their right to manage state affairs through the representatives they elect. In regions where minority nationalities live in compact communities, national regional autonomy has been practiced and large numbers of cadres of minority nationalities have been trained to manage their own affairs. According to stipulations of the law, the state public security, procuratorial and judicial organs take strong measures against sabotage by any criminal activities of counterrevolutionaries and criminals, defend the socialist system, and safeguard the people's basic rights from being infringed. The PLA has developed and become stronger. The navy, air force and other service arms have been established. They have defeated armed provocations by foreign aggressive forces on many occasions and have safeguarded the security and independence of our country. Because of the institution and consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship, the features of our country and society has undergone drastic changes that are obvious to all.

There have been mistakes in the implementation of, and setbacks in the development of, the people's democratic dictatorship, which is a new socialist political system. The lessons of such experiences have basically been summed up in the "resolution."

To correctly persist in the people's democratic dictatorship and dictatorship over our enemies, we must scientifically assess the contradictions and class relations in our society. Shortly before the founding of the PRC, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote such works as "Report at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee," "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" and so on, which showed that our party accurately and thoroughly understood the new contradictions and tasks it would face after the victory of revolution on a nationwide scale. Thus, the healthy development of the people's democratic dictatorship over a number of years after its institution was assured. Not only was the people's democratic dictatorship carried forward, but effective dictatorship over the enemies was carried out. After the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production had basically been accomplished, in 1956, in the light of the new situation, the eighth national party congress put forth the well-known correct analyses and stipulations on the tasks of the people's democratic dictatorship and matters concerning the contradictions in our society. In his work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," which he wrote in 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong said that we must correctly distinguish contradictions among the people from contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, and we must correctly handle all contradictions. However, Comrade Mao Zedong later exaggerated the gravity of the genuinely existing class struggle, and put forward the erroneous slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link," which later developed into the erroneous theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Consequently, we ourselves were confused with the enemies in many situations, class struggle was extended, and finally the protracted, serious mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution," which affected the overall situation, was committed. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company, the people's fierce enemies, taking advantage of our leftist mistakes and the power they had usurped, flaunted the banner of "overall dictatorship," vigorously practiced feudal fascism, deliberately trampled on the people's democracy, frantically persecuted cadres of all nationalities, the masses and people of all circles, and seriously disrupted the people's democratic dictatorship.

The occurrence of such a distressing situation and the failure to promptly put an end to it were closely related to the imperfection of our country's socialist political system. The feudal society lasted for a very long time in our country's history. Our country is economically and culturally backward. Feudal autocracy is very deep-rooted; its pernicious influence on ideology and politics cannot be eliminated overnight. Circumstances of protracted, cruel and intense warfare had turned our party leadership system into one marked by a high degree of centralization of power. (This was necessary during wartime.) After achieving nationwide victory, this system did not undergo changes necessary according to the changes in circumstances. The working class had been in control of state power for a short time, had not accumulated sufficient experience to become mature, and had been unable to insure democracy in our country's political and social life by means of systems and laws. Under the constraint of such social and historical conditions, our socialist political system naturally could hardly be perfect. To enable the people to acquire real, adequate and effective power of managing state, economic and social affairs, we must continue in our practice to improve and formulate various categories of regulations and systems, and this will take a considerably long period.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and in particular since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has summed up the historical experiences on the people's democratic dictatorship, and has been creatively performing a great deal of arduous work in construction and reform. Our party has reaffirmed the basic fact that exploiting classes as such have died out, but class struggle still exists within certain limits. Our party has emphasized that we must do a good job of integrating democracy for the people with dictatorship over the enemy and of integrating democracy with centralization. Based on the correct analysis of the objective situation, and according to the basic principles of the people's democratic dictatorship, our party and state have been vigorously improving our leadership system and cadre system, developing socialist democracy, perfecting the socialist legal system, safeguarding the people's democratic rights, and cracking down on sabotage by class enemies. Our state power, embodying the people's democratic dictatorship, is advancing at full speed along the correct course.

II

The triumph of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal new democratic revolution and the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship signalled the end of the semifeudal, semicolonial society in our country, and signalled our country's transition from new democracy to socialism.

Right after the founding of new China, there were three basic economic sectors. The first was the state sector, which developed on the basis of confiscating bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises, which were in control of the lifeline of the national economy and which dominated the entire economy. The second comprised the individual economy, whose elements were peasants and handicraft workers. In the rural areas, the individual economy of the peasants was overwhelmingly predominant. The third was the private capitalist economy, which accounted for a considerable share of industrial production and circulation of commodities. In 1952, these three economic sectors were respectively responsible for 19.1 percent, 71.8 percent and 6.9 percent of the national income. Although the individual economy accounted for the largest proportion of the national income, it was at the crossroads, because it could be attached to and transformed into either the socialist economy or the capitalist economy. Therefore, at that time, the principal contradictions in our country were between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the basic way to resolve these contradictions was to rely on the leading political and economic position of the working class, to adopt many forms of transition and the method of advancing step by step, to transform the individual economy through the cooperative transformation of agriculture and handicrafts, to peacefully transform the capitalist economy through state capitalism, and to enable our country to develop from new democracy to socialism.

The individual peasant economy developed rather quickly after the abolition of feudal land ownership. However, the individual economy could not easily adopt agricultural machinery or other new technology, could not resist natural disasters or achieve sustained expanded reproduction, and was incompatible with the needs of the vast numbers of peasants for continual improvements in livelihood and with the requirement for industrialization set by the state. Peasants who were poor or not well off were enthusiastic about taking the socialist road because they wanted to improve their livelihood and avoid being exploited again. The rapid development of socialist industries and the continually increasing aid from the state to the peasant economy constituted an important material prerequisite and motivation for leading the peasants to take the road of collectivization. Under this condition, according to the principles of voluntary action, mutual benefit, demonstration by models and state assistance, our party led the peasants to establish on a wide scale producers' mutual aid organizations, which embodied rudimentary features of socialism. Such organizations later developed into semisocialist elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives characterized by the contribution of land as shares that earned dividends and by centralized operations. Such cooperatives further developed into fully socialist advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives characterized by collective ownership of principal means of production such as land. This path, opened by our party, of carrying out socialist transformation step by step enabled the peasants to gradually enhance their socialist consciousness through their own experiences and enabled them to gradually get accustomed to collective production, and therefore helped avoid losses brought about by sudden changes, such as a decline in production and so on. This proved to be a tremendous success unprecedented in the global history of socialism.

During the initial postliberation period, private capitalist industry and commerce achieved a definite growth and played a positive role in the recovery and development of the entire economy. However, because they inherently aimed to make profits, the conflicts of interests between the capitalists on one hand and the workers of private industrial and commercial enterprises and the whole nation on the other hand became increasingly prominent. Private capitalist industry and commerce were also incompatible with the planned development of the national economy. To transform the capitalist system of private ownership was an inevitable requirement for social progress. The peaceful transformation of the capitalist system of private ownership was possible in view of our national conditions, because our working class was strong politically and economically and the bourgeoisie were willing to accept socialist transformation. Immediately after the liberation of the whole country, our party and government took firm and forceful measures to centralize the management of fiscal and economic affairs, to stabilize prices, and to establish the leading role of the state-owned economy in the realm of circulation.

From 1953 on, our state began to monopolize the purchase and marketing of grain, cotton, cotton fabric, and so on, thus severing the link between urban capitalism and the countryside. Because the state-owned economy was in control of major industrial raw materials, wholesale business and products markets, the capitalist economy was forced to depend on the state-owned economy and to accept state capitalism in its lower forms, such as undertaking processing work at the instruction of the state, ordering goods according to state plans, subjecting purchases and marketing to state monopoly, selling on behalf of the state, and so on. In the realm of production, mainly because the enthusiasm of the working masses ran high, the state enterprises far surpassed private enterprises in raising labor productivity, lowering production costs, improving product quality, and so on. In its competition with the state-owned economy, the private enterprises were in an inferior position in production and operations, so that it was difficult for them to continue to exist. This situation did not change noticeably even after they had accepted the lower forms of state capitalism, such as processing goods on behalf of the state, ordering goods according to state plans, and so on. Therefore, they were forced to accept higher forms of state capitalism, such as joint state-private ownership or the subjecting of entire industries to such ownership. Marx' and Lenin's tentative idea of buying out the bourgeoisie after the seizure of political power by the proletariat was realized through various forms of state capitalism pioneered by our party.

The basic accomplishment of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and the establishment of socialist public ownership constitute the most profound leap in our country's historical development, a leap of fundamental and long-term significance. First, the abolition of systems of exploitation and the elimination of exploiting classes led to the disappearance of antagonistic contradictions and conflicts among members of society. The means of production were no longer a means for a minority of exploiters to fatten themselves on the sweat and toil of the working masses; the working people became the owners of the means of production; and labor was performed to enable all workers, including the individual, to enjoy ever-increasing material and spiritual wealth. These changes gave rise to good conditions for bringing the workers' enthusiasm, initiative and creativity into play. Second, thanks to the establishment of the socialist public ownership of the means of production, the contradiction between the trend, inherent in capitalist society, toward the indefinite expansion of production on the one hand, and the relative small amount of consumption by the masses of people on the other hand, was eliminated; cyclical economic crises, unavoidable in capitalist societies, were radically eliminated; and extensive fields of activity were opened up to make possible the sustained development of production. Third, the establishment of the socialist public ownership of the means of production put an end to the anarchy in production that had prevailed under conditions of capitalist private ownership. Consequently, the state could guide the entire national economy in a planned way, and also consciously readjust the proportional relations between various national economic sectors or between various links of social production. It became possible to proceed from overall, long-term interests to rationally utilize various natural resources and means of labor. It became possible to allocate and concentrate necessary financial and material resources on a nationwide scale to carry out those undertakings we had to assign priority. To sum up, the establishment of the socialist economic system enabled us to master extensive possibilities and enabled social production to develop rapidly, steadily and in a coordinated way.

It was impossible to reach the goal of exploiting all favorable conditions created by the socialist economic system at one step. In a given period of time, the extent to which we could turn possibility into reality was subject to the influence and constraint of many factors. One very important factor was whether people correctly understood the laws of development of socialist society, and whether people followed socialist principles and proceeded from our country's actual situation in establishing various specific systems, principles and policies. The resolution of these questions could not be divorced from practice. Only continued practice could enable our understanding to develop from not being comprehensive to being relatively comprehensive, and enable our systems to develop from being imperfect to being relatively perfect.

In the process of transforming old production relations and establishing new socialist production relations, our country's productive forces not only remained undisrupted but even developed. This situation gave rise to an erroneous view that if we continued to transform production relations, we could continually push the productive forces forward. During the last 1 or 2 years of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, our work was already overly impatient and crude, and it was highly necessary for the newly established production relations to undergo a process of perfection and consolidation. However, we persistently went after "larger in size and having a higher degree of public ownership," impatiently effected the transition from small collectives to large collectives and then to the state-owned economy, and repeatedly took measures to restrict or even forcibly put an end to the urban and rural individual economy, which we regarded as a "capitalist tail," but which should have been allowed to exist. Thus, the transformation of production relations was divorced from the level of development of the productive forces. In dealing with socialist industrial, agricultural and commercial enterprises, we should have perfected systems and methods of distribution according to work done in the light of different circumstances. However, we criticized distribution according to work done as a "bourgeois right" and attempted to institute the "system of payment in kind," so that egalitarian practices, based on the understanding that rewards were independent of the quality or quantity of work done, developed on a considerably extensive scale. In planning for and managing the entire national economy, our systems were marked by overconcentration of power, excessive and overly rigid centralization, denial of the requisite independence of enterprise activity, abuse of state power to make direct decisions and exercise administrative intervention, and neglect in applying the law of value and the market mechanism. All this dampened the enthusiasm of workers and production units, deprived the economy of vitality and flexibility, and hindered the bringing of the superiority of the socialist economic system into play. Such erroneous views and practices were sometimes corrected to greater or lesser extents, and they sometimes recurred. The harmfulness of some erroneous views and practices remained undetected for many years, and they were not corrected as they should have been.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, by realistically summing up practical experiences, we have cleared up past ideological and theoretical misunderstandings, and have adopted a series of effective measures in matters of principles, policies and systems to readjust and perfect socialist production relations. Our party has declared that a great variety of economic sectors and economic forms are allowed to coexist under the condition that the socialist publicly owned economy is overwhelmingly predominant. In dealing with the countryside, we respect and safeguard the decisionmaking powers of production teams. We have introduced various systems of job responsibility with rewards linked to output, expanded the commune members' private plots, and developed family sideline occupations and country fair trade. In dealing with urban areas, we have conducted experiments on expanding the enterprises' decisionmaking powers, and have thus enabled the enterprises to exercise some power in planning, making arrangements, marketing products, distributing profits, using funds and so on, and have thus established a relatively close relationship between how the workers perform their work and their economic benefits; and we have developed some collectively owned enterprises which are formed voluntarily and which assume sole responsibility for their profits and losses, and we have also restored and developed a number of individually run production units in various trades such as handicrafts, retailing, catering, service and repair. In practicing the planned economy, we have also begun to pay attention to the role of regulation by market mechanism, vigorously integrated the requisite administrative means with various economic methods, and preliminarily reformed the management systems related to fiscal matters and loans, capital construction, circulation of commodities and foreign trade. Our principles, policies and measures of reform have markedly promoted the development of production. We must conscientiously study the new circumstances and new problems emerging in the course of implementing our principles, policies and measures of reform. We must continue to sum up practical experiences, perfect the specific forms of those production relations that are compatible with the requirements of the development of the productive forces, perfect management systems governed by such production relations, and bring the superiority of the socialist economic system into play to an ever-increasing extent.

III

The basic aim of reforming the old superstructure and production relations and establishing the socialist political system and economic system is to develop the social productive forces and to improve the people's material and cultural life. Since liberation, led by the party, the people of all nationalities in our country have carried out magnificent socialist construction and achieved great successes never achieved in old China for thousands of years.

In old China, the economy was very backward and the people lived a life of extreme poverty. Although China had traditionally been known as a major agricultural country, for long periods of time its agricultural production remained at a medieval level. Natural disasters were frequent. People's minimal basic needs for food and clothing could not be satisfied. Modern industry, communications and transportation accounted for a very small percentage of the entire national economy. Compared with the advanced world standards at that time, China's technological standard was very low. Moreover, the industrial composition and regional distribution of industry were to a serious extent stamped with the brand of a colonial economy. Before liberation, the highest annual output figures of various products were: grain, merely 150 million tons; cotton, 850,000 tons; steel, merely 923,000 tons; coal, 62 million tons; electricity, 6 billion kilowatt-hours; and cotton yarn, 450,000 tons. The already extremely backward economy was seriously devastated by many years of wars started by imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. The decreases in the output of major products in 1949, compared with the highest preliberation levels, were: grain, 24 percent; cotton, 48 percent; steel, 83 percent; coal, 48 percent; electricity, 28 percent; and cotton yarn, 26 percent. Such was the shambles handed down to us from old China. After more than 30 years of construction, our country has developed from a backward agricultural country into an industrial-agricultural country of a considerable standard, independent and relatively complete industrial and national economic systems have been established, and the people's living standard has generally been raised.

The conditions for agricultural production in our country have markedly changed because of the labor and accumulation of the vast numbers of peasants and also the strong support of industry. Some 460 million mu of low-lying land, land liable to waterlogging, saline-alkali land and sloping land have been treated and transformed. The area of irrigated farmland has increased by 370 million mu. Flooding along major rivers has been preliminarily brought under control. Before liberation, there was almost no agricultural machinery, chemical fertilizer or electricity. By 1980, we had 745,000 large or medium-sized tractors, our irrigation and drainage power-driven machinery totaled 74.65 million horsepower, the amount of chemical fertilizers applied totaled 12.69 million tons, and the amount of electricity consumed was 32.1 billion kilowatt-hours. In our country, a relatively comprehensive variety of industries, which embodies an increasingly more rational geographical distribution, has been established. Traditional industrial sectors, such as light industry, textile, metallurgy, coal mining, electricity and so on, have greatly developed. Certain industrial sectors, such as automobile making, shipbuilding, aircraft manufacturing, petrochemical industry, electronics industry and so on, have grown out of nothing. While production in coastal regions has grown, industry in inland regions and regions inhabited by minority nationalities has developed even more quickly. The proportion of the value of the industrial output of inland regions in the value of national industrial output has grown from less than one-fourth in 1949 to one-third. Considering our country's communications and transportation, not only have there been great increases in the mileage covered by various means of transport by rail, by road, by water or by air, but there has been a change in distribution--an extension to inland and border areas. The framework of a railroad network, a highway network and an air transportation network, extending over the whole country, has been formed. All provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, except Xizang, are traversed by railroads. All except 2 of the 2,000 or more counties in our country are accessible by road. Civil aviation routes link some 80 large and medium-sized cities. At present, compared with the initial postliberation period, the output of principal industrial and agricultural products, the volume of goods transported by rail or by road, the total quantity of social commodities purchased and sold through retail outlets, and the total volume of import and export trade, have increased by several times, or by over a dozen times, or even by scores of times. Technological standards of production in various trades and industries have been raised. Achievements in nuclear technology and in technology related to artificial earth satellites and carrier rockets illustrate our progress in science and technology. With the development of our economy, the national average consumption by the people has increased from 76 yuan per capita in 1952 to 224 yuan per capita in 1980, and if price rises are taken into consideration, the increase still reaches nearly 100 percent.

The successes in new China's economic construction are naturally unparalleled by those of old China. Moreover, they are very prominent if viewed in the global context.

First, the rate of our country's economic development is higher than the rates in the majority of foreign countries. If the index of agricultural production is taken as 100 for 1952, then, in 1979, the index registered 249 in our country, 166 in the United States, 184 in Britain, 200 in France and 164 in Japan. If the index of industrial production is also taken as 100 for 1952, then, in 1979, it registered 1,734 in our country, 290 in the United States, 202 in Britain, 385 in France and 1,622 in Japan. The average per capita area of farmland in our country is much smaller than the world average, and in absolute figures our total area of farmland is only the fourth largest in the world. However, our country's grain output (318.22 million tons) is the second highest in the world, and our output of cotton (2.71 million tons) is the third highest. Our country's output of industrial products was originally very low, but now the output figures for some products are among the highest in the world. The positions in the world of various products are: cotton yarn (output: 2.93 million tons), 1st; raw coal (output: 620 million tons), 3d; steel (output: 37.12 million tons), 5th; electricity generation (output: 300.6 billion kilowatt-hours), 7th; and crude oil (output: 105.95 million tons), 9th.

Second, although our country's economic and technological standards lag behind those of economically developed countries, compared with the majority of developing countries, our country has acquired a relatively good material and technological foundation. According to analyses by some foreign economists, the proportion of industrial output in our GNP is nearly 100 percent higher than the average figures for low-income countries in the world, and nearly 25 percent higher than that for countries in the middle-income range. Because a relatively complete industrial system has been established in our country, the variety of machinery and equipment produced by our country is considerable, and our degree of reliance on imports is low. In these respects, our country has surpassed the majority of developing countries.

Third, it should be particularly pointed out that although our per capita national income is still at a very low level on the global scale, the livelihood of the people in our country is better than in other low-income countries of the same order, and is even better in certain respects than in countries in the middle-income range. In many developing countries, economic growth divides society into two opposing extremes. In our country, in distributing consumption funds among various social groups or various individuals, necessary differentials are maintained, but excessive differences are avoided. The satisfaction of the basic daily needs of our population of nearly 1 billion, such as food and clothing, is insured. The overwhelming majority of children of school age can receive basic education. Nearly all people who are able to work have their own jobs. Basic medical care is provided to urban and rural residents. The proportion of secondary and primary school pupils in the total number of youngsters who should attend schools is approximately 100 percent higher in our country than the average figure for low-income countries, and substantially higher than the average figure for countries in the middle-income range. The death rate in our country has dropped from 18 per 1,000 shortly after liberation to 6.2 per 1,000 at present, much lower than the figures of 15 per 1,000 for low-income countries or 11 per 1,000 for middle-income countries. According to information from surveys conducted in some localities, the life expectancy of our country's population is about 68 years, that is, 18 years higher than that of low-income countries or 7 years higher than that of middle-income countries. The death rate and life expectancy are very important comprehensive indices which reflect a country's socioeconomic conditions and its people's living standard. In these respects we have obviously made great progress.

Over the past 30 years and more, our country has not taken a smooth path in its economic construction. During the first 8 years, the recovery and development of our economy was very fast. Later, we met with setbacks and took a tortuous path in the course of progress. The things which brought about gravely harmful effects on economic development included not only the political upheaval owing to the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the divorcement of our transformation of production relations from the level of the productive forces, but also mistakes of rash advance and mistakes of impatience for success in formulating guiding principles for economic construction. The main content of such mistakes were: going after unrealistically high growth rates; setting overly high targets for production; carrying out construction on a scale surpassing the burden our country could shoulder in view of our resources, particularly in the case of heavy industrial construction; and also maintaining an overly high accumulation rate, which hampered the development of agriculture, light industry and scientific, educational and cultural undertakings and which adversely affected improvements in the people's material and cultural life. Leftist mistakes in the guiding principles for economic construction were prominently reflected in the 3 years of the "Great Leap Forward" starting in 1958, the overly extensive and impatient building of industries in inland regions after 1970, and the setting of overly ambitious development goals in 1978. These mistakes resulted in grave disproportions in the national economic relations, a highly irrational economic structure, and very poor economic results, so that we could not achieve the greater successes in economic development that we should have been able to achieve.

The repeated occurrence of similar mistakes indicates in itself that it is owing to deep-rooted causes. We lack experience in socialist construction. We did not adequately understand our national conditions and the laws governing economic development. When we achieved some successes, we began to become hot-headed and to neglect scientific validation of our economic plans, policies and measures, and so on. All these things were important causes of our mistaken impatience for success. Moreover, we should not neglect the objective conditions for our country's economic construction when we analyze our mistakes. Although a superior socialist system has been established in our country, the level of our economic and technological development differs vastly from that of developed capitalist countries, so that we have always been in a constrained and passive position. Hostile foreign forces have constituted a threat to us; domestically, the people have been living in poverty; and numerous problems urgently need to be solved. This is the soil in which germinate the seeds of impatient, rash thinking and practices. We were overly impatient for success in the past mainly because we wanted to rapidly change our situation of poverty and backwardness, to enable our country to become strong and prosperous as quickly as possible, and to bring about radical improvements in the people's livelihood. Consequently, we gave a great deal of consideration to the need or development, but little consideration to possibility. When our party discovered mistakes in practice, it always took resolute measures to correct them. In the winter of 1960, we put forward and implemented the principle of "readjustment, consolidation, replenishment and improvement," and corrected the mistakes of the "Great Leap Forward" in our practical work, so that our national economy was able to continue to develop. In the spring of 1979, our party resolved to implement the principle of "readjustment, reform, rectification and improvement." We have achieved marked success over the past 2 years and more.

The formulation and implementation of the eight-character principle of "readjustment, reform, rectification and improvement" were based on the systematic and in-depth summing up of the mistakes in our economic work since the founding of the PRC. Therefore, compared with the first readjustment, our current readjustment is of more profound and far-reaching significance, and it signifies a radical change in the guiding principles for our country's economic construction. We must not only put an end to the disproportion in economic relations and insure the stability of the overall economic situation, but also proceed from our national conditions to bring about major changes in things concerning economic and social development such as strategic principles, strategic targets, economic models, modes of development, and so on, and to seek a new road that involves less investment and a lower accumulation rate, that brings about better benefits and also greater material benefits for the people.

Ours is a country with a population of nearly 1 billion. More than 80 percent of our population live in the countryside. Agriculture still basically relies on manual labor. The labor productivity and the proportion of products sold as commodities are very low. Our farmland is inadequate. Many natural resources have not been thoroughly explored, and the exploitation of many other natural resources will be difficult to accomplish in the near future. The scientific and educational standards of the whole nation are low. We lack the knowledge and experience necessary for running, managing and organizing a socialized economy. Therefore, our country's modernization construction will be a long-term, complicated and arduous endeavor. It is groundless to be pessimistic, to despair or to lack confidence in our country's modernization construction, but it is also unrealistic to expect quick success or miracles in the near future. We must establish strategic thinking and strategic principles with long-term construction in mind. We must have ambition, high aspirations and revolutionary vigor, but we must also work within our capability, proceed in an orderly way and step by step, and achieve the goals of modernization step by step and in stages.

At present, the fact that the living standard of the people in our country is low, that our science and technology are backward, and that social service undertakings are not well developed is basically because of the underdevelopment of our economy. However, because the people's living standard is low and funds are inadequate, it is impossible and inappropriate for us to emphasize the development of productive construction in a certain period, and to postpone the improvement of the people's livelihood or the development of various social undertakings related to the people's livelihood until our economy has reached a certain level of development. That is, we must not divorce ourselves from the development of production in striving for improvements in livelihood or planning for the development of social undertakings, but neither must we disregard the practical requirements of improving the people's livelihood and enhancing social development in planning for the orientation and scale of economic development. In determining development targets, we must give consideration to both productive construction and the people's livelihood, to both the development of our economy and the development of social undertakings, so that all these things can be closely integrated and can promote one another.

Our country has a large population and abundant labor resources. However, our large population leads to great consumption. Moreover, we lack funds and technological forces. In light of this situation, we must vigorously establish an industrial structure whose central feature is the production of increasing quantities of consumer goods and which embodies the coordinated development of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. We must vigorously develop agriculture and light industry. We must readjust the service orientation of heavy industry, so that heavy industry changes from excessively serving itself to more extensively and more satisfactorily serving agriculture, light industry and the people's livelihood. Proceeding from such considerations, for a considerable number of years to come, we must take the development of labor-intensive industries and products which save energy, materials and raw materials as our key task; we must establish a technological structure that appropriately integrates a small amount of advanced technology, a vast amount of intermediate technology and a considerable amount of manual operations; and we must not one-sidedly go after automation and mechanization, or go after those categories of advanced technology which involve huge consumption of funds, and in particular those categories which save labor.

Our country has established a substantial material foundation and has very great potential. However, our financial resources and capability to undertake construction are limited. In light of this situation, it will be possible and necessary for us to gradually change over to relying mainly on expanding reproduction by intension to achieve development in the future, instead of, as in the past, relying mainly on expanding reproduction by extension, investing huge sums to build many new factories and to increase production. Therefore, when we readjust the entire industrial structure, we must simultaneously reorganize the enterprises according to the principles of coordination among specialized enterprises and economic rationality, and we must rationalize the organizational structure of the enterprises. We must carry out in a planned way and step by step the renewal of equipment and technological transformation of the existing enterprises, and gradually raise the level of modernization of the enterprises. We must vigorously and steadily reform our economic systems, and fully mobilize the enthusiasm of the grassroots enterprises and the broad masses of workers under centralized planning. That is, we must change our industrial structure, reorganize the industrial enterprises, transform our backward technology and reform our economic systems.

After more than 30 years of construction, we have accumulated in the course of practice plentiful experience, both positive and negative, and we have discovered and have been taking a road of economic construction that is compatible with our national conditions. It can be anticipated that if we advance along this road unwaveringly, our future economic development will be more sound and fruitful.

Viewed from the long stream of historical development, a period of 30 years and more is just a twinkling. Our profound social changes and brilliant successes over such a short period of time, changes and successes which our party has led the people to achieve, will surely leave a glorious page in history and will surely be praised by people. Our party's mistakes, which have been or are being corrected, will surely be analyzed in the perspective of history and assessed fairly. Our current task is to base ourselves on the successes we have achieved, to keep firmly in mind the lessons which we should learn, and to continue to promote the progress of our cause of socialism. Numerous problems remain to be solved and various kinds of difficulties remain to be overcome. Our burden is heavy and the road is long. We must adhere to the four basic principles, maintain a vigorous revolutionary spirit, and wage persistent and dauntless struggles. We will certainly be able to gradually build our great motherland into a modern socialist power with a high degree of democracy and civilization.

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CORRECTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 p 48

[Text] Owing to the fact that they were not calculated on the basis of constant prices, some of the statistical figures in the third paragraph on page 17 of issue No 12 of this year's RED FLAG should be corrected. In 1980, the increase in the total industrial and agricultural output value compared to that of 1949 should be 15.1 times, of which the increase in total industrial output value should be 45.2 times and the increase in total agricultural output value should be 2.8 times; the increase in national income compared to that of 1949 should be 7.8 times, and the per capita national income increase compared to that of 1949 should be 3.9 times. Moreover, in the fifth paragraph on the same page, the 1980 output of the three oil-bearing crops--peanut, sesame seed, and rapeseed--should be 6.234 million tons, an increase compared to that of 1949 of 1.68 times. [This correction is made to the RED FLAG commentator's article entitled "We Are Forging Ahead Along the Great Socialist Road."]

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A CLEAR LINE OF DEMARCATION MUST BE DRAWN ON THIS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 inside back cover

[Article by Xiang Hongye [0686 1347 2814]]

[Text] When we criticize the erroneous idea of "basing everything on money," some comrades ask the question: Since we are not allowed to base things on "money," is there still any need to talk about the socialist principle of material interests? In the view of these comrades, it seems that when we stress the principle of material interests, we should simultaneously pay equal attention to basing everything on "money," and when we criticize the idea of "basing everything on money," we should not stress any more the principle of material interests. In this way, they have confused working "for money" with the socialist principle of material interests. We must draw a clear line of demarcation between the socialist principle of material interests and "basing everything on money."

First, the socialist principle of material interests is an important law of the publicly owned economy and is determined by socialist production relations. It reflects the substantial characteristics of the socialist economic system and also an important basis for formulating the principles and policies of socialist production, distribution and consumption. But "basing everything on money" is carried out within the economic system of private ownership. It reflects the substantial characteristics of the capitalist system. In capitalist society, it serves as the "gospel" for capitalists. Capitalists do not run enterprises, set up banks and engage in business simply for the word "money." Their aim in doing all these is to seek the greatest amount of profit, earn more "money" and have their capital steadily increase. However, as for the vast majority of hired workers and laborers, the word "money" means slavery and exploitation. This is because they sell their labor as a commodity to capitalists; they barter their labor for money," which is in form of wages and does not equal their labor, and they use "money" as the means to pay for the means of livelihood. Thus it can be seen that the idea of "basing everything on money" has at all times not been an idea inherent in the minds of the working people and not an idea that benefits them. In socialist countries, the growth of this idea can only have a corrosive and destructive effect on the working masses and the socialist relations of production.

Second, different from the idea of "basing everything on money," the socialist principle of material interests refers to the position of socialist laborers with regard to the products of their labor. Upholding this principle means upholding the unity of the interests of all the working people and the personal interests of each individual laborer, the unity of overall social interests and the individual interests of each enterprise, unit and department, and the unity of the immediate interests and the long-term interests of the laborers. This is because in a socialist country, owing to the public ownership of the means of production, the interests of the state, the collective and the individual are closely related. The interests of the state and the collective are the source and mainstay of the personal interests of each individual laborer. Only when the country is rich and powerful and the collective economy develops, can the personal interests of each individual laborer be improved and constantly raised along with the general improvement of the state and the collective. However, the personal interests of each individual laborer is the starting point and basis for the state and the collective to develop policy and implement it. That is to say, so long as consideration is given to both the interests of the state and the collective and of the individual, the socialist principle of material interests will be in effect. But the idea of "basing everything on money" leads people to a situation in which they only think of themselves without any thought of the collective and the state, only concentrate on a part and neglect the whole, and only think of their individual interests or of those of a small group to the detriment of state plans, policies, decrees, rules and regulations; thus, individuals infringe upon the interests of the state and the collective by appropriating the property of the state and the collective. If the interests of the state and the collective are infringed upon, will there be anything to talk about in the realm of the socialist principle of material interests?

Third, the socialist principle of material interests is in keeping with the socialist principle of distribution "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," while the idea of "basing everything on money" is antagonistic to this socialist principle of distribution. The socialist principle of distribution takes labor products supplied to society by laborers, that is, "from each according to his ability," as a prerequisite and requires that this labor act as the yardstick in the distribution of labor products. This is because if the laborers do not work in the manner of "from each according to his ability" for society, then society will be unable to provide the laborers with sufficient material products; at the same time, owing to the low level of productive forces in socialist society, the possession of material interests by the laborers, in the final analysis, is determined by the amount of labor they provide to society. But "basing everything on money" first does not lead people to setting their sights on increasing the wealth and property of the whole society, but instead leads individual laborers to seek only personal gain, to increase their share of the ever-increasing labor products, thus causing the phenomena of people setting their sights only on "money," using "money" as the criterion for evaluating everything, and working according to the amount of "money" they receive--"money" becomes the basis for everything. Second, it does not require people to observe the principle of distribution that takes labor as the yardstick; instead, it lures people into seeking personal gain by hook or by crook in order to get more with less labor or even reap without sowing. By using this idea in order to get more "money," some people use every possible trick, do shoddy work and use inferior materials, benefiting themselves at the expense of

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CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

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ACTIVELY LAUNCH CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 81 pp 2-4, 22

[Article by Commentator]

[Text] Criticism and self-criticism are one of the three main work styles of our party--our party's hereditary treasure. Our party always uses the powerful weapon of criticism and self-criticism to unify its ideology, strengthen its unity and enhance its combat effectiveness so that it continues to grow and flourish. At this historical turning point of the new period, we should use this weapon to solve the contradictions within the ranks of the people and unify the thinking of the entire party, the whole army and people throughout the country on the basis of the spirit of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China." In so doing, we will unite as one and promote socialist modernization.

It is not easy to carry out criticism and self-criticism, particularly self-criticism. Some people never accept criticism, although they have committed mistakes. Once they are criticized, they see it as wielding the big stick. Some people always sympathize with those who are criticized and bolster them up without making any distinction between right and wrong. An extremely abnormal phenomenon has even occurred in this respect: Those who were criticized have a sudden rise in their social status and those who adhered to principle, upheld justice and dared to criticize were isolated. The severity of the problem does not lie in this phenomenon alone, but in the party's lax and weak leadership over the ideological front. Confronted with various erroneous tendencies, ideology and conduct, some party organizations and leading comrades failed to actively carry out ideological work and dared not criticize. This is a very bad work style.

Why does such a thing happen? It is mainly because of the fact that our inner-party life has been very abnormal over the past 10 or 20 years. The protracted leftist mistakes mixed up the two different types of contradictions. Some problems which did not belong within the realm of class struggle were regarded as class struggle, and ideological differences within the party were treated as line struggle. In so doing, the party's fine tradition of criticism and self-criticism was abandoned. In particular, during the 10 chaotic years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," to achieve their sinister goal of usurping party leadership and state power, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques carried out vicious and brutal criticism and struggle against the broad masses of cadres and people and inflicted relentless blows on them. Although all these things happened in the past, their influence and frightful psychological effects have not yet been completely eliminated. Therefore, once the subject of criticism is raised, some people wrongly think that they will become the targets of attack again. To them, nothing can be worse than that! Those who intend to criticize still have a lingering fear and are afraid of repeating the leftist mistakes. Those who are criticized are perplexed and uneasy, fearing that disaster will soon befall. All these are understandable. However, it is wrong to refuse to carry out the practice of criticism and self-criticism or even oppose it. Furthermore, the reluctance to criticize is also caused by the corrosive bourgeois influence which results from our open-door policy with foreign countries. Those who are infatuated with the bourgeois liberalization dislike criticism and self-criticism. It goes without saying that in order to do away with party leadership, they are liable to oppose our practices of carrying out active ideological struggle and criticism as well as self-criticism. Our present task is to overcome the leftist mistakes and eliminate the influence resulting from the sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. In addition, we should seriously criticize those who are passionately seeking bourgeois liberalization. In so doing, we will be able to restore and carry forward our party's fine tradition and work style of criticism and self-criticism.

With regard to the problem of criticism and self-criticism, our party has acquired and summed up a full set of experiences in the protracted revolutionary struggle. When the second revolutionary civil war had just started, in the revolutionary army and revolutionary base areas, we adopted the method of criticism and self-criticism to deal with the relations between the party and the masses, between the army and the people, between commanders and fighters and other contradictions within the ranks of the people. During the period of the war of resistance against Japan, we used this method more consciously. Comrade Mao Zedong epitomized it in the formula "unity-criticism-unity," which means starting from the desire of unity, resolving a contradiction through criticism or struggle, and arriving at a unity on a new basis. We extensively adopted this method inside and outside the party and achieved good results. When we review our party's history, we will find out that the enthusiasm of all party members, cadres and masses which has been brought into full play, the growth and flourishing of our party's cause and the successive victories in the revolutionary struggle are inseparable from the correct utilization of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. The historic Zunyi meeting, the rectification movement in Yanan and the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee unified the party's ideological understanding by carrying out criticism and self-criticism. As a result, the party strengthened its unity and led the revolution to march forward triumphantly. During the recently held 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we also implemented the spirit of criticism and self-criticism in the process of summing up historical experience and electing and reelecting leading members of the party Central Committee. This has shown that our party has restored and carried forward its fine tradition. However, some of our comrades have forgotten this positive experience and only remember the negative experience of vicious criticism and struggle during the "Cultural Revolution." Of course, negative experience is also very important and should be firmly kept in mind. In so doing, we will be able to carry out criticism and self-criticism more effectively. The problem is that some comrades fail to adopt a positive attitude and draw a lesson from it. Instead, they adopt a passive attitude.

"Once a person is bitten by a snake, he is unduly frightened at the sight of a rope for 3 years." These comrades abandon the normal practice of criticism and self-criticism. How can they do so? We should never cast away the hereditary treasure of criticism and self-criticism which makes our party grow and thrive.

The practice of criticism and self-criticism is a main method for solving contradictions within the party and within the ranks of the people. If we want to make revolution and progress and carry out construction, the practice of criticism and self-criticism is indispensable. It is because within our party and the ranks of the masses, there always exist contradictions between the proletarian and nonproletarian ideologies, between the correct and erroneous ideologies and between the advanced and the backward. If we fail to solve these contradictions, unify our thinking and keep together, how can we win victory in our revolution and construction? To solve these contradictions, we are not allowed to adopt the method of struggling against the enemy or issuing administrative decrees. We can only adopt the method of criticism and self-criticism. If we had failed to actively carry out criticism and self-criticism and correct the erroneous policy of the "two whatevers," would it have been possible for us to score such a great success in the campaign of bringing order out of chaos? We are now using the method of criticism and self-criticism to correct the leftist mistakes and the rightist trends to deal with some people who pursue an erroneous ideological line, adhere to the leftist mistakes, deliberately speak contrary to the party and wantonly spread erroneous political views. We should solve the problems of some people who deviate from the four basic principles, break away from the socialist road and the party leadership and engage in bourgeois liberalization. Some people distort the party's image, defame the socialist system and vilify Mao Zedong Thought. Should we not criticize them? If we fail to criticize them, where will they lead the people to? Some party members or even a tiny number of leading cadres disregard the party spirit, refuse to go about things according to the party's principle, adhere to factionalism, get something done "through pull" and seek privileges. We should also criticize these people. After drawing lessons from past errors, we are determined not to launch any political movement. However, we should criticize erroneous trends, ideology and conduct. We are not allowed to pursue a laissez-faire policy and let matters drift. Otherwise, our party, state and socialist cause will be inconceivably endangered.

Will the practice of encouraging criticism and self-criticism not impede democracy, hamper the implementation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and stifle suggestions? The answer is no. Carrying forward socialist democracy and implementing the "double hundred" policy embody the spirit of criticism and self-criticism. Whether or not we can normally carry out the practice of criticism and self-criticism is an important criterion for testing whether we have truly carried forward socialist democracy and implemented the "double hundred" policy. If we fail to carry out criticism and self-criticism or refute erroneous ideas, literary and artistic works and articles, if we are only allowed to praise and eulogize but refrain from airing divergent views and if all people only lean to one side, can we say that we carry forward democracy and implement the "double hundred" policy?

Whether the practice of criticism and self-criticism will stifle suggestions depends on the correctness of the criticism. If the criticism is correct and those who are criticized fully accept the criticism and thereby make self-criticism willingly, suggestions will never be stifled. The following things might occur: Although the criticism is correct, those who are criticized adhere to their mistakes and refuse to express their own views. As a result, everything quiets down again. This does not mean stifling suggestions and criticisms. We maintain that those who are criticized may defend themselves. They are even allowed to express their erroneous ideas. However, if they refuse to do so, they are allowed to reflect on their cases. Once they have seen things in the right spirit, they may make self-criticism if they are willing to do so. If they are unwilling, they are also allowed not to make any self-criticism. It is all right as long as they correct their mistakes. If they still cannot see things in the right spirit and again express wrong tendencies, they will be criticized repeatedly. The weapon of criticism and self-criticism should be used all the time. We should never allow wrong things to spread unchecked.

Some people might ask: Does it not mean wielding the big stick again? No! We will never repeat the mistakes of the past. We will never seize on people's mistakes, pin political labels at random and wield the big stick. These are not helpful to differentiating between right and wrong within the ranks of people. The practice of carrying out criticism and self-criticism and the act of wielding the big stick are two entirely different things. The practice of carrying out criticism means starting from the desire for unity and adopting methods of discussions, presenting the facts and reasoning things out. Criticism is aimed at helping people, curing the sickness to save the patient and helping those comrades who have committed mistakes to enhance their ideological understanding and correct their errors. Wielding the big stick is entirely different from criticism. Those who wield the big stick fly in the face of the facts, show no respect for the truth, do things in an oversimplified and crude way, exaggerate the mistakes of others to the maximum and always try to overthrow people. There is a great difference between these two methods. Due to the influence of the leftist mistakes over a long period in the past, there still exists the tendency of doing things in an oversimplified and crude way. We should pay attention to this matter. While carrying out criticism, we should attach importance to its effects. We should stress the method of criticism. We should make criticism and self-criticism in a gentle and mild way and avoid doing things in a crude way and going about our work blindly and haphazardly. In particular, we should avoid attacking people from all sides. It is important to adopt an appropriate method which we should never underestimate. We should know that without a good method, it is impossible to get an effective result. Criticism should be carried out within proper limits and be based on investigation and the practice of seeking truth from facts. We should make specific analysis of the seriousness and nature of the mistakes and the conditions in which the mistakes were made. We should not draw hasty conclusions. While judging a person, we must not confine our judgment to a short period or a single incident in his life, but should consider his life and work as a whole. We should not totally negate him because of his mistakes. Those who commit mistakes should be criticized and those who make serious mistakes should be punished. If we fail to do so, we will not be able to educate those who make mistakes and other people. If we adopt an accommodating attitude toward those who commit mistakes, they are bound to slide farther down the erroneous road. This will eventually lead to irreparable consequences. Criticism cannot be avoided. Vicious criticism and struggle do people great harm. Reluctance to criticize will also ruin people. The practice of criticizing and educating our comrades in time means that we are willing to take good care of and help them. We should never regard criticism as the act of wielding the big stick.

Now some people inside and outside the party are pursuing vulgar practices, which severely hamper criticism and self-criticism. They say: "Grow more flowers, but take away the thorns," "if you do not attack me, I will certainly not counterattack," "keep on good terms with everybody," and so forth. Various kinds of "special personal relations" are established here and there. These comrades are eager to do some other people favors, but unwilling to offend anyone. Lower units do not dare to criticize the higher in fear of being retaliated against and "maltreated." Leaders are reluctant to criticize their subordinates because they are afraid of losing ballots and supporters. No criticism is carried out among comrades because some people are afraid of hurting personal feelings and relations. Some other people wrongly think that once they offend someone, their source of getting "back door benefits" will be withheld. As a result, they say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong. To them, personal feelings mean everything. The party's principle, the people's interests and the rise and fall of our country are negligible. They have cast them to the winds. These vulgar practices are a kind of corrosive agent which harms our party and revolutionary ranks. Party members, league members and all fair-minded people should fight against these vulgar practices.

To carry out criticism and self-criticism actively and correctly, we should strengthen the party's leadership. The fact that it is not easy to carry out criticism and self-criticism is not a separate phenomenon, nor simply a problem occurring in a small number of places or units. This problem is widespread. Party organizations at all levels should pull themselves together, be resolute and resolve to change this state of affairs. They should also resolutely change their lax and weak leadership over the ideological front. At present, this is our party's main task. Party organizations at all levels, including party branches at the basic level, are not allowed to turn a blind eye or adopt a passive attitude toward various erroneous tendencies, ideology and conduct. They should be bold and straightforward in carrying out ideological work and criticize people who should be criticized. Otherwise, the party's leadership will be cast aside. Leading members of party committees at all levels should take the lead in carrying out criticism and self-criticism to correct the unhealthy tendencies. Various party organizations at the basic level should set strict and specific demands on party members. All party members should do their best to be models in carrying out criticism and self-criticism and be bold in waging irreconcilable struggles against all unhealthy tendencies. At present, we are not satisfied with the general mood of society and our party's work style. Once we have done a good job in rectifying our party's work style, the general mood of the society will improve.

Practice of criticism and self-criticism is a hallmark distinguishing our party from all other political parties. We should restore and carry forward the party's fine tradition and carry out criticism and self-criticism actively and correctly so that marked progress will be made in ideological work. In so doing, a new atmosphere will occur and our work in various fields will be promoted.

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MAO ZEDONG'S MILITARY THINKING IS THE GUIDE TO OUR ARMY'S VICTORIES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 81 pp 5-15

[Article by Song Shilun [1345 2514 6544]]

[Text] Looking back on the glorious fighting career of the party at a time when we are commemorating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, we deeply cherish the memory of and respect Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation who made immortal contributions to the Chinese revolutionary cause and realize more clearly the great role of Mao Zedong Thought representing the correct thought of the CCP. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted at the recent 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee sums up the experiences gained since the founding of the PRC, scientifically evaluates the role of Comrade Mao Zedong in history and Mao Zedong Thought and points out the direction for our future endeavor. The resolution points out at the same time that Comrade Mao Zedong made an extremely outstanding contribution to Marxist-Leninist military theory. Historical experience has proved: Mao Zedong Thought is the banner of our victory and, as its important component, Mao Zedong's military thinking is the guide to our army's victories. At present, to further study Mao Zedong's military theory and practice in depth and to understand and master the theory of Mao Zedong's military thinking comprehensively and correctly and to inherit and develop it in relation to the future practice of war have an extremely important bearing on the modernization of our country's national defense and on the winning of victories in future wars against aggression. Here, I should like to talk about my personal understanding of a few problems in the study of Mao Zedong's military thinking.

I. Main Contents of Mao Zedong's Military Thinking

Mao Zedong's military thinking is a very important component of the entire scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought. It was a military theory brought into being by the Chinese communists with Comrade Mao Zedong as a representative. By adapting themselves to the historical needs of the Chinese workers' and peasants' armed revolution, they integrated the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolutionary wars. In all the previous revolutionary wars led by the CCP, the theory had displayed an ever-victorious strength.

After the Opium War of 1840, China gradually became a semicolonial and semifeudal society. In this process, the Chinese people waged heroic struggles against the imperialists and their lackeys, including, among other things, the large-scale peasant war of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the many wars against imperialist aggression, the military struggles waged by China's newly emerging bourgeoisie against the feudal forces and the northern expedition in which the political party of the Chinese proletariat joined its leadership. However, before Mao Zedong's military thinking came into being, no military theory which was suited to the Chinese people's armed revolution and which led this struggle to victory was formulated. It wasn't until the Chinese proletariat led an armed struggle independently and brought Mao Zedong's military thinking into being that the Chinese people found an ideological weapon to win revolutionary victories through armed struggle. It was not at all easy and very amazing that our party should succeed in discovering such a military theory after arduous struggle and bloody sacrifices.

Mao Zedong's military thinking is a scientific theory with a substantial content. It expounds profoundly the Marxist concept of war, and the methods of knowledge and methodology of war and puts forth a whole series of theories, policies and principles in building the people's army and waging a people's war. It has inherited and absorbed the quintessence of the military theory of ancient times and from abroad, attached particular importance to the summation of the practices and experiences in war according to the special feature of the Chinese revolutionary war and created something unique.

Mao Zedong's military thinking points out that war is the highest form of struggle between nations, states, classes or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes. War is politics with bloodshed. In a class society, it would be impossible to accomplish a leap in social development without revolutionary wars. The central task and the highest form of revolution is the seizure of power by armed force, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war and to eliminate war by means of war. These understandings of the nature of war and the attitude of the proletariat on war are the fundamental basis for the Chinese people in waging revolutionary wars.

Mao Zedong's military thinking considers that war, being a social phenomenon, is more difficult to ascertain and less certain than other social phenomena. That is to say, the element of probability is more prominent. However, war is the inevitable movement of a matter and can be recognized. Military thinking stems from the practice of war and the laws of war are reflections in our minds of objective realities. To study and not only the laws of war in general but, what is more important, the specific laws of war in relation to the war situation at that time and place. In planning and directing a war, the object of recognition must include both the enemy and ourselves. The process of recognizing a situation exists not only before the formation of a military plan but also after its formation. It is necessary, in accordance with the logical order of reconnaissance, judgment, determination and deployment, to deepen our understanding of war, solve the contradictions between subjectivity and objectivity and direct the war correctly. Mao Zedong's military thinking expounds profoundly the dialectical law in the realm of military affairs and makes lively and concrete exposition and analyses of several categories, such as military and political affairs, military affairs and the economy, weapons and man, self-preservation and destruction of the enemy, subjective guidance and objective realities, despising the enemy strategically but taking their tactics seriously, interior and exterior lines, protracted war and battles of quick decision, offensive and defensive, initiative and passivity, concentration and dispersion, planning and flexibility, mobile and positional warfare, regular and guerrilla warfare, annihilation and attrition and so on, the interdependence between them and their transformation under certain conditions. Comrade Mao Zedong proficiently applied materialist dialectics in military affairs, formulated military philosophical thinking with distinct features which served as a theoretical basis for his complete military thinking.

Mao Zedong military thinking applies the Marxist basic principle that the masses of the people are makers of history in the realm of war and establishes the great thought of waging a people's war by mobilizing, organizing, arming and relying on the masses under the leadership of the CCP. It includes, among other things: the establishment of rural base areas as a strategic base to persist in a protracted revolutionary war; the exercise of unified leadership within the party, government, army and people in the various base areas and, with armed struggle serving as a core, undertaking full responsibility for the organization and application of armed force; the combining of regular army with guerrilla forces and militia, main formations with local formations and of armed masses with unarmed masses; and the direct and indirect coordination between armed struggle, this main form of struggle, and various forms of struggles on various fronts. Therefore, the people's war led by the CCP is completely different from any spontaneous people's war in history and is characterized by a more distinct revolutionary spirit, scientific character, organizational discipline and broad character.

Mao Zedong's military thinking puts forth as a primary problem in an armed revolution the establishment of a people's army and stresses that, without a people's army, the people would have nothing. In the early period of army building, the idea of building a people's army began to be established after the reorganization in Sanwan and the Gutien congress and was gradually perfected in later struggles, forming a whole set of principles for building a people's army. They chiefly include: insisting on the Communist Party's absolute leadership over the army; insistence on the sole purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly; insisting on politics as the commander and the Red Army as an armed group carrying out revolutionary political tasks; carrying out the task of chiefly being a fighting force but at the same time being a work team and a production team; establishing revolutionary political work and making it clear that the revolutionary political and military work under the leadership of the party are of equal importance and should be done in harmony; stressing that political work is to educate the troops with revolutionary spirit and thus ensure that the party's line, principles and policies are implemented and the tasks of the army are accomplished ideologically, politically and organizationally; stressing the three great principles of political work of unity between officers and men, unity between the army and the people and disintegrating the enemy; stressing practice of democracy in the three main fields of politics, economics and military affairs, supporting the government and cherishing the people; observing the three main rules of discipline and eight points of attention; undergoing strict training and accepting demands; and giving full play to the fine style of courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice and arduous struggle. To persist in and carry out these principles will enable our army to keep forever the innate character of a people's army, to have a strong fighting will and very good internal and external unity, to gain the support and help of the people and forever be in an impregnable position.

Based on defeating with inferior weapons an enemy equipped with superior weapons, Mao Zedong's military thinking puts forth flexible strategies and tactics. Its basic idea is to bring into full play the subjective initiative on the existing objective material basis and strive for victories in war. To this end, it is imperative to proceed from the objective actual conditions of the enemy and ourselves and direct the operations of our army by making use of the strong points and avoiding the weak points. The strategic and tactical principles of Mao Zedong's military thinking include: the basic principles of preserving ourselves and destroying the enemy; strategically despising all our enemies, but tactically taking them all seriously; accepting active defense, opposing passive defense and, when strategically conducting a protracted defensive warfare within the interior line, tactically conducting offensive battles of quick decision within the exterior line; knowing that the chief and important forms of battles are mobile warfare and guerrilla warfare but positional warfare can be employed where it is possible and necessary; according to changes in situation and tasks, effecting in time a strategic shift with changes in the chief forms of battles as its content; adopting a prudent attitude in fighting the initial battle and fighting no battle unprepared; using initiative, flexibility and planning; making the elimination of enemy armed forces the main objective; concentrating a superior force to annihilate the enemy one by one; combining interior and exterior lines in strategic offensives and coordination among various strategic areas; blockading the enemy's retreat in a decisive strategic battle and pinning down the heavy forces of the enemy in order to annihilate them; surrounding and outflanking the enemy in strategic pursuit. The implementation of these principles by our army will make it possible for our army to hold a dominant position in some areas when we are in a weak position as a whole, win every battle and gradually change the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves. When we gradually hold a dominant position as a whole, we can shift from strategic defensive to strategic offensive until we completely defeat the enemy and win a final victory.

What is the fundamental point in Mao Zedong's military thinking? It is to proceed from the actual conditions between the enemy and ourselves and direct the war according to the objective laws of war. To put it briefly, I think it is to seek truth from facts. In 1945, Comrade Zhu De summarized in simple language the "new military strategy and tactics of Comrade Mao Zedong" as follows: "Fight battles according to whatever weapons we have, whatever enemy we are confronted with and according to different times and places. The first is related to the weapons and equipment of the troops, the second is related to the condition of the enemy and the third is related to the various conditions of time and place. This is the materialist method of directing military operations in a practical and realistic manner." This is a very brilliant and penetrating summation.

Mao Zedong's military thinking not only guided the Chinese revolutionary wars to victory and pushed the history of China forward swiftly and violently but also added new contents to the treasure house of the Marxist military theory in a series of major issues which have become the common property of the international proletariat and the revolutionary people.

Mao Zedong's military thinking has a great influence not only in China but also in the world. In waging national or people's liberation wars, many countries in the Third World attach very great importance to absorbing and applying Mao Zedong's military thinking. A few men of insight in the capitalist countries also evaluate Mao Zedong's military thinking very highly. An American military commentator wrote: "Among the communists who have constantly concentrated their attention on the study of military theory, Mao Zedong is the most outstanding"; "of all the strategists, he emphasizes practical results most and he most strongly advocates critical acceptance of experience." In "Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy," Henry Kissinger pointed out: "Using Leninist theory as a basis, that is, war is the highest form of struggle, Mao Zedong has formulated a body of military theory." "This military theory shows a high degree of ability in analysis and rare insight," "is good at making comparisons between the enemy and ourselves and applying Leninist principles to the actual conditions in China." In "Great Strategy," Collins listed Comrade Mao Zedong as the "most outstanding strategist in modern times." Japanese military commentator Hiroshi Shishido pointed out: "Mao Zedong's articles on military affairs occupy a large proportion of Mao Zedong's works, and military thinking constitutes the cream of Mao Zedong Thought." In the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Japan, quite a large number of these treatises on the study of Mao Zedong's military thinking have been published. This shows that Mao Zedong's military thinking has overstepped the boundary and become an object of study for the world's military thinking. In the history of the world military thinking, Mao Zedong's occupies its due important position.

II. The Formation and Development of Mao Zedong's Military Thinking

Mao Zedong's Military Thinking Derived Chiefly From the Practice of Protracted Revolutionary Wars

Comrade Mao Zedong's recognition of military problems, as his recognition of other things, experienced the necessary process from not knowing to knowing, from knowing little to knowing much and from superficial to profound knowledge. Comrade Mao Zedong served in the army, engaged in a workers' movement and later in a peasant movement for a comparatively long time. In "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," he put forth the proposition of establishing the peasants' armed forces. After the failure of the great revolution of 1927, the objective situation demanded that the focus of our party's work be shifted from the city to the rural areas and that the rural areas be made a base to develop the revolution by chiefly waging armed struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong was the chief representative in realizing this shift. He profoundly summed up the experiences and lessons during the first revolutionary civil war period and put forth at the "7 August" conference the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Later, he personally led the autumn uprising of the Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi border area and began to plunge into the armed struggle led by our party. In the early period of leading armed struggle and founding the Red Army, Comrade Mao Zedong had already made some contributions. After some victories and setbacks, especially after suffering some defeats, he led the troops of the autumn uprising to march in the direction of Jinggangshan and creatively put forth the theory of encircling the cities from the rural areas and setting up an armed independent regime of workers and peasants, which was suited to

China's special characteristics. In the reorganization of Sanwan, Comrade Mao Zedong decided on the establishment of the party branch in the companies and the system of party representatives and strengthened the leadership of the party over the army, thus initially formulating the most important principles in building a people's army. After the troops arrived in Jinggangshan, especially after the troops of the Autumn Uprising led by Comrade Mao Zedong joined forces with the remnant forces of the Nanchang Uprising led by Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi, the 4th Red Army and the popular armed forces led by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De victoriously broke the "encirclement" of the strong enemy by applying the method of "staying clear of the enemy's main force and striking at his weak points." In May 1928, Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the fighting experiences during this period and put forth the military principle of the "16-character formula." That is to say, Mao Zedong's military thinking gradually came into being in this period. Later, the Red Army won successive victories in the struggles against the "encirclement and suppression," suffered subsequent defeat and embarked on the 25,000-li Long March. The process of victory, defeat and victory in the practice of war provided rich contents and laid a solid foundation for the formation of Mao Zedong's military thinking.

The arrival of the Red Army in northern Shaanxi at the end of 1935, the aggression of the Japanese invaders and the anticommunist policy pursued by the Kuomintang made the political and military struggles at that time very complicated. In order to systematically solve in theory the strategic and tactical problems of China's revolutionary war, Comrade Mao Zedong further studied philosophy, the military theories of all times and in all countries, especially the Marxist-Leninist military theory, and the new situation and problems at that time. By applying dialectic materialism and historical materialism, he summed up the extremely rich practical experience in army building and battles during the 10 years of the formation of the Red Army and wrote a number of military treatises. From 1936 to 1938, Comrade Mao Zedong successively published famous military writings, such as "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "On Basic Tactics in Guerrilla War Against Japan--Surprise Attack," "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," "On Protracted War," "On New Stage" and "Problems of War and Strategy." He also published famous theoretical writings such as "On Contradiction" and "On Practice." These treatises and the related documents published before them did not involve individual problems and arguments of war. They expounded in a comprehensive and profound way a systematic theory on building a people's army, waging a people's war and applying strategy, campaign and tactics, and solved the problems of military theory and practice that needed to be solved at that time. This showed that the military theory of our party, the scientific system of Mao Zedong's military thinking, had already been shaped.

When reviewing this historical period at the enlarged central work conference in 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "On the eve of and during the anti-Japanese war I wrote a few theses, such as 'Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War,' 'On Protracted War,' 'On New Democracy' and 'Introducing the Communist' and drafted some documents on policies and tactics on behalf of the CCP Central Committee. They are a summation of the revolutionary experiences. It was only at that time and not before it that those treatises and documents could come into being because, without experiencing great storms, without comparing the two victories and two failures and without sufficient experience, it was impossible to fully recognize the law of the Chinese revolution."

In the 15 years that followed, the Chinese revolution experienced the anti-Japanese war, the liberation war and the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. Further tempered in wars, the military talent of Comrade Mao Zedong radiated with more dazzling brightness. As a commander of the whole army, his art in organizing and conducting a war developed to the extent that he could handle it with facility and perfection. The experiences gained in the new and large-scale wars further enriched the existing theory so that Mao Zedong's military thinking developed to a higher stage. The representative works in this period were the related parts in "On Coalition Government" already published publicly, "Concentrate a Superior Force To Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One," "A 3 Months' Summary," "The Concept of Operations for the Northwest War Theater," "Strategy for the Second Year of the War of Liberation," "Ten Major Military Principles," the concepts of operations for the Liaoxi-Shenyang, Beiping-Tianjin and Huai-Hai campaigns, "Order to the Chinese People's Volunteers" and "Hail the Signal Victory of the Chinese People's Volunteers!" This was an historical process of practice generating theory, theory guiding practice and practice enriching theory.

The battle scale of the 2-odd years of strategic counteroffensive in the liberation war was rare in the military history of China. The theory of strategic counteroffensive in Mao Zedong's military thinking developed as it had never before. For example, Comrades Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping led over 100,000 troops, leaving the base areas far behind and advancing to the strategic deep areas of the enemy. This unique method of offensive had seldom been carried out before. In this period, rich experience was also gained in battles to take big and medium-sized cities. Comrade Mao Zedong issued a lot of important instructions on the theory and practice of taking cities. His instructions included: the principle of army deployment in capturing Jinan and attacking the enemy's reinforcements; the tunnel warfare during the attack on Lingfen; the long siege during the attack on Taiyuan; the combination of long siege and disintegration during the attack on Changchun; the method of cutting off contacts with the enemy forces and of encircling without attacking or cutting off without encircling during the Beiping-Tianjin campaign; the peaceful liberation of Beiping; the tactics of storming heavily fortified points in Tianjin; and attacking Shanghai with one's back to the river, cutting off the enemy's retreat from the sea and the deployment of troops for attacking and holding off enemy reinforcements while attacking the city. With regard to the forms of battle, mobile warfare became larger in scale, the proportion of positional warfare increased constantly and sabotage operations were popularly adopted. Comrade Mao Zedong summed up a lot of new experiences, putting forth the principle of "paying equal attention to annihilating the enemy and giving the enemy an annihilating blow" and "the operational policy of annihilating half of the enemy and putting the other half to flight." After the three great campaigns of Liaoxi-Shenyang, Beiping-Tianjin and Huai-Hai, Comrade Mao Zedong's theory on the timing of strategic decision and area, the fixing of the major direction of the campaign, the use of troops for the decisive battle, the application of encirclement, strategic coordination and cooperation and the organization and direction of decisive battles was more and more perfected. The problem of large-scale and long-distance pursuit was raised as a strategic problem. In order to suit the needs of strategic counteroffensive, a lot of new tasks were set for army building, such as the direction of the army regularization, the building of artillery troops and troops of engineers, the establishment of an air force and navy, the ample use of modern railways, highways and waterways, the stress on organizational disciplines, the putting forward of the urban policy, the strengthening of the tasks of commanding and logistics, the launching of a new rectification movement in the army and the regularization of political work. It was a pity that Comrade Mao Zedong had no time to make a systematic summation of large-scale wars, especially the practice of strategic counteroffensives in this period in the same way as he had summed up the experiences in strategic defensive operations in the early period of the anti-Japanese war, so that to date they are scattered in the large numbers of cables on battles he drafted.

The war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea was a severe trial of strength and will between the Chinese People's Volunteers and the Korean soldiers and civilians on the one hand and the enemy on the other, which possessed a first-rate modernization level in the world at that time. The CCP Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong comprehensively analyzed the situation at that time, resolutely made an important policy decision to organize volunteers for a fight abroad and, took advantage of the situation that the enemy did not expect us to send troops to participate in the war. Thus they divided forces to carry out bold attacks, directed our volunteers to enter Korea in secret. They fought side by side with the Korean People's Army and launched a counteroffensive at the start, thus achieving abruptness in strategy and tactics. After fighting five consecutive campaigns, the war situation in Korea became stable. When a stalemate situation occurred, Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the experience of positional warfare adopted by our volunteers, launched a tactical offensive operation against the enemy along the entire front, which later developed into a large-scale offensive campaign, and finally forced the enemy to sign the ceasefire agreement. In this war, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth a series of theories, policies, principles and tactics in operation in waging an international war under modern conditions. These included: policies and discipline for volunteers fighting abroad; close coordination between military attack and political struggle; use of abruptness in an initial battle to gain a favorable position; adoption of small encirclement and war of annihilation to fight the U.S. and British troops; antitank and air drop battles and battles to resist troop landings; a strong defense using tunnel fortifications; tactical offensives and offensives in campaigns; stress on comparing military strength and firepower, using camouflage as well as the establishing strong services in the rear. These theories are especially important as a guide for our army in future wars.

After the seizure of political power throughout the country, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth in time the theory and tasks of building up a modern national defense army and resisting aggression by an external enemy under the new historical conditions and personally led our army to a higher stage of army building. During this period, Comrade Mao Zedong made a series of important and correct instructions on the strategic problems of building our army and the future war against aggression so that Mao Zedong's military thinking continued to develop.

The 25 years during which Comrade Mao Zedong directly led and directed revolutionary wars in addition to the time during which he directly led the military work of our party since the founding of the PRC, amount to half a century. In the history of the proletarian revolution up to now, he was a proletarian strategist who had the longest military practice, the richest military experience and the most comprehensive and systematic military theory. In addition to the works already published, the rich content of Mao Zedong's military thinking found more concentrated expression in his substantial unpublished documents and cables for the direction of war. They are our invaluable military heritage and have yet to be sorted out and studied.

Mao Zedong's military thinking has come into being and been developed on the basis of a people's war. However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" assumed an ultra-leftist appearance and advocated the so-called "theory of innate genius," saying that "a genius such as Chairman Mao appears once in the world in several hundred years and in China in several thousand years. Chairman Mao is the greatest genius in the world." The publicity they gave to exaggerating individual genius and negating the practice of the masses of the people precisely proves that they were not Marxists. Lenin pointed out: "Practice endows theory with vitality, corrects it and tests it." Facts have proved that, without the protracted practice of the Chinese revolutionary war, there would be no Mao Zedong military thinking.

Mao Zedong's Military Thinking Is the Crystallization of the Collective Wisdom of the Whole Party and the Whole Army

The revolutionary war led by our party represented the fundamental interests of the laboring people, and the masses of people very extensively participated in and supported it. It became the common cause of millions and millions of people. The collective struggle and collective wisdom of the masses of people were the foundation for the emergence and development of Mao Zedong's military thinking.

Our country's revolutionary war broke out and developed in several separate regions. This helped train many outstanding strategists. For a long time, Comrade Zhu De was the commander in chief of our army. He had performed immortal feats in founding the people's army and in leading all past revolutionary wars. Comrade Zhou Enlai was a leader of our party who first went in for military movements. He rendered an outstanding contribution in leading the northern expedition, in training a military backbone for the party, in founding the people's army, in leading the second and the third revolutionary civil wars and in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. Comrades Peng Dehuai, Huang Gonglue, Ye Ting, Fang Zhimin, Liu Zhidan, He Long, Chen Yi, Luo Ronghuan, Liu Bocheng, Deng Xiaoping, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, Ye Jianying, and other revolutionary martyrs and comrades who are still living have also made immortal contributions to the great cause of founding the people's army and winning a victory in the revolutionary war and important contributions to creating and developing our party's military theory. In fact, they directly participated in activities of creating Mao Zedong's military thinking, whereas Comrade Mao Zedong was an outstanding representative of our party's strategists and was the founder and epitomizer of China's revolutionary military theory.

On the whole, decisions of strategic importance on war problems and the formation of military theory of our party did not rely upon the talents of one or two persons at all but relied upon the leading group's collective wisdom and correct summing up of the experience of the struggle of the masses. Mao Zedong's military thinking is precisely the crystallization of this kind of collective wisdom. The process of the formation of the "Guitian congress resolution," which was the first programmatic document for building our army, clearly demonstrates this. At that time, the Red Army was just founded and there were a series of theoretical and practical problems in building the army that needed correct solutions. In September 1929, Comrade Chen Yi went to Shanghai as the representative of the 4th Red Army to report to the party Central Committee on his work. In accordance with what was reported and with the country's situation, Comrade Zhou Enlai, who was then in charge of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, examined, approved and issued, on behalf of the party Central Committee, "a letter instructing the front committee of the 4th Red Army" (the "September letter"). It correctly stipulated the 4th Red Army's fundamental tasks, orientation for development, strategy and tactics and the current activities. It also gave instructions on relations between the army and the people, organization and training, provisions and the economy and the party's work and leadership. In accordance with the spirit of this letter of instructions from the Central Committee, the enlarged meeting held by the front committee at Changding decided to hold the Ninth CCP Congress of the 4th Red Army. Comrade Mao Zedong made a serious investigation and study on problems existing in the army and solutions to these problems and drafted a resolution. At the end of December, the draft was discussed, revised and adopted at the ninth congress and the famous "Gutian congress resolution" was born. Comrade Mao Zedong's historical contribution was that he condensed correct views from all sectors in the "Gutian congress resolution," put forth concrete measures, dispelled all influences of the old army and formulated a systematic theory on building a people's army. This resolution was implemented not only in the 4th Red Army but in other units of the Red Army as well. It played a very important historical role both in building the Red Army in all aspects and in building our army later.

Comrade Mao Zedong was skillful in concentrating the wisdom of the whole party. In the early period of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth at the Luochuan meeting held by the Central Committee in August 1937 the operational principle of an independent guerrilla war based on taking the initiative. Many leading comrades of our party and our army also published many theses and treatises in succession. In May 1938, Comrade Mao Zedong published the article "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan" and gave a speech entitled "On Protracted War." These two theses summarized the collective experience and made penetrating expositions and scientific predictions on the general political policy, tactics and strategem for the whole war of resistance against Japanese aggression as well as the course and future of the war. Therefore, as soon as they were published, they became representative works of our party and played a tremendous role in guiding the entire war of resistance against Japanese aggression. The famous "ten military principles" was put forth 1 and 1/2 years after the beginning of the war of liberation by Comrade Mao Zedong, who concentrated and summed up our army's rich war experience. We have studied over 30 summaries on the experience of different war theaters during this period. Their contents touched upon nearly all aspects of the 10 military principles. Comrade Mao Zedong turned our army's war experience into theories and put forth the "ten military principles." This played a very important guiding role in the entire stage of strategic counteroffensive.

During a war, Comrade Mao Zedong would respect very much the views of commanders in different theaters and revise his own views in accordance with actual situations that had been decided. He often sent telegrams to lower levels encouraging them to act promptly on their own discretion and not to ask for instructions for everything. Therefore, the wisdom, capability, enthusiasm and creativeness of commanders at lower levels were given full play. For example, in the campaign along the Beiping-Hankou railway, the Military Commission and Comrade Mao Zedong originally decided that the target of attack should be Hu Zongnan's troops which were reinforcements coming from the north. However, since the situation on battlefields changed continuously and new opportunities for winning the war emerged, the proposals of Comrade Liu Bocheng and Comrade Deng Xiaoping were actually adopted, and Ma Fawu's troops which were coming up from the south were annihilated south of Handan. Another example was the campaign fought in Qinghuabian, Yangmahe and Panlong (that is, the three victories won in northern Shaanxi). Many of the major problems such as selecting targets for attack, determining ways to fight and deploying troops were decided promptly by Comrade Peng Dehuai and others using their own discretion in accordance with the general strategic intentions. Some of the decisions were approved by the Central Military Commission, but others were reported for the record after the campaign because there had been no time to submit them for approval. There are many examples of commanders acting promptly on their own discretion in accordance with the general strategic intentions.

That Comrade Mao Zedong was wise in leading the revolutionary war lay in his being good at listening to views from lower levels and being good at summing up experiences of the masses. Practical experiences of the revolutionary war as a whole belonged to all the commanders and fighters and the broad masses of people and did not belong to a certain individual. These experiences were processed and refined by Comrade Mao Zedong. He turned perceptual knowledge into conceptual knowledge and into scientific military theory with the significance of giving universal guidance. With this theory, we can objectively analyze the situation, find out the intrinsic connections of military movements, predict the progress of a war, and on the basis of these formulate strategic, operational and tactical guiding principles for defeating the enemy and promote vigorous development of the revolutionary war along the correct path.

The victory of the Chinese revolutionary war was the outcome of the protracted struggle of numerous revolutionary martyrs and the broad masses of people, the protracted struggle of the party and the army and the common leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms. The practice of war and theoretical exploration carried out by our party and our army were the origins of Mao Zedong's military thinking. As stated by Comrade Mao Zedong during the Yanan rectification campaign in 1942, "This is not my own thinking alone but is written with the blood of thousands and millions of martyrs and is the collective wisdom of the party and the people."

Mao Zedong's Military Thinking Was Commonly Acknowledged by the Whole Party and the Whole Army During the Revolutionary Struggle

That "Mao Zedong's military thinking" emerged as a scientific concept was not the result of Comrade Mao Zedong's own proclamation, nor was it imposed on others by someone. It was gradually formed in the practice of revolutionary war.

During the period of the second revolutionary civil war, there was no such expression as "Mao Zedong's military thinking." After arriving in Yanan, many comrades in our party realized the tremendous contribution in theory and in practice rendered by Comrade Mao Zedong to the Chinese revolution when they recalled and summed up the revolutionary course traversed in the previous 10 years. After the failure of the first great revolution the whole country was thrown into darkness. It was Comrade Mao Zedong who, with his farsighted political and military predictions, put forth the theory of armed independent regimes of workers and peasants, personally led an armed force of less than 1,000 people up the mountains to carry out a guerrilla war and opened up a bright and new correct path for the Chinese revolution. Then, using his circumspect and farsighted strategy and direction, we smashed several offensives of our powerful enemy and won successive victories in the struggle to counter "encirclement and suppression" again, with his superb military art and powerful force of political unity, we shattered the enemy's siege pursuit and interception. Under Mao's leadership, the Red Army completed the unprecedented Long March. After the Red Army arrived in northern Shaanxi and before it gained a firm foothold, it was Comrade Mao Zedong again who led the army in smashing the enemy's third "encirclement and suppression" campaign in the Shaanxi-Gansu border area, adopted the policy of "seeking consolidation through development," directed the eastern and western expeditions and scored great victories and laid a foundation for the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area, turning it into a solid rear base in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression. Of course, all this was realized through the collective struggle of the whole party, the whole army and the masses but was also inseparable from Comrade Mao Zedong's correct leadership. Consequently, starting in 1940, expressions such as "Comrade Mao Zedong is China's strategist," Comrade Mao Zedong's works "are typical examples of Marxism-Leninism of the Chinese pattern," and so on appeared in articles published in Yanan's papers and magazines. In July 1941, Comrade Luo Ronghuan put forth in an article the scientific concepts "Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking" and "Mao Zedong Thought." During the Yanan rectification campaign in 1942, many leading comrades of our party and our army used in succession the expression "Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking" in articles and reports.

In the Resolution on Certain Historical Problems adopted at the enlarged Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth CCP Central Committee in April 1945, the concept "Comrade Mao Zedong's military line" was officially used to distinguish between it and Comrade Mao Zedong's "political line," "organizational line" and "ideological line." In a military report given at the Seventh CCP Congress in May the same year, Comrade Zhu De used the concepts "Comrade Mao Zedong's military line," "military theory" and "military doctrine." In a report on the founding of the army, Comrade Chen Yi used the concept "Mao Zedong military school of thought." Later, the concept "Mao Zedong's military thinking" appeared in reports given by leading comrades of the Central Committee and in their articles published in papers and magazines. After the founding of the PRC, the aforesaid expressions gradually converged into one--"Mao Zedong's military thinking"--which has been used till now.

Both the content and concept of Mao Zedong's military thinking emerged, formed and developed in the process of the Chinese revolution and in the practice of the revolutionary war. It was the product of the revolution, was historical inevitability and is objective existence. The practice of the Chinese revolutionary war inevitably led to the emergence of the Chinese revolutionary military theory but it did not emerge spontaneously. The reason why this kind of theory is related to the name of Comrade Mao Zedong is mainly because he personally led and directed the revolutionary war but also because of his own knowledge, wisdom, courage, resourcefulness and diligence. Comrade Mao Zedong's remarkable talent and contribution shown in handling complicated problems in military struggle was not only unparalleled among all leaders of revolutionary classes in China's modern history but is also unparalleled among other leaders of our party. It is only natural that the name of Comrade Mao Zedong is used for our party's military theory.

III. The Guiding Role of Mao Zedong's Military Thinking in Future Wars

Undoubtedly, Mao Zedong's military thinking will remain the guiding ideology in building our army and in future wars. We should not waver in the least. However, in studying the guiding role played by Mao Zedong's military thinking in future wars, we should guard against two tendencies. One is to copy mechanically, disregarding specific conditions, being influenced by the "two whatevers" viewpoint. Another is the nihilist attitude that Mao Zedong's military thinking is "no longer effective" and is "out-dated." We should adopt a dialectical and historical materialist attitude, comprehensively and accurately study the system of Mao Zedong's military thinking and use its stand, viewpoints and methods to study and solve problems in future wars.

Mao Zedong's military thinking emerged and was formed in China in the first half of the 20th century. The specific political, economic, military, scientific, technological and cultural conditions of China's society at that time inevitably endowed Mao Zedong's military thinking with the characteristics of the time, that is to say, Mao Zedong's military thinking was unexceptionally governed by historical conditions. The "two whatevers" viewpoint ignores the characteristics of the time and demands the mechanical application of all past military principles to wars at present and in the future. It looks upon Mao Zedong's military thinking, which is full of vitality, as a rigid and eternal religious doctrine. This goes completely against Marxist theory of cognition and goes completely against Mao Zedong's military thinking.

At an enlarged meeting of the Military Commission in 1958, Comrade Mao Zedong said that the 10 military principles should be supplemented and developed, and some might have to be revised in accordance with actual conditions in future wars. He himself strictly followed the principle of proceeding from reality and seeking truth from facts in directing wars. With the change of objective conditions, he constantly abandoned his outdated conclusions and replaced them with new ones. For example, in building the army, Comrade Mao Zedong strongly stressed during the period of the Red Army that we should "conscientiously admit the guerrilla nature of the Red Army," but near the end of the war of liberation, he put forth the demand that we "should further regularize all the field armies." During the early stage after the founding of the PRC, he again asserted that we should overcome "the phenomenon of no centralism, no unity, lax discipline, oversimplification and guerrilla practices," and decided on the task of "building a regular and modern army for national defense." He also gave many instructions on developing the navy, the air force and modern technical arms as well as instructions on developing modern industries for national defense. On the problem of operations, during the period of the Red Army, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth, "to us, positional warfare is basically useless." "Basically, it cannot be used for defense. Similarly, it cannot be used for offensives either." In the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, he stated, "because of changes of conditions and needs of our tasks, attacking positions in the third stage will become rather important" and "positional warfare will be put in an important position." In the war of liberation, he demanded that our army "should attach great importance to studying tactics for attacking positions." During the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, he further put forth the task of "launching a powerful positional war," asking us not only to launch positional attacks on the modern enemy but also to carry out powerful positional defense. These examples show that each concrete conclusion drawn by Comrade Mao Zedong was based on certain actual conditions and it was changing and developing itself. Lenin once pointed out that an absolute requirement of Marxist theory was that a question should be raised within a specific historical scope. Putting forth a question without consideration of concrete historical circumstances means knowing nothing about the basic requirements of dialectical materialism.

Tested by decades of wars, Mao Zedong's military thinking has struck roots, blossomed and borne fruit in China. History has proved that this is correct thinking. In the war against hegemonists' large-scale aggression which we may encounter in the future, we still have to deal with a superiorly equipped enemy with our inferior equipment, rely on a people's war to defeat the enemy and fight a war under China's concrete conditions. Therefore, there should be no doubt about the guiding role Mao Zedong's military thinking will play in future wars. We should not think that Mao Zedong's military thinking has lost its practical guiding significance and refuse to acknowledge its scientific value just because wars will be fought under present conditions or just because Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years. To our party and our army, no other military theory can replace Mao Zedong's military thinking. If we actually throw away something which will still be useful to us in the future, we will make a serious mistake. A correct attitude should be persisting in proceeding from actual conditions in all aspect on the enemy's side and on our side, seeking truth from facts, affirming what should be affirmed and negating what should be negated.

The stand, viewpoints and methods of Mao Zedong's military thinking will still be the guiding ideology which our army must follow in studying and guiding future wars. They are: adhering to the stand of proceeding from the people's interest and relying on the masses in carrying out a war; persisting in using the dialectical and historical materialist viewpoints and methods in studying and guiding a war; persisting in using the "arrow" of Mao Zedong's military thinking to shoot the "target" of a future war, and constantly studying new situations and solving new problems in order to explore new principles and new conclusions which are in conformity with future reality. In order to attain this goal, we must go deep into Mao Zedong's military thinking, correctly sum up our army's experience, and at the same time, we must try our best to investigate, analyze and study in detail the characteristics of future wars and absorb all that is advanced and beneficial from other countries. Only in this way can we understand the laws of action in future wars and give correct guidance to future wars.

We must adhere to the basic tenets and most of the principles of Mao Zedong's military thinking but should also supplement them in accordance with new situations. For example, in upholding the idea of a people's war, we must add modern conditions to it. Under modern conditions, there are many aspects in a people's war which differ from the people's war in our army's history. In adhering to the strategic principle of a positive defense, we cannot fully practice quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines in campaigns and operations but should practice instead defensive warfare of strong positions in a certain direction or at a certain place together with the field armies' quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines in order to keep the stability of the defense. In adhering to the armed forces system of integrating field armies, local armies, guerrillas and militiamen, we should establish garrison forces and reserve forces adequate for the fighting tasks. Viewed from the whole process of a war, we should mainly rely on offensive warfare to solve the problem. However, during the first stage of a war, we should mainly use positional defensive warfare, with powerful support and coordination of mobile warfare and guerrilla warfare in order to gradually consume and annihilate the enemy's strength and bring about a change in the balance of strength between the enemy and us. Concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one is still the basic way for our army to fight. However, when we use this way of fighting on the battlefield, we have to study and solve a series of new problems because of development in weapons and technical equipment. It is the same in strengthening the army. We should continue to adhere to a series of principles, systems and methods which have been proved effective, but we should supplement, improve and develop them in accordance with the general mission of a new historical period and changes in the objectives of our work.

Some of the principles have to be revised before they are applicable. For example, the formulation that the tasks of our army are those of a fighting force, a work team and a production team no longer suits future needs. Under the conditions that political power has been established throughout the country, according to the principle of division of labor among the party, government and army, the army should make the task of forming a fighting force its main task. Naturally, it is still indispensable to do some tasks of a work team and production team when necessary, such as doing a good job in mass work, establishing closer relations between the army and the government and between the army and the people, and engaging in some agricultural and sideline production, but they are subordinate to that of forming a fighting force. It is absolutely impermissible to involve the great majority of the army in the localities and have them serve as a work team and a production team without being something of a fighting force as was the case in the "Great Cultural Revolution." The principle of "not making the preservation and capture of a city or a place the main objective" is also not wholly applicable to future wars. With regard to Comrade Mao Zedong's specific instructions in the past, it is necessary to stress the understanding of their spirit and essence and apply them flexibly according to specific conditions. For example, the word "infantry" in "future battles will mainly rely on infantry" should be understood as the concept of "ground forces" today. It is obviously very insufficient to rely on the infantry alone. Again, in shooting a tank, "Do not shoot at a distance of 100 or 200 meters but shoot at a distance of 30 or 50 meters" should be understood as stressing fighting at short distance and should not be practiced as a regulation on shooting distance. The above are only a few examples. In a word, those that do not suit or do not wholly suit the needs of future wars should be revised or supplemented accordingly. Otherwise, they will only affect the war adversely.

A few military principles that are completely unsuitable to the situation in future wars should no longer be applied. For example, the principle of large formation warfare without a rear is unimaginable in a modernized army. In future battles, military supplies and provisions, weapons, ammunition and equipment should mainly come from supplies in the rear. The principle that "our army's sources of manpower and material are mainly at the front" is no longer applicable in future wars. In accordance with the lessons of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels pointed out in 1872: "This program [referring to "The Communist Manifesto"] is now outdated in a few places." This did not reduce in the least the theoretical value of "The Communist Manifesto" as a proletarian revolutionary program. To abandon the principles which are no longer applicable is to preserve the vitality and strong scientific character of Mao Zedong's military thinking.

Mao Zedong's military thinking has not put an end to the truth but has opened up the way to recognize the truth continuously. Although Comrade Mao Zedong passed away, Mao Zedong's military thinking as the military theory of the CCP will still develop along with the development of history. It is necessary to rely on the comrades in the party and the army to sum up systematically some of the things which Comrade Mao Zedong did not have enough time to sum up systematically during his lifetime. It is also necessary to rely on the comrades in the party and the army to raise to the level of theory and add to the scientific system of Mao Zedong's military thinking some of the things we are now practicing but which he was not able to practice during his lifetime. For example, the theory of strategic offensive, the theory of coordinated fighting among different types of armed forces and services, the military principles of people's war under the modern conditions, especially the principles of campaigns and the tactical principles and so on are all subjects which need to be studied systematically, developed and updated.

When studying the guiding role of Mao Zedong's military thinking in an actual struggle, it is necessary to eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and restore the true features of Mao Zedong's military thinking. Flaunting the banner of publicizing and explaining Mao Zedong's military thinking, the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing passed off the sham as genuine, and distorted and tampered with Mao Zedong's military thinking, with the result that many basic theoretical problems were distorted beyond recognition. For example, the practice they followed in building the army is "to do a good job in ideological revolutionization" turned the People's Liberation Army into the only army in the world which "studied culture only but no military affairs." Obviously, this should be repudiated and resolutely rectified.

It is necessary to clear up in theory the relation between army building and battle. The relation between army building and battle is a relation between the organization of armed force and the application of armed force, that is, the relation between the means and the objective. Army building is a means, battle is an objective. Army building should be subordinated to the needs of battle. In other words, it is necessary to build an army according to the needs of war. What is the use of spending such a large amount of money on something of the scope of the People's Liberation Army if it is not for the purpose of defending the fruits of revolution and construction, guarding against aggression and subversion by the enemies and winning the war? In the expression "maintain an army for a thousand days to use it for an hour," the word "an hour" means war, winning a war. However, this shallow theoretical problem was greatly confused by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. In the past 10 years or more, they talked of the means in the absence of the objective, the army building in the absence of doing battle and turned the building of our army into "movement is everything and there is no objective." To date, there are still a lot of questions on which a unified understanding has not been reached. For example, some comrades are presently discussing the question of whether it is necessary to hold a party committee meeting to make a resolution. To strengthen the leadership of the party is a principle we must persist in, but it does not merely express itself in holding a party committee meeting. The question of whether it is necessary for a party committee meeting to make a resolution in wartime wholly depends on whether or not the war conditions permit doing so. The meeting can be held if there is time; it can also be done away with if there is no time. As a matter of fact, during the war years in the past, resolutions were not always made by a party committee meeting. The future war has the characteristics of being abrupt, flexible, intense, continuous, in great depth and three-dimensional; the course of war and the time of battle may be shortened and the high-speed nature of it may be enhanced. Under these circumstances, what should be stressed is that the commanders should calculate the timing accurately, make correct resolutions without losing a moment and act correctly and resolutely at their own discretion. Here, working methods must be subordinated to the needs of war unconditionally and everything is aimed at the victory of war, campaigns and battles. It is impermissible to subordinate the interest of the war to working methods. It is necessary to pay attention to eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing on similar questions. It is first of all necessary to make clear the basic interests of the party so that their correct relationship can be handled well and the understanding can be unified.

In a word, when studying Mao Zedong's military thinking under the new historical conditions, it is necessary to stress the method of linking theory with practice, that is, the method of seeking truth from facts. The method of study which starts from concept and goes to concept, from principle to principle and is divorced from practice should be prevented and overcome. On the one hand, it is necessary to recollect the specific historical practice at that time from the theoretical abstractions and find out their theoretical bases and conditions. In this way it is possible to understand the spirit and essence of the theory, understand the content of the theory and principles more profoundly and learn from them Comrade Mao Zedong's stand, viewpoint and methods in recognizing and directing a war. On the other hand, it is necessary to conduct conscientious investigations and studies on the actual conditions of both the enemy and ourselves, apply flexibly the historical experiences from the angle of characteristics and developments and study and solve the existing and future problems. We should apply the stand, viewpoint and methods of Mao Zedong's military thinking in the study of the present conditions of both the enemy and ourselves, such as politics, economy, military affairs and natural conditions, find out the essence and laws from the phenomena and, by applying these laws, solve a series of problems in building up the national defense under modern conditions, including army building and engaging in battle. This is the correct style of study in our study of Mao Zedong's military thinking.

An invaluable spiritual treasure of our party, Mao Zedong's military thinking will guide our actions for a long time to come. Likewise, in the realm of military affairs, Mao Zedong's military thinking will still be a guide to building our army and engaging in battle. Provided we apply the stand, viewpoint and methods of Mao Zedong's military thinking in the study of new situations and problems, enrich and develop the military theory of our party with new conclusions conforming to practice, we will certainly be able to greatly push forward the various tasks of our army and the modernization of national defense.

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THE COMMUNIST IDEAL IS THE CORE OF SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

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[Article by Xie Hong [6200 1347]]

[Text] In the upsurge in building socialist spiritual civilization, people have generally paid great attention to the question of establishing communist ideals. This is reasonable. Ideals and convictions are people's spiritual props. Lofty ideals can kindle people's fervor, stimulate people to exercise their ability and wisdom, and help people acquire fine moral qualities and sentiments. In modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere, all those who have achieved success and contributed to human progress have been encouraged by lofty ideals. Whether a state or nation possesses lofty ideals is related to whether it is capable of opening up a new epoch and whether the whole nation will, with one heart, build itself and the country into a prosperous and powerful nation. Ours is a socialist country under the leadership of the Communist Party, whose historical mission is to lead the people to achieve communism. The socialist system, which we have established and will continue to develop and perfect, is the preliminary stage of communism. We must advance toward higher stages. Therefore, we must take the communist ideal as the core in building socialist spiritual civilization.

Our country has entered a new period: socialist modernization. The hopes of those who were extremely worried during the decade of upheaval about our party's and our country's destiny, have been rekindled, and they have unswervingly embarked on a new road of endeavor. It is particularly satisfying to note that the hundreds of millions of young people in our country are maturing in the socialist modernization. They encourage themselves with heroic slogans, such as "the four modernizations begin with my endeavor" and "we are the ones who will achieve the four modernizations" and so on. They are gradually forming themselves into vigorous contingents which perform rush jobs on various fronts. However, during the decade of chaos, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wantonly distorted and falsified Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and thus spoiled the reputation of the communist cause. Moreover, complications and setbacks have occurred in the international communist movement, and some superficial phenomena of the capitalist world have been misleading people. Consequently, some people among our contingents, particularly a minority of young people who have little experience of life, and who do not quite understand Marxism, are vexed and confused about ideological questions. Some even have a so-called feeling of "disillusionment." Although only a minority of people have this ideological problem, the appearance of this problem as a social trend of thought is owing to deep-rooted social causes and must not be given inadequate attention. If we let this ideological problem spread freely, it will be very difficult for us to build a socialist spiritual civilization and the cause of communism will be seriously disrupted.

The appearance of such erroneous views and confusion on the question of establishing the communist ideal is not only owing to objective reasons but is also owing to subjective reasons, which are mainly as follows: First, people do not understand that the communist ideal includes some scientific foresight that is compatible with the laws of social development. Second, the communist ideal is viewed merely as a distant prospect unrelated to reality. People do not understand that the realization of the communist ideal is a real process of movement. Third, people view the path toward the goals embodied in the communist ideal as plain and smooth. Their faith in the communist ideal wavers when they encounter even slight setbacks. Fourth, people divorce the communist ideal from, or even set it against, personal ideals. The communist ideal is considered in abstract terms, and specific personal ideals are used to negate the communist ideal. If these problems of understanding are not correctly solved, the communist ideal cannot really be established.

I. The Communist Ideal Is a Scientific Prediction

The communist ideal is not an illusory fantasy. Instead, it is a scientific prediction that conforms to the laws of social development.

In human history, there have been two categories of "communist ideals" of different natures. The first category consists of the ideals utopian communists and socialists which appeared prior to Marxism. The second category consists of the Marxist communist ideal. Although the first category of ideals are of some value, they are really utopian and cannot be realized. The kind of communist ideal which we now advocate, and which people are required to devote themselves to, is a scientific prediction which will inevitably come true and which has been derived by Marxism from the laws of development of human society, and in particular from the laws of development of capitalism, through criticizing the purely imaginary nature of all the "utopias." The utopian socialists did perceive the defects and evils of the capitalist system, the serious class antagonism in capitalist society, and also certain factors inherent in that society which would lead to its own disintegration. They vividly depicted the broad prospects of communism which they envisaged. However, they did not really understand the laws of social development but merely made conjectures according to their subjective desires. They did not consider the proletariat as the principal force in overthrowing the old world and building a new world, but placed their hopes on the pity and compassion of those in power. Therefore, the kind of communism which they imagined "will more seriously tend to become a pure illusion, the more detailed its formulation is." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 409) Discussing this theory of utopian communism, Engels said that this "immature theory corresponds with the not yet ripe conditions of capitalist production and with the immaturity of the classes. The solutions to social problems are hidden in the not yet developed economic relations, and therefore people can merely create solutions by imagination." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 409)

In the earlier half of the 19th century, the contradictions inherent in capitalist society continued to intensify, the strength of the proletariat reached an unprecedented magnitude, and the worker movements developed on a new scale and in new forms. It was only then that conditions were ripe for Marx and Engels to turn the communist ideal into a science. Marx carefully studied the movement of contradictions in capitalist society and in various stages of development of human history. He discovered the basic causes of social development, and by analyzing commodities as the cells of capitalist society, he discovered that the secret of the exploitation of the workers in capitalist production was the extortion of surplus value. He further revealed all the existing and latent contradictions in the entire capitalist society as well as the orientation of the development of these contradictions. By means of his two great discoveries, namely, the materialist historical outlook and the theory of surplus value, Marx discerned the trend inherent in capitalist production toward a high degree of concentration in population, means of production, material wealth, and means of livelihood. He discerned the sharp contradiction between the socialization of production and the private ownership of the means of production. He revealed that with capitalist production relations, the relationship between the capitalist and the workers will forever be one of enslavement and exploitation. Marxism tells us that, whatever political, economic and ideological tricks the bourgeoisie might play and whatever "fascinating" scenes might appear in the capitalist world, the class relation whereby the capitalist wants to extort surplus value from the workers will remain unchanged; the sharp contradiction between the socialization of production and the capitalist ownership of the means of production will remain unchanged; and the laws of social development governing the inevitable dying out of capitalism and the inevitable triumph of communism, which is based on public ownership of the means of production, will remain unchanged. Moreover, Marxism reveals that capitalism had, in the first place, given birth to its gravedigger, the proletariat. With the development of capitalism, the cruel and relentless exploitation of the working class by the bourgeoisie and the various evils of the capitalist system will be increasingly more clearly exposed and will inevitably awaken the proletariat. Tempered by class struggles and guided by Marxist ideology, the proletariat will inevitably continue to develop into the strongest class and will become the social force to bring about the great historical change from capitalism to communism. Precisely because of Marx' two great discoveries, communism has finally changed from a utopian thought into a science.

Some comrades think that the communist ideal is merely a conclusion from theoretical deduction; it amounts to a tentative idea, not yet tested by practice, concerning the future society, and its reliability is dubious. This reflects a one-sided and narrow understanding about testing truth by practice. Of course, it is impossible today to fully affirm by means of practice that communism is a social system which will inevitably be practiced in the future. However, the bases on which the theory of communism is established, in particular the materialist historical outlook and the theory of surplus value, have been studied in depth and verified systematically, have been both derived from practice and testified by the practice of worker movements, and are therefore scientific. Engels held that the theory of surplus value, which "shook the whole civilized world like a bolt from the blue," has attained a degree of "rigor and accuracy" comparable to that attained by the natural sciences. The laws of the development of human history, which Marx discovered, constitute a scientific conclusion derived by summing up the history of human development over several thousands of years. Just as conclusions in the natural sciences must not be doubted because they have been derived through scientific experiments and a series of scientifically based and rigorous proofs, the inevitable realization of the communist ideal must also not be doubted.

II. The Realization of the Communist Ideal Is the Process of a Real Movement

The communist ideal is not an illusory fantasy, not only because it is a scientific prediction but also because this ideal has become the proletariat's practice and has been developed into a global communist movement. The history of the international communist movement over the past 100 years and more has been the most convincing proof of the scientific and realistic nature of the communist ideal.

We know that communism, as an ideal, cannot be realized overnight. Its realization requires a long and arduous historical process in which people can only follow the principles of communism to make new theoretical generalizations in the light of new historical developments and new practical experiences, and to gradually effect the realization of communism through their own revolutionary struggles and creative labor. It is precisely in this sense that Engels held that "communism is not a theory; instead, it is a /movement/." [slantlines denote boldface] ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 311) Expounding the same idea in "German Ideology," Marx and Engels said: "Communism amounts to a most practical movement in which practical means are employed to pursue practical goals." In this short sentence, the word "practical" has been used three times to repeatedly emphasize that "communism" is a real and practical movement and that it is definitely not something purely imaginary. Discussing socialism as an elementary stage of communism, Lenin also said that socialism is not a "readymade system"; instead, it is "a struggle in which we proceed from today's goal to tomorrow's goal and gradually approach the ultimate goal." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 26) It is also precisely in this sense that Marxism sometimes states that, as a theory, communism is the theoretical generalization of this practical movement and that, as a social system, communism is the end result of this practical movement. If we say that, as a theory, communism is a scientific one, then, as a "practical movement," communism is the product of the integration of this ideological theory with practice. If we say that, as a social system, communism amounts to some fine aspirations, then, as a "practical movement," communism has existed in the world for more than a century. Over the past 100 years and more, to realize the communist ideal, the communists in many countries of the world, working with the broad masses of working people amid various difficulties and adversities which are beyond description, fought bloody battles, waged various kinds of struggle, effectively changed the face of the world and promoted historical development. If the communist ideal lacks a scientific and practical basis, how can it occupy such an important place in the hearts of proletarians all over the world and encourage hundreds of millions of people to go through all kinds of ordeals for its sake? And how could the international communist movement, which the communist ideal promotes, last a century without declining and even become an irresistible historical trend that is in the ascendant?

The most important achievement of the communist movement is the establishment of the socialist system in a number of countries. In these countries, under the leadership of the communist party and the guidance of Marxist ideology, regimes which represent the people's interests, and also the system of public ownership of the means of production, have been established, and the working people have become the masters of their countries. In a socialist society, the irrational phenomenon of some men exploiting or oppressing others have been ended, and new relationships of equality and mutual help between man and man have been established. All this embodies an element of communism. In particular, the communist party's leadership over the cause of socialism and the guidance of the communist ideology are more definitely elements of communism. This demonstrates that in these countries, the communist ideal has begun to be a reality on a partial basis, communist morals have begun to take shape, and the communist system has begun to take root. This ironclad evidence further proves that the cause of communism will inevitably continue to develop and will gradually achieve global victory.

III. The Path to the Realization of the Communist Ideal Is Full of Difficulties and Setbacks

Our country's socialist cause has experienced some setbacks and difficulties. Relapses have also occurred in the international communist movement. These are objective reasons why some comrades who had enthusiastically pursued the communist ideal in the past, in particular some young comrades who lack experience, take a skeptical and wavering attitude toward the communist ideal. These comrades believe that if the realization of the communist ideal is an inevitable law of social development and if the socialist system has begun to be practiced in some countries, then there should not be any more setbacks or relapses, and the path to the ideal realm should be smooth. Obviously, this is an erroneous view of the laws of social development. These comrades do not understand that the process of building socialism and realizing the communist ideal is one of overcoming various difficulties and obstacles. Without going through setbacks, it is impossible to realize communism, the great cause that is unprecedented in history.

In the development of human history, the continual replacement of lower social forms by higher ones, and the ultimate advance toward communism, represent objective laws independent of man's will. However, this is only true of the overall trend in the development of human history. If we consider the path of development, because of the influence of various kinds of complicated conditions, the realization of the communist ideal must inevitably go through various kinds of difficulties and setbacks and might even experience temporary failures. The history of the development of human society has repeatedly testified that there is not any new mode of production or new social system which can be firmly established overnight without going through numerous setbacks and failures. It is precisely these setbacks and relapses which demonstrate that the laws of social development are irresistible. History has testified to Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific thesis: struggle and fail, struggle again and fail again, until victory is achieved--this is the logic behind the people's endeavor.

The laws of development of human society are irresistible. However, through the creative activities of the masses of people, these laws are understood to an ever-increasing depth and are mastered and applied increasingly more correctly. Therefore, each step of progress in human history and each replacement of one social form by a new one are closely related to people's ideals and conscious struggle. The closer the replacement of social forms is to the plane of higher stages of development, and the more closely such replacement is related to mankind's understanding of their own strength and the objective conditions, the more important will be the role of people's conscious struggles that are motivated by ideals. In particular, when setbacks and catastrophes appear on the road of progress, revolutionary ideals, as an embodiment of the trends of historical progress, can mobilize the whole class and the masses of people to struggle bravely to surmount difficulties and reverse the situation. The greater the difficulties, the greater will be the power demonstrated by ideals.

When the revolution is suffering from a setback, revolutionary ideals are most essential, and also the ideals of some people who are weak-minded will be most prone to vacillation. In history, there have been many recanters who changed from fervently extolling revolution and pursuing ideals to cursing revolution and expressing contempt for ideals; and there have also been many whose ideals were shattered, who became pessimistic and dejected, and who would never be able to recover after a setback. In the past, in times of war or when the revolution was at a critical moment, the wavering of one's revolutionary ideals would often lead one to become politically demoralized or even to deviate and recant. In cracking down on revolution and disintegrating the revolutionary forces, the class enemies also frequently proceeded from disintegrating people's revolutionary ideals and conviction in the revolution. Today, during the period of socialist construction, the communist ideal is also of very great significance to our overcoming of difficulties, achievement of victory and preservation of revolutionary integrity and vigor. In the face of setbacks and failures, it is sometimes difficult for one to avoid feeling worried and depressed for the time being. However, if it is because of some temporary setback that one forsakes the communist ideal and becomes a shortsighted and mediocre person, or changes over to taking the Western bourgeois world as the ideal to pursue, then one is already degenerating and will ultimately be discarded by the times.

Currently, what attitude should be adopted toward the catastrophe caused by the counterrevolutionary cliques headed by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing? This is a severe test for every revolutionary. Comrades whose faith is firm and who understand the laws of social development adopt a materialist attitude in the first place, acknowledge this fact and sum up their experiences to obtain lessons. They discover and correct the imperfections and irrational aspects of various specific systems of ours. In particular, they have been able to acquire confidence and strength from the new atmosphere prevailing in our party and our country since the counterrevolutionary upheaval caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was brought to a halt. Setbacks and failures caused extremely great disruption and losses to our undertakings and even brought about retrogression. However, the fact that our party has correctly handled the setbacks and failures will enable us to avoid taking tortuous paths in the future and to more resolutely march on toward the brilliant communist future.

IV. Integrate the Communist Ideal With Daily Life and Work

Some comrades think that the communist ideal is too lofty and remote. They hold that it is of little practical significance at present to advocate fighting all one's life for communism. Instead, it is more useful to emphasize the specific goals for each individual's endeavor. This is a muddled idea. What we call ideals amount to people's aspirations for and pursuit of a happy future, and they constitute a reflection of the inevitability of historical development in people's minds. The magnitude of the future realm which people can envisage mainly depends on the conditions made available by the times and their class status. Therefore, ideals and faith are products of the times. In different times, different classes cherish different ideals. In our time, only the communist ideal can be the most advanced ideal. Any specific personal ideals can be rational and can have a good future only if they are illuminated by the communist ideal.

It has been mentioned that the communist ideal is a scientific prediction derived from the laws of social development. This scientific prediction was derived according to the conditions available at the time in which the derivation was made. In various historical stages, people had put forth various goals for endeavor according to the conditions of their times. It was precisely these fine ideals which encouraged people and promoted historical progress. However, the ideals of any class at any time in history are not comparable to the communist ideal, which is absolutely established on the understanding of the laws governing social development. These ideals cannot envisage, as the communist ideal can, such broad and distant prospects.

We know that communism is a movement and a long process. To realize communism necessitates arduous fighting by several generations. Therefore, in each historical stage in the course of realizing communism, the communists would often put forth some specific goals for struggle. However, whatever the number of historical stages involved or the number of goals of struggle, overall, they constitute some parts of the communist movement and some links in realizing the communist ideal. We advocate establishing the communist ideal so as to heighten people's consciousness and make them know the inevitable link between each specific goal of struggle and the communist ideal. We must remember the ultimate goal, namely, communism, and always stay on the high plane of communist ideology. Only thus can we soberly understand the place and role of each step and each reform in our forward march within the context of the entire cause. Only thus can we discover the appropriate orientation of development for our next step. In this way, we will not halt at a certain historical stage because of our successful attainment of a specific goal of endeavor. That is why the CCP did not drop down to the level of democrats although it led the democratic revolution, and why it now advocates the communist attitude toward work although it is implementing the socialist principle of "distribution according to work done." As a world outlook, the communist ideal was able to guide us in our opposition to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and in the stage of new democratic revolution, we were encouraged by the communist ideal. If this is the case, now that we have established the socialist system and have come closer to communism than in the past, how can the communist ideal be "lofty, remote" and of little practical significance?

The communist ideal does not negate or preclude any personal ideals which one establishes according to society's needs and one's own situation. Quite the contrary, the communist ideal can encourage people to establish lofty aspirations and great ideals in the people's interests and to contribute to the cause of communism at their own posts. This is because the cause of communism is a practical activity involving millions of people. It requires the availability of workers in all realms and fields who are faithful to the cause of communism and requires the availability of outstanding qualified personnel. Our cause not only needs the workers' and peasants' creative labor and the PLA armymen's faithful protection, but also needs tens of thousands of politicians, economists, scientists, educators, writers, scholars, teachers, engineers, accountants, doctors, service workers in various trades, and so on. If we neglect any field or fail to perform any item of work, even if this is the most common type of work about which nobody pays attention, our socialist construction will not be successful and the communist ideal will not be realized. Therefore, in our country, whatever type of work one performs, if one makes some outstanding achievement and serves the people wholeheartedly, one must be praised and respected. Commenting on the French proletariat's initial uprisings, Marx said: "The workers of Lyon thought that they were pursuing political goals alone and that they were merely soldiers of the republic. However, actually they were fighters for socialism." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 486) Similarly, we can say that in our country, if one's ideals are beneficial to the people and conducive to social development, then these ideals are inevitably and inherently related to the realization of communism whether one is subjectively aware of this or not. We advocate establishing the communist ideal precisely in order to arouse this kind of awareness so that personal ideals can be integrated with the communist ideal. Without specific personal goals of endeavor and without the implementation of the communist ideal among all trades in various aspects such as work, labor, study and daily life, communists will merely be what Lenin criticized as "braggarts," and their communist ideal will become unrealistic big or empty talk. If specific personal goals of endeavor are not linked to the communist ideal or are not guided by communist principles, then, even if such goals are progressive, their positive significance will nevertheless be limited.

V. Carry Out the Martyrs' Behests and Dedicate Our Lives to the Struggle for Communism

In an article written in 1913 in memory of Pottier, author of the "Internationale," Lenin highly appraised this song, which had played an important role in propagating communism, as "the song of the proletariat the world over." This vividly describes how the communist ideal unites the proletariat throughout the world.

Today, the communist ideal has been more widely spread over the whole world. This is particularly so in our country. However, the discovery of Marxism by the Chinese people and the taking of communism as their own goal of struggle have involved several generations' efforts and also the sacrifice of numerous lives and a great deal of blood as the price. Please look at China's modern history since 1840. During that period, the feudal rule, which had lasted more than 2,000 years, entered its final phase. The imperialists, one after another, took advantage of the corruption and incompetence of the Chinese rulers and poked their tentacles into our country. Our motherland became a semifeudal, semicolonial, poor and backward country. To save our country and people, the progressive elements in China advanced wave upon wave, fought bravely and arduously attempted to learn from the West. They employed all methods and attempted applying all sorts of ideological weapons but could not radically put an end to the semifeudal and semicolonial situation of our country. The mighty Taiping heavenly kingdom movement was defeated. The reform movement of 1898 proved abortive. Bourgeois theories, such as the theory that human rights are endowed by heaven which Yan Fu and so on introduced from the West, could not work. The Yihetuan [Boxer] movement was suppressed. Although the revolution of 1911, led by the great Chinese bourgeois revolutionary Dr Sun Yat-sen, did overthrow the Qing emperor and put an end to the rule by feudal dynasties which had dominated our country for several thousands of years, it failed to alter the Chinese people's tragic lot. Imperialism, fierce as a wolf or tiger, still continued to practice exploitation and oppression. Our nation was subjected to extremely great humiliation, and our people experienced extremely great misery. The Chinese revolution took on a new look only when the Chinese people discovered Marxism and when the CCP was born and assumed the leading position in the revolutionary struggle. In Russia, where the October Revolution took place, it was also through much arduous effort that Lenin and his contemporaries discovered Marxism and make the communist ideal the goal of struggle. Reminiscing about this historical process, Lenin said: "Over a period of half a century, Russia really experienced unheard-of agony and sacrifice. With unprecedented revolutionary heroic courage, and with unbelievable stamina and selflessness, it was engaged in investigation, study and experimentation. It experienced despair. Through examination and taking Europe's experience as a reference, it /finally discovered/ [in boldface] Marxism, the only correct revolutionary theory." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 182) Judging from the experience of China and Russia, the birth and spread of the communist ideal has taken a very arduous and tortuous path.

Since the communist ideal has been accepted as a scientific belief, it has become a spiritual force which shakes the foundation of the old world. Reactionary forces have tried by all means to defile it, prohibit it or limit its spread. On the contrary, the revolutionary people have studied and propagated it, disregarding all dangers. The brave communists will firmly adhere to it once they are determined to take communism as the ideal for which they will fight all their lives. Punishment with death or imprisonment will not damper or suppress their lofty aspirations and great ideals. Comrade Li Dazhao was the earliest propagator of Marxism in our country. When the enemy's noose was placed around his neck, he was absolutely fearless and denounced the enemy in a stern voice: "You will be unable to hang communism just by hanging me today!" Shut up in a prisoner's cage, the martyr Fang Zhimin took the opportunity of being paraded through the streets to propagate revolutionary truths to the people. Before his execution, he firmly declared: "The enemy can chop off our heads but they cannot shake our faith, because the doctrine we believe in is universal truth." In the enemy's law court, Wang Ruofei took the opportunity to vehemently express the views of the Communist Party. The martyrs of Qu Qiubai, Zhou Wenyong and Chen Tiejun sang the "Internationale" on their way to the execution ground. Numerous communists shouted "Long live communism" when they bravely faced execution. To show their firm faith in communism, some martyrs in prison composed songs or poems, wrote books to present their theses, or wrote slogans or embroidered them on red flags. Some martyrs, on awakening in a pool of blood after having been subjected to cruel tortures, dipped their fingers in the blood, clenched their teeth, and wrote verses on the walls to express their heroism, such as "Cruel tortures and lure by promise of gain will never subdue me; it is not manly to bend my head and shed tears." The revolutionary martyrs' deeds move our hearts and souls. Their spirit of bravely dedicating themselves to the communist ideal fills the universe as the rainbow spans the sky. In history, never has any other ideal been comparable to the communist ideal in exerting such a great influence or in arousing such faith, spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism.

Over the past 60 years, our party has developed from one consisting of some 50 members at the time when it was founded to the invincible force of today with a membership of several times 10 million. In our territory, irrigated by the blood of revolutionary martyrs, the irrational system of man exploiting and oppressing man has been abolished, and the 1 billion Chinese people are bravely struggling to build our country into a modern socialist power with a high degree of material and spiritual civilization. Today, the path leading to communism is still very long, and various kinds of difficulties and obstacles still exist. We must, therefore, inherit and carry forward the revolutionary martyrs' spirit of courageous dedication to realizing the communist ideal. We must not give up halfway the great cause which our revolutionary predecessors opened up for us and which should last thousands of years. History has testified, and future events will continue to testify, that the communist ideal will forever be the banner which encourages us to advance. Any infatuation with the past and also the yearning for and pursuit of the capitalist society are dreams of the declining classes and will be doomed to provide no way out for people.

Presently, the upsurge in building the socialist spiritual civilization, the core of which is the communist ideal, is developing on a magnificent scale with the launching of various movements such as the "five stresses and four beautifuls," "learning from Lei Feng and establishing new styles," "possessing four things, stressing three, and not being afraid of two," "carrying out production in a civilized way," "carrying out commercial activities in a civilized way," "providing services in a civilized way," and so on. We can predict with certainty that, with the building of the socialist spiritual civilization, people's faith in communism will be further confirmed, and the people of all nationalities in our country will be further encouraged to make new contributions to the four modernizations and human progress!

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SEEK TRUTH FROM FACTS AND WE CAN FIGHT A HUNDRED BATTLES WITHOUT RUNNING INTO DANGER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 81 pp 23-28

[Article by Ding Weizhi [0002 0251 1807]]

[Text] Seeking truth from facts is a fine tradition that has emerged in the course of our party's long revolutionary struggle, and it is a thoroughly scientific ideological line that has been summed up in the course of long revolutionary practice.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," passed by the party at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, showered praise on the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, calling it, together with the mass line and independence and self-initiative, the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought. It can be seen that if we are to fully learn Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must comprehensively study and master seeking truth from facts and ingrain it into our flesh and bones.

A Review of Our History Over the Past 60 Years

Why is seeking truth from facts so correct and important?

Rather than calling this a question of theory, let us first call it a question of practice. The practice of the Chinese Communist Party in leading the Chinese revolution for 60 years furnishes a most convincing reply to this question.

Studying the revolutionary history of the 28 years before the founding of the state and the 32 years after its founding, and comparing the two, we come across an historical phenomenon that sets people thinking, that is: a great historical turn of events occurred in the course of both historical stages, and each historical turn of events marked a triumph for the spirit of seeking truth from facts.

Naturally, we are not saying that before every historical turn of events, our party basically lacked the theory and practice of seeking truth from facts or that after an historical turn of events we can henceforth absolutely avoid the mistake of violating the principle of seeking truth from facts. The important thing is that great historical turns of events change with the importance of the guiding thought. From this historic moment, our party consciously and clearheadedly began to bring the ideological line guiding the overall situation into line with seeking truth from facts.

Before the Zunyi conference, the Chinese communists, who had in Comrade Mao Zedong an outstanding representative, applied in the hard times following the defeat of the great revolution the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the analysis of China's concrete national condition and eventually established their headquarters in the rural areas. They established revolutionary bases, launched an armed struggle, encircled the cities from the rural areas and then took the path to complete national victory. This was a path combining the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. This path shows originality in two ways: It was the first in the history of China and was fundamentally different from the old-style peasant ways, being a people's war under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and the leadership of the Communist Party. It was the first in the history of the international communist movement and something that had never appeared before in the then already published Marxist works and the history of revolutions abroad. It bore the fruits of a revolution that was born and nurtured on Chinese soil. The reason why the Zunyi conference, which was convened at a crucial point in the revolution, can be singled out as an epochmaking historical turn of events is, looking at it ideologically, merely because this time-tested line of seeking truth from facts was officially established as the guiding principle for the whole party. Now that seeking truth from facts had become the ideological line guiding the whole revolution, the face of the whole revolution changed overnight and miraculously wrested itself from the depths of defeat onto the path of victory. Through the summing up and improvements of the Yanan period, seeking truth from facts finally became the fine style held up by the whole party for exhortation. In the period of the democratic revolution, the best phase of the Chinese revolution appeared. From that moment on the revolution developed rapidly, much to the surprise of our enemies, our friends at home and abroad, and even ourselves.

By the time of the socialist period, the nature of the revolution and its task and historical content had changed. However, the principle of seeking truth from facts was once again subjected to an historical test, one that determined its strength and value. In a vast country like ours, with a large population, poor foundation, backward economy and complex conditions, there was no precedent in human history we could turn to in our task of carrying out socialist revolution and construction. History and books were of no use, so what could we rely on? We relied on the guidance of Marxist-Leninist theory, on a concrete analysis of the actual conditions prevailing in China and on the integration and formulation of the two into various lines, principles and policies that were in keeping with the actual conditions prevailing in China. Why is it that we have been able to heal our war wounds in such a short time and bring about a fundamental improvement in the national economy? Why is it that, in such a vast country with circumstances peculiar to itself, we have been able to complete in such a splendid fashion the task of socialist transformation? Why is it that, in a country where the productive forces are so backward, we have been able to achieve preliminary, yet important, results in the field of economic reconstruction? There is only one answer. They were the result of our party and the people proceeding from actual conditions prevailing in China and creatively applying

Marxism-Leninism to formulate principles and policies that were in keeping with the actual national condition. Only because we have sought truth from facts have our efforts been of any avail and our results outstanding. On the other hand, the many mistakes we made in the last 32 years and the many twists and turns we have experienced were all, as far as our guiding thought is concerned, contrary to the principle of seeking truth from facts, for subjective desire was substituted for an understanding of the actual conditions, and so principles, policies and measures not in keeping with the conditions prevailing in the country were formulated and carried out. Take as an example the socialist transformation of agriculture. Why was it that for a time errors were committed and that demands were too hasty, work too careless, changes too drastic and forms too standard? Quite obviously, this was because the party proceeded in its guiding thought from subjective desire and was not capable of adequately studying the actual subjective situation. The "Great Leap Forward" and rural collectivization movement launched in 1958 further emphasize just how serious the consequences would be should our guiding thought ever deviate from the principle of seeking truth from facts. The leftist errors committed in those few years caused us to miss the opportunities for socialist construction that presented themselves in our country in the wake of the eighth party congress. This, combined with other factors, ultimately caused the national economy to suffer heavy losses. Looking back at that lesson 20 years ago, it is all the more evident how important it is for a ruling party like ours, which is leading the cause of socialism in such a vast country, to adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts.

The great historic significance of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee is, as far as ideological line is concerned, that it laid down the principle of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts, restored and carried forth the fine traditions of the party, resolutely affirmed results according to the principle of seeking truth from facts and corrected errors. In particular, it conscientiously corrected the serious errors committed during the "Great Cultural Revolution," which were entirely contrary to the principle of seeking truth from facts, as well as past leftist errors. At the same time, and by seeking truth from facts, it analyzed the nature of society and the task of the revolution at the country's present stage, and produced strategic policies that have shifted the focus of work to socialist modernization. Recapturing the spirit of the Yanan period, seeking truth from facts once again became the lofty ideal strived for by the whole party. Our party consciously adhered to the principle of seeking truth from facts, judged what was right and wrong, formulated policies, and examined and evaluated all our work. In the field of economic reconstruction, we decided, by seeking truth from facts, to implement the policy of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving" the national economy, resolutely corrected the leftist mistakes still being committed in economic work and put forth in no uncertain terms the correct principle of carrying out economic reconstruction by proceeding from our country's national conditions. The fact that since the 3d plenary session socialism in our country has grown and flourished proves that since the Yanan period the history of our party has entered another vintage era--the best period within the historical stage of socialism.

Only by seeking truth from facts can we fight a hundred battles without running into danger. This is the conclusion drawn for us by 60 years of revolutionary history.

Seeking Truth From Facts Is a Scientific Approach

Seeking truth from facts is a scientific approach. Communists must adopt a truth-seeking ideological line when they are engaged in or leading the revolution, that is to say, they must be scientific and rely on the scientific theory of social development--Marxism-Leninism--to guide their conduct and transform the world. Therefore, any blind and reckless conduct and all unscientific approaches and methods are incompatible with the revolution in which communists are engaged.

Science and dishonesty do not go together. Comrade Mao Zedong stressed on many occasions that science is an honest discipline and that scientists are honest people. Marxism is a science and an honest discipline. Marxists are honest people. This is general knowledge, to say the least. It is, however, also a most important truth. Taking part in any scientific undertaking entails adopting an honest approach as a basic starting point. Marxists are usually also accustomed to using the phrase "seeking truth from facts" in the sense of "being honest" or "basing things on facts." For example, as far as situations are concerned, we must depict them as they really are, so that both sorrow and happiness are reported; as far as history goes, it must be related as it really was so that both the glorious and seamy sides are told; as for personages, we must make an honest appraisal of them, so that both merits and faults are noted; as for work, this must be summed up in an honest fashion, so that both achievements and errors are accounted for in their true proportions. This kind of honest approach is called seeking truth from facts. This kind of simple and straightforward approach is precisely the cornerstone safeguarding the scientific character and accuracy of our work and our cause. Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out at an enlarged work conference of the party Central Committee in 1962, which was attended by 7,000 people, that the formula of "90 percent accuracy" should not be randomly applied. The margin of error in some localities might be 10 percent, but in others it might be 30 percent or more, in which case errors might well account for the greater part. This fully illustrates Comrade Liu Shaoqi's honest approach of seeking truth from facts. It cannot be denied that among our ranks there are still some people and things not in line with this approach and style. Have there not, in the course of economic reconstruction over the past 32 years, been many occasions when we resorted to deception, reported false achievements and covered up errors? In the course of political work, have there not been many occasions when we convicted the innocent and made misjudgments? What do these negative phenomena prove? They prove that as long as there is a small minority of people with a dishonest approach, they will, given half a chance, make dishonesty a common practice, causing serious social consequences capable of harming the party, country and people. Naturally, in our socialist country, to think to prosper by dishonesty is wishful thinking. Even if one were to succeed in this way every now and then, one would not escape the inevitable consequences.

Since the ideological line of seeking truth from facts was advocated at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, certain misjudgments have been corrected, historical disputes cleared up, and honest people and things rehabilitated, honesty being the good habit to which people aspire. We believe that since the party and Central Committee have shown the way, this good habit will, with some efforts by the whole party, blow into every corner of society like a spring breeze. All party undertakings and our whole society and nation will benefit no end from the changes occasioned by this habit.

Not only is an honest approach necessary for adhering to the principle of seeking truth from facts, but probing with an honest approach into the internal laws governing objective things is also necessary for obtaining truly scientific knowledge. If we say that the question of whether we are honest is a question of whether we are willing to acknowledge and respect the actual objective situation, then, apart from this, there also arises the question of whether we are able to understand the objective situation. A scientific approach in its true sense involves: understanding objective truth as well as acknowledging it; discerning the nature of phenomena as well as being able to see them; understanding necessity as well as chance; and knowing why things are the way they are. No matter what we are talking about, it is only when people are able to discover, understand and make use of laws that they can be said to possess scientific knowledge in a field. This was what Comrade Mao Zedong was driving at when he creatively interpreted "seeking truth" as studying the laws governing objective things.

Understanding objective laws and consciously operating according to them is a rather exacting demand and not one that can be readily met. Even when dealing with a simple thing or process, it is usually not easy to grasp its internal laws, let alone when dealing with highly complicated social issues. It is undoubtedly only after repeated practice, understanding and arduous investigation that the laws governing the leadership of revolution and construction in a vast country like China can be gradually mastered. However, with 60 years' experience behind us, we can see that, whether in the period of revolutionary war or peacetime reconstruction, all the major problems encountered by our party are governed by laws. Besides, as communists, we are, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, perfectly able to understand laws and strive for the initiative. We gradually found out, in the course of our practice of revolutionary war and through our victories and defeats, the laws governing the waging of revolutionary war in China, and summed up the strategy and tactics for guiding the Chinese revolutionary war, thus securing victory in this war. In the course of our practice of socialist construction, we have, likewise, through success and failure, gradually found out the laws governing construction in China. Although this process is far from complete, as long as we adhere to the path of searching diligently for laws and further adapt our construction principles and policies to our national conditions, the victory of construction will be ours for the taking.

Seeking Truth From Facts Is the Living Soul of Mao Zedong Thought

Reality and facts, since they are objects of people's cognition and exist objectively, are invariably concrete rather than abstract, and specific rather than general. Proceeding from reality can only mean proceeding from concrete and specific reality, or else we will be indulging in empty talk. Without understanding the concrete characteristics of things, we cannot understand things themselves or the laws inherent in them. The point so constantly talked about, namely, that concretely analyzing concrete things is the living soul of Marxism, means precisely this. So, strictly speaking, when we say that seeking truth from facts is a scientific approach, this should include, and in fact must include, the concrete analysis of concrete things. If we discuss the facets of this implication, concrete characteristics, which are the objects of people's cognition, can be approached separately from two angles. On the one hand, we have the peculiarities inherent in comparisons between objects, like the peculiarities which different things, localities, nations and countries possess. This is the basis of the difference between one thing and another. If we do not understand this characteristic of the difference between things, we will not be able to differentiate between or understand anything. On the other hand, we have the peculiarities inherent in comparisons between different stages in the developmental process of objects themselves. All things move, change and develop. Their existence is a process and, in the process as a whole, stages are bound to occur as a result of changes in their nature. That is to say, at any given stage in the development of a thing, there are bound to be characteristics different from other stages. If we are unable to understand the peculiarities inherent in the different stages of the developmental process of a thing, or if we do not understand the peculiarities inherent in changes and the peculiar changes, we will still basically be unable to understand things in motion and the nature and laws governing the motion of things necessarily situated in one developmental stage or another. Combining the above two aspects, the principle of seeking truth from facts adhered to by us demands that we understand and grasp the specific characteristics of things in given developmental stages and adopt them as the starting point for all our actions.

This shows more than ever that the principle of seeking truth from facts is by its nature absolutely incompatible with any empty abstract fantasy or fixed, ossified dogma. We advocate proceeding from reality in all cases, but reality is invariably concrete and in a process of developing. Therefore, we cannot but proceed in all cases from the concrete realities of development. Thus, the principle of seeking truth from facts is full of the spirit of development and creativity. When we say that the concrete analysis of concrete things is the living soul of Marxism and that the principle of seeking truth from facts is the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought, the meanings are interlinked. The superiority in "living soul" lies in the word "living." Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought embodies this kind of living soul. It must itself be living, brimming with life, lively and active, filled with exuberant vitality and continuously growing, developing, expanding and enriching itself so that it never dries up.

When we say the concrete analysis of concrete things is the living soul of Marxism, we are on the one hand stating that it is only by concretely analyzing concrete facts under the guidance of the universal tenets of Marxism that the effectiveness of the Marxist understanding and solving of problems can be ensured, enabling it to have a real effect in guiding our action. On the other hand, we are also stating that it is precisely by concretely analyzing concrete facts, continuously studying new situations and probing new problems, that new scientific understanding can be obtained and new scientific conclusions drawn, thus continuously enriching the content of Marxism itself and ensuring that Marxism will never degenerate into ossified dogma. Marx left our world nearly 100 years ago, but his theories are still full of youthful vitality, one of the marvels of which is that Marxism is the most creative and least conservative of scientific theories in human history.

Mao Zedong Thought is a crystallization of the great wisdom of Chinese communists, an outstanding representative of whom was Comrade Mao Zedong. It gives full play to this creative spirit inherent in Marxism and, with the universal truth of Marxism as its guide, concretely analyzes and solves problems arising out of the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. By applying Marxism and seeking truth from facts, Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms created a completely new set of experiences and theories in connection with the Chinese revolution, such as establishing base areas, carrying out agrarian reform and guerrilla warfare, encircling the cities from the rural areas, analyzing the national bourgeoisie and so on. All these major theoretical principles and practical policies are not only Marxist; they are also entirely new, for they are not to be found in any Marxist textbook or experience of a foreign country. It is precisely because they are not subject to the limitations of textbooks and established practice and because by seeking truth from facts, they have analyzed the new realities of the revolution, that they have enriched the content of Marxism. From this we can see, that the basic reason for the greatness of Mao Zedong Thought, or the reason why Mao Zedong Thought became Mao Zedong Thought, lies in its truth-seeking analysis of the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, thus making a new contribution to Marxism of historical and international significance.

Seeking truth from facts means not allowing ourselves to be tied down by set rules and old ideas, facing reality and weeding through the old to bring forth the new. Seeking truth from facts means freeing ourselves from all spiritual shackles and carrying forward and developing Marxism with a bold creative spirit. By laying down emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts as the ideological line at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party displayed scientific insight into the internal relationship between seeking truth from facts and emancipating the mind. Mao Zedong Thought is basically the product of the emancipation of the mind. Without emancipating the mind, we cannot apply Marxism in a truth-seeking way, and even less can we develop it in a truth-seeking way, for we will only be able to follow the same old routine. Emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts are organically linked. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: Emancipating the mind means making our thoughts conform with objective reality and the subjective conform with the objective, which is in fact what seeking truth from facts is.

Each step of scientific progress constitutes an emancipation of the mind. Marxism is a science. It is continuously advancing along the course of the continuous emancipation of the mind. The serious leftist errors of the 10-year "Great Cultural Revolution," together with the leftist errors committed before it, have for some time constituted a spiritual shackle fettering people's minds. It is precisely because of the prolonged existence of leftist errors in the past and also because they were for a time allowed to take control of the whole situation, that they have had such a profound influence on people. Since practice proclaimed the bankruptcy of leftist errors and since the smashing of the "gang of four," the continued existence of leftist errors has for quite a substantial period of time been the most serious obstacle to bringing order out of chaos and carrying on work as usual. The culmination of leftist errors was the error of adhering to the "two whatevers." Our party, by leading discussions on the criterion of truth, criticized and corrected the error of the "two whatevers," thus enabling the minds of the whole party and people to be greatly emancipated and the truth-seeking spirit of innovation to be developed in an unprecedented manner. However, it should be acknowledged that the influence of leftist errors to which cadres at every level have been subjected for medium to long periods of time cannot be wiped out at the drop of a hat, and that some comrades cannot avoid considering and dealing with problems in the same old leftist way, which in our country definitely constitutes a conservative traditionalist force and a rigid way of thinking. Contaminated by this way of thinking, a person will grow obstinate and conservative, be unwilling to study new situations and solve new problems, and even be ill-disposed towards anything new. We are engaged in a new construction undertaking, one which our predecessors never engaged in. We must have the boldness of innovation inherent in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and truly foster the spirit of seeking truth from facts. Therefore, mention must be made of the fact that the conservative, rigid way of thinking embodied by some comrades has already become a stumbling block to the carrying out of our great task of innovation and modernization. Studying the "resolution," fostering the spirit of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts and clearing away this mental obstacle are undoubtedly tasks deserving top priority.

A Major Pioneering Work of Comrade Mao Zedong in the Historical Development of Marxist Philosophy

The ideological line of seeking truth from facts is something that has been summed up by the whole party in the course of our long revolutionary practice and the crystallization of collective wisdom. However, it is on this question that Comrade Mao Zedong did the most work and made the greatest contribution. Putting forth and laying down the principle of seeking truth from facts was one of the enormous historical feats he performed.

Transforming the philosophical principles of dialectical materialism into a complete set of concrete and vivid methods by which we communists operated and leading us in the revolution in how we should think and work was a major pioneering work of Comrade Mao Zedong's in the historical development of Marxist philosophy. He elevated to a philosophical status, but in a clear and simple fashion, the various problems concerning ways of thinking and working arising in the course of our revolutionary practice and consummately reduced them to theoretical summaries, thus deepening people's understanding of the nature of problems. At the same time, he also transformed a philosophy that had seemed unfathomable to most people into an intimate and practical tool with which to observe and solve ideological and practical problems and with which we feel on close terms, thus truly turning Marxist philosophy into a sharp weapon for the proletariat and the popular masses in their effort to understand and transform the world.

Mao Zedong Thought, with the principle of seeking truth from facts as its living soul, embodies through and through the spirit of materialism and dialectics. This original philosophical exposition of Comrade Mao Zedong's, because it delineates so clearly, vividly and profoundly the internal relationships between the profound principles of dialectical materialism and our everyday thought and work, touches us deeply and is of great persuasive power. Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical theories have an important enlightening effect on the revolutionaries' way of thinking and working. They occupy an important and irreplaceable position in the treasure house of Marxist philosophical theory. As for saying that Comrade Mao Zedong himself, because he divorced himself from reality and the masses in the twilight of his life, committed serious errors and caused heavy losses to the revolution, that just proves that the ideological line of seeking truth from facts is something in the nature of an objective truth and that, regardless of whom we are dealing with, it cannot go against its own principles.

We have sufficient reasons for adhering to and continuously advancing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Any opinion setting adherence to Marxism against its development is wrong. If we divorce ourselves from adherence and talk glibly about development, or if we divorce ourselves from development and talk glibly about adherence, what will be adhered to or developed will definitely not be true Marxism. Only by resolutely adhering to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and by using it to guide our new revolutionary voyage can we avoid straying onto the wrong path and further enrich and develop it with new experience and theories. At the same time, it is only by continuously using new experience and theories to develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought that the Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought we have in our hands will be truly alive and full of vitality. Any opinion that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is outdated, or that it has already been developed to its limits, is wrong. A correct approach toward Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can only be formed by unity between adherence and development and its continuous advancement in a truth-seeking way. This is what Comrade Hu Yaobang meant when he said: "The advancement of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the basic approach and unshirkable historical duty of us Chinese communists."

We have a task to perform and there is no turning back. Let the whole party take up this heavy yet honorable task!

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MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT IS THE SHINING BANNER OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 81 pp 29-34

[Article by Lu Zhichao [4151 0037 6389]]

[Text]

I

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" made a comprehensive yet brief exposition on the formation of Mao Zedong Thought, its tenets, its guiding role and the correct attitude we should adopt toward it. This exposition set things to right on an extremely important problem about our party's guiding ideology which had been confused, and showed that our party's understanding of this problem had been raised to a new level.

There had been no debates in our party's history on how to correctly understand Mao Zedong Thought and what attitude we should adopt toward it. During the period when Mao Zedong Thought was being formed and developed step by step, the dogmatists represented by Wang Ming refused to admit its scientific nature and guiding role. Moreover, they attacked it and defiled it. After the Zunyi conference and the Yanan rectification campaign, based on the lessons drawn from years of practice and through years of study and discussion in the party, and finally through the approval of the "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions" by the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee in 1945, the whole party gained a unified and correct understanding of Mao Zedong Thought and its guiding role. At the seventh national CCP congress, Mao Zedong Thought was unanimously and definitely recognized to be the integration of the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and was deemed to be the guideline of all the work of our party. As the whole party had attained a correct understanding and unity on the major issue of its guiding ideology, our party's cause developed very smoothly and the party led the people throughout the country in quickly achieving the victories of the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation and in quickly achieving the victories in the recovery of our national economy and in the socialist transformation after the founding of our nation. The 11 years between the "seventh and eighth national CCP congresses" was a historical period in which our party achieved its most magnificent victories. This showed how important it was to have a correct and unified understanding on the party's guiding ideology.

After the completion in the main of socialist transformation, our country entered a new historical period of all-round socialist construction. In this situation, new achievements were made in integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the socialist construction in China, and the party's guiding ideology was further developed. Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the experiences in the practice of our socialist construction and put forth quite a few ideas that remain valuable even today. Meanwhile, after 1957, he began to deviate from the path of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with practice in China on certain questions and this developed later into a series of erroneous viewpoints that gave rise to the "Great Cultural Revolution." It was also during this same period, namely, the late 1950's and the early 1960's, that the contents of Mao Zedong Thought began to deviate from practice and science. Owing to vicious distortion and wanton exaggeration, on the eve of and during the "Great Cultural Revolution" the contents of Mao Zedong Thought was distorted to an extreme. First, despite the opposition of Comrade Mao Zedong, some people attached three adjectives--"gifted, comprehensive and creative"--to Mao Zedong Thought and treated what was drawn from the summing up of the experiences of the whole party as the gifted creation of Comrade Mao Zedong, the individual. Second, they unrealistically exaggerated Mao Zedong Thought and wantonly described as the "pinnacle" of and "a brand-new stage" in the development of Marxism-Leninism. Third, the erroneous views of Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, especially his view on the so-called "continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," was said to be the main content of Mao Zedong Thought and even said to be the "third milestone" marking the development of Marxism-Leninism. They boasted that "every word of Comrade Mao Zedong's was the truth itself" and "had the effect of 10,000 words" and that whether understood or not, Mao's words must be carried out. Thus, Mao Zedong Thought was no longer a guide to our actions, but was turned into religious doctrine and an object of worship. While paying lip-service to upholding the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, Lin Biao and his ilk actually distorted and smeared this banner beyond recognition. Naturally, the mistakes in the leading ideology of the party and the serious confusion in this respect inevitably had an extremely detrimental effect on the party's practical activities.

From the time of the smashing of the "gang of four" to that of the 3d plenary session, throughout the party criticism of the erroneous policy of the "two whatevers" was unfolded and struggle was waged for upholding the principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. These activities were undertaken to set to right the basic problem in the party's guiding ideology, which had been thrown into confusion, and to continue to eliminate the residue left by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and their ilk concerning Mao Zedong Thought. This struggle was carried out simultaneously with the great change in the party's practical work and acted to promote it and was in turn promoted by it. The policy of emancipating the mind put forth by the 3d plenary session and the work carried out under the guidance of this policy played a vital role in mobilizing the whole party to resume its scientific attitude in understanding and appraising Mao Zedong Thought. In so doing, there were also some people who went from opposing the exaggeration and distortion of Mao Zedong Thought by Lin Biao and his ilk and opposing the "two whatevers" to negating the scientific value and the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, the party again timely criticized this error. Through the prolonged education of both positive and negative experiences, through the arduous course of setting things to right which had been disordered and through criticizing and fighting against the two erroneous tendencies, since the 3d plenary session, our party has at last achieved on a new plane a unified understanding of its guiding ideology, and has gained a relatively practical and scientific comprehension of Mao Zedong Thought and adopted a relatively practical and scientific attitude toward it. This ideological achievement by the whole party was systematically reflected in the exposition on Mao Zedong Thought in the "resolution."

The "resolution" restored the scientific content of Mao Zedong Thought, which had prevailed during a fairly long period after the "seventh national CCP congress," and pointed out that Mao Zedong Thought was "the product of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution." Moreover, on the basis of this new understanding, it gave a more perfect explanation of the process of the integration of its main contents than in any other periods. Learning from the "resolution," we can see that in this exposition there were the following features: 1) In expounding the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought, it gave a matter-of-fact explanation of both the collective role of the party and the role of Comrade Mao Zedong as an individual in the course of its formation. On one hand, it stressed that Mao Zedong Thought is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CCP and that many outstanding leaders of our party made significant contributions to its formation and development. On the other hand, it pointed out that in forming and summing up this theory, Comrade Mao Zedong was the main representative and that this theory was mainly summed up in his works. 2) Its discussion of Mao Zedong Thought was the scientific embodiment of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Mao Zedong Thought is not only an application of Marxism-Leninism in China but also its further development. Every scientific thesis and viewpoint of Mao Zedong Thought is based on the world outlook and the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and have been firmly established on the basis of Marxism, while being characterized by the unique creation of the Chinese communists and by the distinctive Chinese style and flavor. 3) A clear distinction was made between Mao Zedong Thought as a scientific theory and the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong, the individual, in his later years. The "resolution" showed that Mao Zedong Thought is a scientific concept. This scientific concept expresses the integrated and correct revolutionary theory of our party. However, the erroneous viewpoints that Comrade Mao Zedong developed in his later years, first, deviated from the path of integrating Marxism with the practice in China, and second, deviated from the collective experiences and wisdom of the party and, finally, was proved wrong by practice (primarily the practice during the "Great Cultural Revolution"). Of course we should not confuse these erroneous viewpoints with the scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought and we should make a clear and definite distinction between them. 4) While highly appreciating Comrade Mao Zedong's creative contributions to Marxism-Leninism and its guiding significance both now and in the future, the "resolution" pointed out that in our future practice we should never adopt a dogmatic attitude neither toward Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in allowing the policy of the "two whatevers" nor toward the correct theses of Mao Zedong Thought. Our party's theory and guiding ideology will certainly continue to develop along the path of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the practice in China.

II

The key to correctly understanding Mao Zedong Thought and to understanding its formation, development, abundant content and great significance is to have a correct understanding of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in China.

Lenin said: "Only a party guided by a progressive theory can realize its role of acting as progressive soldiers." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 242) No doubt, to become the vanguard of the proletariat and to be able to successfully lead the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party must have the progressive theory of Marxism-Leninism as its guiding ideology. However, it is not easy to really apply Marxism-Leninism to guide the revolution in China. To this end, it is particularly necessary to make efforts in the following respects:

On the one hand, in order to propagate Marxism-Leninism and defend its guiding position in the Chinese revolution, for a long time, especially during the initial period after the founding of our party, our party was forced to fight against reactionary ideological trends of all kinds outside the party which attacked the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism. A common allegation of all these reactionary ideological trends was, "Marxism-Leninism does not suit the conditions in China." The Chinese communists vigorously refuted all these fallacies, and the revolutionary practice led by the CCP also declared the bankruptcy of these fallacies. It has been proved by historical facts that, on the contrary, Marxism-Leninism has suited very well the needs of the objective conditions in China and the demands of the Chinese people. No theory except Marxism-Leninism can guide us to find a way out for our nation and state.

On the other hand, in order to actually use Marxism-Leninism to direct the revolutionary practice in China, we should integrate well the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in China. This is a difficult task. If this task is not done and the erroneous trend of dogmatism is not overcome, the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism in the Chinese revolution cannot be realized. Therefore, how this task is fulfilled determines whether our party has matured and relates to the success or failure of the revolutionary cause in China.

There were many reasons why it was extremely difficult to fulfill the task of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice in China and why its course was full of strife. First, the erroneous trend toward dogmatizing Marxism-Leninism has been a persistent trend in the course of the communist movement. Ever since the birth of Marxism-Leninism, there have always been two different attitudes toward it: one attitude regards it as the stand, viewpoint and method for studying the practical situation, conducting investigations and solving problems and as the guide to action, and the other regards it as a dogma to be copied indiscriminately. Those who obey the truth of Marxism-Leninism on the surface but do not want to make painstaking efforts to make a study of practical conditions are apt to commit the error of dogmatism. That was why, in their lifetime Marx and Engels repeatedly stated that their theses were not dogma but a guide to action. Second, this dogmatic trend was intensified sometimes owing to the overcentralization of the organizations of the proletarian parties and international communist movements. A remarkable instance of this was the erroneous trend in the late 1920's and early 1930's, pointed out by the "resolution," that dogmatized Marxism in the international communist movement and sanctified the resolutions of the Communist International and the Soviet experience. This erroneous trend had a serious effect on some of our party members and inflicted great harm on the revolutionary cause. The third and most important point is that the many concrete conditions and problems we met with in our Chinese revolution were those which Marx and Lenin had never met with or provided any solutions for. It could not but be an extremely difficult task to use the general principles that Marx, Engels and Lenin drew from the conditions in Europe, where capitalism was relatively well-developed, in China, a big semicolonial, semifeudal and backward country in the East. This required the Chinese communists to make their own independent study of practice to find solutions. Without great political perseverance and theoretical courage, or without the indomitable fighting spirit and the striving through untold hardships, this task could not have been accomplished.

By understanding these conditions, it is not hard to acknowledge how important and valuable the birth of Mao Zedong Thought--the formation of the guiding ideology of our party--was in the history of our revolution. During the nearly 20 years after the founding of our party, through many repetitions of victories and failures and victories again and failures again in our struggle in which countless martyrs sacrificed their lives, and by comparing the experiences drawn from them, our party, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, relatively and successfully resolved the problem of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in China. The course of the formation of Mao Zedong Thought expounded in the "resolution" and its conclusion that Mao Zedong Thought "is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party" was the summing up in extremely terse yet broad language the historical experience of our party in integrating Marxism-Leninism with the practice in China through years of hard struggle amid bloodshed and sacrifice. We must never adopt a light attitude toward this historical experience or look down on it.

The "resolution" expounded the theoretical conclusions made by Comrade Mao Zedong concerning a series of the problems in the Chinese revolution in six respects. This included all the main contents, though it was not inclusive of all the theoretic summations of Mao Zedong Thought on the Chinese revolution. These theses showed that since Mao Zedong Thought was the product of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in China, it should definitely consist of two elements: On the one hand, it is firmly based on the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and, on the other hand, it is creative in that it is suitable to the conditions in China and has special Chinese characteristics. It was precisely because of this that it has enriched Marxism-Leninism and made its unique contributions to the treasure house of Marxist-Leninist theory. In studying the "resolution," we should understand all these theoretical conclusions in Mao Zedong Thought from the angle of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the practice in China, and only in this way can we master its contents and spirit. Just as the "resolution" pointed out, "We must combine our study of the scientific works of Comrade Mao Zedong with that of the scientific writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

III

The principle of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in China is also an important part of the contents of Mao Zedong Thought. That is to say, Mao Zedong Thought not only developed Marxism-Leninism by deriving many conclusions on the theory of Chinese revolution but also enriched and developed the world outlook and methodology of Marxism-Leninism with the basic stand, viewpoint and method that characterized the Chinese communists.

The foundation of Marxism is its philosophy--dialectical materialism and historical materialism. This is a perfectly strict and well-developed world outlook and is the stand, viewpoint and method by which we investigate and solve problems. Some people might wonder: How can we understand this development by Mao Zedong Thought since the world outlook and methodology of Marxism are the most general laws of nature and society and are universal truths that can be applied everywhere?

The "resolution" provided the correct answer to this question. It pointed out, "Mao Zedong Thought is the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China." "The living soul of Mao Zedong Thought is the stand, viewpoint and method embodied in its component parts mentioned above. This stand, viewpoint and method boil down to three basic points: to seek truth from facts, the mass line, and independence." The "resolution" expounded on these three basic points and also provided a scientific analysis of the great contributions of Mao Zedong Thought in this respect.

In the past some of our comrades manifested a certain tendency in studying the development of Marxism by Mao Zedong Thought: the tendency to compare relevant theses of Comrade Mao Zedong's with those of Marx' and Lenin's. Any propositions or formulations that had been put forth by Marx or Lenin but were put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong were thought to be the developments of Comrade Mao Zedong and so were propositions or formulations that, although mentioned by them, were worded differently by Comrade Mao Zedong. Owing to the adoption of this method, an exaggerated list containing many items attributed to Comrade Mao Zedong's development of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy was developed and Mao Zedong Thought was improperly separated from Marxism-Leninism. Later, another tendency emerged among some comrades. They also adopted the method of comparison but in a different way. They found that many theses of Comrade Mao Zedong's were drawn from those of Marx' and Lenin's or were similar in meaning to those of Marx' and Lenin's; therefore, they tended to deny that Mao Zedong Thought had developed Marxist-Leninist philosophy in any way. Both tendencies overlooked the integration of theory with practice, that is, the key problem of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in China.

The correct method must be the method adopted in the "resolution," in which the Chinese special features, the Chinese national forms and what characterizes the Chinese communists were drawn and summed up in the course of Comrade Mao Zedong's application of Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism to the practice in China. In fact, the correct application of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to such a particularly complicated and particularly diversified great struggle as the Chinese revolution was itself a development of them. Moreover, we are sure that there was bound to be a great development. In other words, if they were not developed in line with concrete conditions, a correct application would be impossible. Engels said, "Materialism itself has gone through a series of stages of development. It is bound to change its forms even along with every epochmaking discoveries in the fields of natural science." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 224) If major discoveries in natural science can change the forms of materialism, how can it be imagined that there would not be a great development in applying so successfully dialectical materialism and historical materialism to the Chinese revolution, which was both extremely wide in scale and thorough in nature. The key lies in whether we can adopt a correct viewpoint and a scientific method to study this development. Lenin once called on the Russian communists to make efforts to study the practical application of dialectics in Marx' "Das Kapital" and other historical and political works. We should do likewise and make efforts to study Comrade Mao Zedong's practical application of the theory of knowledge and dialectics in his various historical, political and military works on the Chinese revolution. As the "resolution" states, Comrade Mao Zedong's many works, "his distinguished works on China's revolutionary war, in particular, provide outstanding shining examples of applying and developing the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics in practice."

Comrade Mao Zedong not only applied and developed the theory of knowledge and dialectics in solving the various practical problems in China, but also theoretically summed up how to integrate Marxism-Leninism with China's practice. Back in the early 1930's, he vigorously criticized "book worship"--dogmatism that is divorced from both practice and the masses. He pointed out, "One has no right to speak if one has not made any investigations"; the Communist Party's correct and unwaverable strategy of struggle "should come into being in the course of mass struggle"; and "the victory of China's revolutionary struggle depends on the Chinese comrades' understanding of the conditions in China." This, in fact, laid emphasis on seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence. It was, moreover, by centering on these problems that he unfolded the work of making a systematic theoretical summation when he arrived at Yanan after the Zunyi conference. "On Practice" mainly expounded the relations between knowledge and practice--the relations between knowing and doing, while "On Contradiction" mainly dealt with the relation between the universality and the particularity of contradiction. Both expounded and proved the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution from the respective planes of the theory of knowledge and dialectics. Through the efforts made by Comrade Mao Zedong and the Yanan rectification campaign, our party thoroughly realized both ideologically and theoretically the demand raised at the 6th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee held in 1938 for integrating Marxist theory with the specific conditions in China. The principle of seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence expounded in the "resolution" have been the result of integrating the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method with China's actual conditions.

Therefore, in studying the three basic points of Mao Zedong Thought--its stand, viewpoint and method--we should pay similar attention to understanding them from the angle of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in China. Seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence are theoretically entirely based on Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism adheres to thoroughgoing materialism and holds that the social existence of people determines their social consciousness and that all studies of nature and society should proceed from existing facts instead of principles. It also holds that the masses are the creators of history and that the emancipation of the working class is their own cause, and it firmly believes in the historical initiative and creativeness of the mass of people. It advocates the unity of the world proletariat and the unity of the world proletariat with oppressed people, and holds that there is only one true internationalism--to be engaged selflessly in working for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle at home while supporting without exception similar struggles in other countries. The basic stand, viewpoint and method of Mao Zedong Thought not only drew from and developed these basic principles but also summed up the creative developments of the Chinese communists in their practice of applying them. The elaboration and development of the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics in the light of the revolutionary experience gained in our country by Comrade Mao Zedong in his "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," the series of leading methods, work methods and work styles that have taken shape in our party's practical work of applying dialectical materialism, the mass-line work method and truth-seeking method created by our party, the policy of independence and self-reliance that our party has always adhered to, our party's correct understanding of the unity of proletarian internationalism and patriotism and its contributions to the revolutionary cause of the world--these are all creations with Chinese characteristics. These three points of the stand, viewpoint and method of Mao Zedong Thought--seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence--not only have summed up the abundant experience of our party but also have carried on the fine historical tradition of our country. They have been expressed in a language loved by the Chinese people and are brimming with Chinese style and flavor. They manifest the unity of the Marxist content and our national form. The contents of Mao Zedong Thought in this respect are more important, of a more universal nature and of far-reaching significance. We should better study, understand and master them.

CSO: 4004/129

TO THE READERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 81 p 34

[Text] "A Great Historical Document" is a collection of 15 articles written by some theoretical workers in Beijing at the invitation of our editorial department to relate what they have learned from studying the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." This book will be published soon. RED FLAG has carried some of these articles since its No 14 issue. Owing to limited space, the articles were abridged by their authors. Studying the resolution and at the same time reading through all articles in the book will doubtlessly help readers deepen their understanding of the resolution.

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CHINA'S NATIONAL CONDITIONS AND THE MODERNIZATION PROGRAM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 81 pp 35-42

[Article by Chen Feizhang [7115 2431 4545] and Jiang Zhenyun [5591 2182 7189]]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee has summed up the experiences of the socialist revolution and the socialist construction of our country. It points out: "Our socialist economic construction must proceed from the national conditions of our country and it must be carried out according to our capability and with strenuous efforts so that our goal of modernization can be realized gradually and in stages." The following is our basic understanding of this question.

An Important Historical Experience

Each country has its own features, historical traditions and processes of development as well as advantages and disadvantages. These are the national conditions of a country. When our understanding of the national conditions of our country is fairly correct and complete, we will be able to work out the principles and policies that are in line with reality to push revolution and construction so that they develop healthily. When our understanding is incorrect, we will suffer setbacks. This is an important experience in history.

Our new democratic revolution suffered various setbacks, but ultimately we were able to defeat strength with weakness, win victory, and establish new China. The basic reason for this victory was that Comrade Mao Zedong led our party in explicitly analyzing the historical conditions of Chinese society at that time and class relations, in clearly understanding the Chinese semicolonial and semifeudal society, in deciding a series of important questions such as the targets, tasks and motive force of the revolution, and in gradually defining the general strategy and various policies that led to victory in the revolution.

Following the founding of new China, we faced the task of carrying out revolution and construction. There were neither set conclusions nor answers in Marxist books as to the manner in which to carry out the socialist revolution and what principles and policies should be taken for economic construction in the conditions of our country. Nor could we blindly follow the experiences of other countries. The only way was for us to combine the basic principles of Marxism with the reality of our country and explore through practice and advance through explorations.

On the eve of the countrywide victory, Comrade Mao Zedong said in his speech at the 2d Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee that China's modern industry constituted only about 10 percent of the economy while the other approximately 90 percent was agricultural and handicraft industries. This situation was the basic starting point for all problems that existed for a considerably long period during and after the victory of the revolution. It was precisely because of this point that in 1953, after the wounds caused by war had been healed, our party put forth the general line for the transition period: that over a considerably long period, the state should gradually realize socialist industrialization and also gradually realize the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry, capitalist industry and commerce. Under the guidance of the general line and owing to the efforts of the whole party and people, an extremely complicated and profound social change was realized in a matter of several years in a big Eastern country with a population approaching one-fourth of the world's total population. During this great change, our industry and agriculture were not damaged but, on the contrary, developed rapidly. Facts have proved that the party's general line for the transitional period is totally correct. Our party has thus created a road for socialist transformation that is in line with the features of China.

When the socialist transformation was being carried out, measures were taken to begin the first 5-year plan for economic construction. As we did not have experience, therefore, in carrying out industrial construction we regarded the Soviet management system and principles for construction as a universal pattern for carrying out socialist construction and consequently we completely followed their experience. But in practice people found that this experience did not totally accord with the reality of our country, and it became more and more obvious that it could not meet the needs for development of our economy. Comrade Mao Zedong's important work "On the Ten Major Relationships" in 1956 and the resolution of the eighth party congress that we convened in the same year were both aimed at solving this problem and at exploring a new road for socialist construction that accorded with the national conditions of our country. They pointed out that the main tasks following the completion of the socialist transformation were to develop social productivity, develop the national economy on the basis of agriculture, pay full attention to developing agriculture and light industry, develop an overall plan, consider the interests of the state, collectives and individual and to mobilize all positive factors. This series of principles accords with the reality of our country and they must be followed for a long time in carrying out our economic construction.

But it was a pity that the "Great Leap Forward," which began in 1958, departed from the correct principles for developing the economy that were formulated by our party, put forth some unrealistic slogans, and implemented some principles and policies that ran counter to, and even violated, our national conditions. Thus the leftist mistakes that were centered on high goals, blind directives, being prone to boasting and exaggeration, and the "tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely" were rampant and our socialist construction was seriously damaged. During the readjustment work from 1962 to 1964, such mistakes were overcome in actual work, but our guiding ideology did not completely draw the necessary lessons. Therefore, with the improvement in the situation, the correct principles that were effective and in line with our national conditions were again denied. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" in particular and because of the interference and sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, the leftist guiding ideology was again in a dominant position and this ideology was not corrected in economic construction until the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee.

Our country has experienced basic changes and recorded big achievements over the past 3 decades and more. The road we traversed was uneven and we suffered serious economic damage. This was not only because of the effect of endless political movements, but what was more important was that we did not clearly understand the national conditions of our country and we failed to find the road for construction that totally accorded with our national conditions.

Treat National Conditions on the Basis of "One Divides Into Two"

What are the basic national conditions of our country? We analyzed this question in the following aspects.

First, our population is nearly 1 billion, of which 800 million are peasants. This is the basic national condition of our country.

Objective facts show that peasants and agriculture occupy an important position in the political and economic life of our country and they are playing decisive roles. Economically speaking, the pace of the development of our agricultural production has a decisive influence on the development of our national economy. Politically speaking, with the development of agriculture, the situation in rural areas will be stable and so will the situation in the whole country.

Objective facts prove that the 800 million peasants must engage in production in order to earn a living, that the commodity rate of our agriculture is very low and that we are still only able to meet half of our needs. The current situation of our grain distribution is that about 60 percent is grain ration for peasants, about 20 percent is in seed grain, fodder grain and collective reserve grain, 20 percent is purchased at fixed and negotiated prices by the state and, allowing for grain that has to be sold back to the rural areas, commodity grain is only about 14 percent. Based on the current agricultural production level, our rural areas are only supplying 80 to 90 billion jin of commodity grain a year for the population in urban areas and for the development of industry. This situation is our basic starting point in deciding the scale and pace of our modernization program.

Objective facts show that, with our huge population, we have rich labor resources and there will be no shortage of labor power for carrying out the modernization program. But this huge population creates many difficulties, and one of the greatest difficulties is that a large population means large consumption. People are both producers and consumers. But to become producers is conditional while to become consumers is unconditional. There are two conditions for people to become producers. One is a physiological condition. From the time when people are born until they have initial labor capability, they are only consumers and when they reach old age, most gradually lose their physical labor and mental labor capabilities and they will gradually change from being producers to being consumers. Another is a social condition for labor. When people have labor capability, they have to combine that capability with a certain amount of tools for labor and with targets of labor so that they will be able to create social material wealth through labor. The number of people with labor capability that can be absorbed by a country during a certain period is limited by the amount of the means of production. Our economy has been developing quite rapidly since the founding of new China, so why has there been no great improvement in the people's standard of living? The reason is that, in addition to the mistakes in economic work and serious waste in economic construction, there have been big increases in the population and failure to do a good job of birth control, and the greater part of the increased social wealth has been consumed by the increased population. The population, on the average, increased by 12.5 million every year in the past and when individual and social consumption is set at 250 yuan per capita every year, it means that the consumption fund has to be increased by about 3.1 billion yuan annually. Thus, with a huge population and a high level of expenditure, it is of great significance for us to become clear-headed, to guard against arrogance and rashness, and to make steady progress in carrying out our construction.

Second, ours is a vast country but it has little cultivated acreage.

The total area of our vast country is about 14.4 billion mu, and it has very complex natural conditions in topography, soil and climate. Generally speaking, we have more hilly areas, and plains only constitute 26 percent of the total area. According to rough calculations, the area that can be used to develop agricultural, forestry or animal husbandry production constitute about 50 percent of the total area, of which a little more than 20 percent is cultivated. Statistics showed that the area of cultivated land in 1949 was 1.47 billion mu. This acreage was later increased by constantly opening up barren lands and carrying out farmland capital construction. But the development of industry and communications and the expansion of residential buildings in urban and rural areas have taken up a great amount of cultivated land. Compared with the early days after the founding of new China, it is true that our cultivated areas have increased to some extent, but as the population has multiplied, the average per capita cultivated acreage, in fact, has drastically decreased. In some densely populated areas, the average per capita acreage is merely several fen.

Our country's limited cultivated land has no doubt caused a problem that must in no way be ignored. But we must at the same time understand that our agriculture still has a very great production potential. This potential rests on the fact that the per unit output of our present cultivated land is relatively low. Take grain for example. The output of rice in our country is on average just over 500 jin per mu as against about 700 jin in the United States, Japan and Italy; the figure for corn is just over 300 jin as against over 700 jin in the United States and Canada; and the figure for wheat is just over 200 jin as against 500 jin in France and Britain. Such great differences result from the better natural conditions of these countries. But the basic reason is that these countries have very strong industries that have been able to create fairly complete material and technical conditions for high agricultural output such as machinery, water conservancy, fine strains and chemical fertilizer. With the development of our modernization, we will also be able to gradually equip our agriculture and increase the per-unit output. The strength of our industry in supporting agriculture is still limited, but by relying on party policies we can fully display the advantage of having 800 million peasants, carry out the work that is within our reach and constantly improve conditions for production in order to rapidly reach the goal of increasing the per-unit output.

Although our cultivated land is limited, we have a large acreage for developing animal husbandry, fisheries and forestry. We can also develop production in rivers and lakes, oceans, grassland, hilly areas and even barren lands. The acreage of our grassland that can be utilized is more than 3 billion mu, approximately the same as that of the United States. But the United States is raising 130 million head of cattle while we are only raising 10 million head. As long as we are able to protect our grassland and to strive to develop more, we no doubt will be able to develop considerably our animal husbandry. The coastline of our country is 18,000 km long and is linked to our vast seas that are suitable for promoting fisheries. These bodies of water can serve as very good "marine farms." In addition, we have 75 million mu of rivers and lakes for freshwater fish breeding. In short, we must broaden our vision, and we must understand that there are many ways for developing agricultural production and much work yet to be done. From a long-term point of view, with great development in animal husbandry and in salt and freshwater breeding, we will be able to gradually replace part of the food intake with the animal protein that is contained in meat, fish, eggs and milk in order to gradually change the composition of food we consume and basically solve the problem of feeding the population of our country. It is groundless to be pessimistic about our agricultural production just because the acreage of our cultivated land is limited.

Third, we have rich and yet limited resources and we have to create conditions to exploit them.

Our country has various ores; the varieties of ores with proven deposits are more than 130. Our country is one of the few countries in the world with a relatively complete variety and big deposits of ores. The deposits of some metallic ores are among the world's biggest. Our coal resources rank third in the world, and the potential for hydroelectric power ranks first. All these are important material bases for our modernization program.

Because of our backward sciences and technology and limited funds, we have just started large-scale geological prospecting and, therefore, our understanding of underground resources is far from adequate. In addition, there are a number of difficulties in our utilization of ore resources. For example, because of limited funds, there is a limit to our exploiting and utilizing these resources. Some of our ores are of low grade, and require much labor and money for extraction; our extraction technology is backward and, therefore, it is difficult for us to exploit and utilize the underground ores and other resources in the near future. It is true that we have enormous ore deposits, but because of our huge population, the average per capita deposit is low. So we must understand that our deposits are limited and consequently we must make use of these resources rationally and economically.

Fourth, we have set up a relatively complete economic and technical base, but there are still many weak points.

There are now 400,000 industrial and commercial enterprises of various sizes in our country. The fixed assets of state-owned enterprises are 500 billion yuan, an increase by 21 times over that of 1952, the year before the first 5-year plan began. The national gross industrial output value increased by 17.9 times. Of these enterprises, a great number are backbone enterprises equipped with advanced technology. Such enterprises are able to supply various quality materials and advanced technology for the modernization program, to produce sophisticated products such as the atom bomb, the hydrogen bomb, missiles and satellites, and to train and develop the ranks of highly skilled scientists and technicians. The locations of our industry has been extended from coastal areas to the hinterland, and many regions with backward economies have established certain industrial bases. All these are the foundation for us to make progress in the modernization program and we can in no way underestimate this foundation. But we must also understand that our economic and technical foundation still has many weak points. First, our industrial structure was formed on the basis of lopsidedly developing heavy industry on the principle of "taking steel as the key link," which was very irrational, and the two major categories are out of proportion. Second, the level of socialization in the organization of production is low, many enterprises are small and complete or big and complete, the situation of duplicated construction and duplicated enterprises in the same location is serious and the structure of enterprises is not rational. Third, some enterprises are equipped with backward technology and consume enormous amounts of goods, materials and energy. Fourth, under the influence of the wrong principle of "mountains, decentralized areas and caves" advocated by Lin Biao, a number of the enterprises in the third line in the hinterland have failed to develop productive strength for a long period, and some cannot carry out normal production because of communication problems and incomplete equipment. Fifth, because our enterprises did not follow economic laws for a long period and because they were eating out of the same big rice bowl, their management level was low and they used huge amounts of funds, which resulted in serious waste. All these things resulted in bad economic effects. But all these weak points in our current economic and technical foundation actually represent our potential. Once we are able to overcome these weak points, the 400,000 enterprises will play a big role in realizing our modernization program.

Fifth, we have established a contingent of management cadres and technicians, but their quality and quantity cannot meet our needs.

After a long period of training, our economic front already has a great number of leading cadres at various levels and they have the capabilities of leading and organizing work; some of them have become experts in their own fields but most still have to improve their management skills. The more than 3 million university graduates and 5 million graduates of polytechnic schools trained after the founding of new China have become the technical backbone in various trades and a few of the highly skilled ones have been able to master sophisticated technology. But some of these graduates have been assigned jobs outside their fields and consequently they cannot apply what they have learned. The scientific and cultural level of the whole Chinese people is still relatively low compared to the needs of the modernization program. The number of technicians in our industrial departments is only 2.9 percent of the total industrial staff and many of them have not received a high school education; the cultural level of 80 percent of the staff of our enterprises is below the level of that attained in secondary school and they do not have a basic knowledge of modern science and technology. The scientific and cultural knowledge of those in rural areas is even lower. In carrying out the modernization program, it is necessary to use modern technology and equipment, and it is even more important to have management cadres and technicians who are able to master such technology and equipment. Without such cadres and technicians, it is impossible for modern technology and equipment to fully demonstrate their advanced economic beneficial results. One of our great difficulties is that we do not have enough talent for our modernization program.

Sixth, the economic and cultural level is unbalanced between regions, and each region has its own advantages and disadvantages.

Our eastern coastal areas are densely populated, and they have fairly advanced economies and cultures, concentrated industrial enterprises, fairly advanced communications, fairly high scientific and technical levels and management levels, better conditions for agricultural production and a tradition of intensive farming. But the western areas are characterized by poor natural conditions and by fairly low economic and cultural levels. For example, the gross industrial and agricultural output value of the 10 coastal provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of Shanghai, Jiangsu, Liaoning, Shandong, Hebei, Guangdong, Zhejiang, Tianjin, Guangxi and Fujian constitutes more than 50 percent of the national gross industrial and agricultural output value, and Shanghai alone produces one-tenth of this figure while Jiangsu also produces almost one-tenth.

The development of economy and culture among regions is unbalanced and consequently each region has its own advantages and disadvantages. In fact, this situation is a big problem that has to be conscientiously considered in carrying out the modernization program. This situation also ensures that it is impossible for various regions to achieve the same level of economic development in the same period. Thus, the method of "cutting with stroke of the knife" and of making arrangements indiscriminately is not only contradictory to a balanced economic development of various regions but also beyond the capability of our country.

It is necessary to stress here that ours is a big country under the people's democratic dictatorship and the means of production belong to the whole people. This situation is a very important and advantageous social economic condition for us in realizing the modernization program, and it is the basic starting point for us in studying the national conditions of our country and in exploring the road for socialist construction.

First, the masses of people are the masters of the country and the means of production. All the state policies and measures are in the basic interest of the hundreds of millions of people. The masses of people, on the other hand, have pinned their hopes on happiness in the future on the prosperity of the country and have closely combined their own interests with those of the country. Consequently, the people's strong desire for wealth and happiness has become a powerful motive force in realizing the modernization program of their motherland. This is the basic source of our strength.

Second, the socialist planned economy, which is based on the means of production being owned by the whole people, is in a position to concentrate the strength of various departments and places across the country to engage in urgent undertakings that are within its capability. Therefore, although our country is not yet rich and advanced, it is still able to realize some aspects of the modernization program at a comparatively rapid pace.

Lastly, the socialist system can, through state planning, consciously readjust the proportionate relationship between goods and materials and production departments, and between goods and materials and production departments and nonproduction departments, so that our economy will be able to develop in a balanced way. It is an objective need in the development of our social production to distribute the social labor force according to certain proportions. Because it is impossible to carry out planned work without shortcomings and because of changes in objective conditions or because of subjective mistakes in working out policies, disproportions might occur at times. But once they do occur, the system itself will, through its own inner power, consciously readjust so that various departments will be able to develop in balance.

The above-mentioned superiority of the socialist system has initially been demonstrated in the course of our economic construction. Needless to say, the superiority of our socialist system has not fully displayed all its facets. This is owing to the fact that, following the completion of the three great transformations, measures were constantly taken which followed the principle of taking class struggle as the key link in launching revolution in production relationships. Thus, for quite a long period, the key work was not concentrated on economic construction and on certain occasions mistakes resulting from undue haste were made in our economic construction. On the other hand, the irrational economic management system obstructed the objective economic law, and we lacked internal and external motive forces in developing the economy. The former reason has, or basically has, been resolved. With regard to the latter, our party has been leading the whole nation in sparing no efforts to solve it. It can be expected that with the gradual completion of the restructuring of our economic management system, centralized economic management will be combined with dispersed economic management. Consequently, in effecting a planned economy, such combinations will play auxiliary roles in regulation by market mechanism, and when this occurs the superiority of the socialist system will be fully displayed.

Our country has made a transition from the new democratic revolution to socialism on a base of semifeudalism and semicolonialism, and such a transition is a new development in the theory of scientific socialism. Socialism with such a foundation has a relatively low productivity, together with backward commodity production, and is deeply influenced by small producers' thinking. With a full understanding of this aspect, people will be able to remain clearheaded and prevent and overcome impatience in carrying out the modernization program. Such an understanding will also help some people to achieve confidence and follow the right track in carrying out the modernization program.

Open Up a New Road for Developing the Economy

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the state decided to implement the principle of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy. This was a brilliant decision made after analyzing the basic national conditions of our country on the basis of reality, and this decision is aimed at overcoming the chaotic situations which have occurred in developing our economy. Practice over the past 2 years has proved that through the implementation of this principle our economic activities have begun to be active again and have made an excellent start. Our party has now gradually opened up a correct road for the socialist modernization program that is in line with our national conditions, and this is constantly being perfected and developed.

First, developing the rural economy is a primary question.

Of the 1 billion people in our country, 800 million are peasants and this situation is a primary problem. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The condition of the peasants is important in the development of our economy and the consolidation of our political power." Therefore, in carrying out the modernization program, it is imperative to start on the basis of the 800 million peasants and develop commodity production and increase labor productivity in rural areas so that our rural areas will be able to develop quite rapidly. There will be great expectations for our modernization program once our rural areas become prosperous and the peasants become wealthy.

In order to make the peasants wealthy, it is necessary to develop grain production according to local conditions simultaneously with developing diversified management in a big way. People must eat. The question of grain is very important for a country with a population of 1 billion. The situation of the country will not be stable and the modernization program cannot be carried out smoothly unless we solve the problem of feeding the people. That is why we paid attention to grain production in the past and why we will continue to do so in the future. But we must also understand that it is difficult for peasants to become rich by solely relying on developing grain production. Therefore, in addition, we must diversify management according to the specific conditions of each locality. We must get rid of the narrow view which holds that by undertaking diversified management, the land for grain production will be affected. In fact, diversified management covers wide areas and it is only one aspect in managing the use of cultivated land. The point is that in developing diversified management it is necessary to develop an overall plan by making use of the natural conditions of each region; some regions might develop production by making use of hilly areas while others might develop production by making use of water resources. In short, we must consider management diversification as a measure to bring happiness to people and to future generations. In this way, the rural areas will be able to develop fairly rapidly, the life of the peasants will be improved fairly rapidly and it will be easier to consolidate the collective economy.

Various forms of the responsibility system which links remuneration with output quotas have been implemented in our vast rural areas since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and, as a result, a number of regions that were long subject to poverty and backwardness have increased considerably their output of grain and industrial crops, and thus have made great changes. Facts prove that with the present level of productivity, the various forms of the responsibility system accord with both the features of our rural areas and our national conditions. It is necessary to constantly sum up experiences in this respect so that the responsibility system will be perfected and popularized on an even wider scale.

Second, readjust industrial structure and develop the production of consumer goods.

The purpose of socialist production is to meet the ever increasing needs of people's material and cultural life. The major way to realize this goal is to develop agriculture while simultaneously developing the production of consumer goods in a big way. To develop the production of consumer goods is an important means by which the state increases accumulation funds. Therefore, we must change the ideology of taking steel as the key link and of lopsidedly developing heavy industry in order to put the development of consumer goods production in an important position.

To put the development of production of consumer goods in an important position does not mean that it is necessary to slacken the production of the means of production. It is an important part of the Marxist theory of reproduction to give prominence to the growth of the means of production and to develop the first and the second categories harmoniously. In order to step up the production of consumer goods, it is imperative for the departments that are producing the means of production to supply advanced technology and good quality and readily marketable categories of raw materials in a big way. What is important at present is that these departments must define the orientation of their service. As pointed out by Comrade Chen Yun, heavy industrial departments must be oriented toward serving agriculture, light industry and the people's livelihood and toward readjusting production structure, so that the production of the means of production will be in harmony with the production of the means of subsistence and comprehensive balance will be achieved. Such a situation will be in the interests of both the development of the production of consumer goods and of the departments that are producing the means of production. In fact, the development of heavy industry was slowed down recently in order to change the situation in which heavy industrial departments are too prominent while light industry is backward and to step up the development of light industry. Such measures are not only imperative but also in line with the need for a comprehensive balance.

Third, readjust the organizational structures of enterprises in order to allow them to fully play their roles through tapping potentials and making innovations and transformations.

Our existing industrial and communications enterprises have the potential of developing production individually. They will have a greater potential when they are organized according to the principle of coordination between specialized departments and regions and through this coordination achieve greater productivity.

In the course of readjusting the organizational structure of enterprises, the work of tapping potentials and making innovations and transformations must be carried out in a planned way. In particular, the equipment of key enterprises and production links must be replaced by new technology so that with less investment we will be able to earn big profits. If we are able to achieve a breakthrough in these two aspects, we will be able to develop our economy with greater, faster, better and more economic results. In organizing industrial and communications enterprises well, tapping potentials and making innovations and transformations are not only important measures but also important goals of readjustment.

Fourth, save energy to raise funds for exploiting energy resources.

Our country abounds in energy resources and yet a contradiction prevails in regard to these resources, namely, our country is in short energy supply. To solve this contradiction it is necessary to save and exploit energy simultaneously and, in the near future, it is necessary to make saving energy the key. At present, the national revenue created by energy on a per-ton basis is only equivalent to half that achieved during the first 5-year plan. This shows that there is a great potential for saving energy. Through technical innovation and strengthening of management, we will be able to cut down excessive energy consumption and greatly alleviate the tense situation in energy supply. The basic way to solve the contradiction is to step up the exploitation of energy, set up a new energy base and build corresponding communications facilities. Since the financial power of our country is limited, a more effective way is to raise funds for energy exploitation through saving energy and exporting part of the saved energy for foreign exchange. Such foreign exchange will be used in purchasing technical equipment for making innovations and saving energy in order to save and exploit more energy and increase production. In this way we will be able to gradually increase exports of energy in a bid to get more foreign exchange and raise more funds for exploiting energy.

Fifth, pay attention to the intellectual development of staff and workers and strengthen their training.

The talent for the modernization program comes from universities and polytechnic schools. But, at the same time, we must strengthen the intellectual development of staff and workers in order to help them improve their management and technical levels. The staff and workers of the existing enterprises are directly positioned at the first front of the modernization program. Therefore, it is of far-reaching significance for our modernization program to provide them with systematic education on management knowledge and scientific technology and train from among them a large number of management and technical staff who are in accord with the modernization program. Our present readjustment of the national economy is a good opportunity for us to organize and train staff and workers. By doing a good job in this aspect for several years, we will have a capable and talented contingent for the modernization program and we will be able to carry out this program with a new surge.

Sixth, carry out the principle of simultaneously making use of mechanization and semimechanization, of mechanical operation and manual operation.

In carrying out the modernization program we must use advanced technology to constantly increase labor productivity, otherwise it is not a modernization program. But, at present, we must do our work according to its importance and urgency, and we cannot pursue the advanced world level in everything, nor can we consider questions solely from the viewpoint of improving labor productivity. We must consider the interests of the 1 billion people and work out an all-round plan. Therefore, we must carry out the principle of simultaneously making use of automation and semi-automation, mechanization and semimechanization, and mechanical operation and manual operation and improve them gradually. In this way, we will be able not only to improve the level of our industrial technology and productivity but also to solve the problem of the employment of our enormous labor force.

Seventh, develop in a big way labor-intensive enterprises that employ more laborers.

Labor-intensive enterprises are characterized by the features of employing more laborers, gaining more foreign exchange from exports and more funds for accumulation, with less investment and less consumption of raw materials and energy. Statistics gathered by departments concerned show that such enterprises, for each 10,000 yuan of fixed assets, employ over 7 times more labor than heavy industrial enterprises with higher technical levels. There are hundreds of millions of skilled handicraftsmen among the laboring people of our country, and their high level of craftsmanship has been passed down from generation to generation. With organization and leadership, these craftsmen will help widely develop labor-intensive enterprises in the cities and countryside throughout the country.

Eighth, develop in a big way the collective economy in cities and towns and allow the individual economy to develop.

The collective economy in cities and towns is part of our socialist economy, while the individual economy in cities and towns is subordinate and supplementary to socialist public ownership. In the past, because of the influence of leftist thinking, we treated the collective economy in the same way as capitalist industry and commerce by using the methods of utilizing, restricting and transforming and the individual economy was chopped off as the "tail of capitalism." At the same time, the enterprises of the collective ownership in cities and towns were "upgraded" again and again, and as a result, while they were called collective enterprises, they were actually local state-owned enterprises. By doing this, not only was the production of consumer goods limited, but the development of commercial service trades was weakened. Social disorder has been restored following the downfall of the "gang of four," various policies have been gradually implemented, and the collective and individual economies in cities and towns has been developed to different extents. It is necessary to support the collective economy and encourage the individual economy in cities and towns so that they will be able to make further progress, absorb more labor, develop social productivity, meet the needs of people's livelihood and play greater roles in accumulating funds for the construction of our country.

Ninth, uphold the principle of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and self-reliance.

Following the downfall of the "gang of four," we ended our closed-door policy in order to begin wide international economic cooperation and actively import new technology by partially relying on foreign capital, and these measures are in the interest of our modernization program. It is a long-term and not an expedient measure to import advanced technology by making use of foreign capital. But in our guiding ideology, we must make it clear that in carrying out the modernization program we must rely on our own work and not on spending money on imports, that is, we must base our efforts on self-reliance.

Therefore, the use of foreign capital is conditional; it depends on our repayment capability and our ability to produce auxiliary equipment. If we disregard these two conditions and arbitrarily use foreign capital to import complete sets of equipment, we will simply be increasing our burden.

With regard to importing new technology, we must mainly import key equipment and technology and there should only be few instances of importing complete sets of equipment. The thinking behind, and method of, importing complete sets of equipment indiscriminately runs counter to the principle of self-reliance, which has always been advocated by our party, and is harmful to our modernization program and therefore wrong.

In the matter of utilizing new technology, we must not pin our hopes on foreign countries and disdain our own new technology. In fact, in our present condition, it may be beyond our ability to absorb and digest certain foreign advanced technologies. It will be easier for us to popularize our own existing advanced technology than to popularize foreign technology.

Tenth, following the development of production, gradually improve the people's standard of living.

The purpose of our modernization program is to constantly improve the level of people's material and cultural life. Owing to the many measures taken by the party and government over the past 2 years, the standard of living of the broad masses of people has been gradually improved, and in the present economic conditions this improvement is by no means small. There is no doubt that with the development of production and construction, the people's standard of living will also constantly be improved. But because of our huge population, weak foundation and limited funds, we must, when considering the need to develop production and construction, consider the need to improve the people's life and, therefore, it is necessary to work out a long-term overall plan. The improvement of people's lives cannot be too quick and drastic; it can only be improved gradually with the development of production. We can in no way depart from reality in demanding the modernization of our life.

We are now readjusting the entire national economy and gradually restructuring our economic management systems according to the national conditions of our country, and these are two great matters that are vital for our modernization program. Through readjustment our national economy will be able to develop proportionately and become the solid foundation for our modernization program. Through restructuring our enterprises and laborers will have an inner motive force for developing production and they will be able to promote economic activities under the guidance of state planning. By doing a good job in these two aspects, our national economy will be able to make new progress.

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THE CAUSES OF THE OUTBREAK OF THE 'GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION' AND ITS LESSONS

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[Article by Zhu Yuanshi [2612 0337 4258]]

[Text] In May 1966, Comrade Mao Zedong started the "Great Cultural Revolution" that swept the whole country. But Comrade Mao Zedong had wrongly judged the then prevailing class situation in our country and the political condition of the party and the state. As a result, many devoted revolutionaries of the older generation who had stood the test, and numerous fine party member cadres who remained faithfully at their various posts were ruthlessly trounced. The two counterrevolutionary conspiratorial groups of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing were given a chance to assert themselves. They exploited Comrade Mao Zedong's mistake to secretly carry out criminal activities on a large scale that brought disaster to the state and the people. Once started, the "Great Cultural Revolution" went out of control like an unbridled wild horse. In fact, for various complicated reasons, it was unusually difficult to stop this upheaval when Comrade Mao Zedong was alive. Only after the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee did the party and the state enter a new historical period.

Then, was the "Great Cultural Revolution" caused by an accidental mistake on the part of Comrade Mao Zedong? Absolutely not. A thing in real life has its inevitable causes. The outbreak of the "Great Cultural Revolution" on the land of China and its lasting for as long as 10 years may be attributed to the following several main causes:

1. The direct cause was wrong leadership on the part of Comrade Mao Zedong.

With the fundamental completion of socialist transformation, the correct guideline of the eighth national party congress calling for concentrating on developing the productive forces was carried out. The year 1957 was one of the best years for results achieved in economic work since the founding of the PRC. However, in the flush of victory, Comrade Mao Zedong developed a sense of arrogance and self-complacency. Many leading comrades of the central and local authorities also joined Comrade Mao Zedong in magnifying the role of subjective will. Under conditions where they lacked the experience of large-scale socialist construction, they acted against the fundamental laws of economic development and sought immediate results. In 1958 they launched the "Great Leap Forward" movement and the movement for the establishment of the rural people's communes. They made leftist mistakes marked by overambitious goals, the issuance of conflicting orders, proneness to boasting and exaggeration and "a tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely." This caused great setbacks in socialist construction. From the end of that year to July 1959 before the Lushan conference of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong tried to lead the whole party in correcting the mistakes that had become known. But after the Lushan conference, Comrade Peng Dehuai aired his views about the leftist mistakes made in the "Great Leap Forward" and the lessons drawn therefrom. Comrade Mao Zedong regarded this as an attack on the party. He wrongly subjected Comrade Peng Dehuai to criticism. This developed into a case of wrongly starting an "antirightist" campaign within the party. As a result, leftist mistakes were not thoroughly corrected in regard to the ideology guiding economic work. Instead, these mistakes gradually developed in the political, ideological and cultural fields.

Comrade Mao Zedong's viewpoint putting class struggle on an enlarged basis and in absolute terms was of long standing. It had developed gradually. He said, "The struggle that appeared in Lushan is a class struggle and a continuation of the life-or-death struggle waged between two big antagonistic classes--bourgeois and proletarian--in the process of socialist revolution in the past 10 years." From this call on his part to his emphasis on the theme that in socialist society, "there exists the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist road and the danger of capitalist restoration," and to his putting forward the concept about powerholders within the party following the capitalist road, the spearhead of struggle was obviously directed at the party itself.

In the "May 16 notification" in 1966, which marked the beginning of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Mao Zedong strongly urged criticizing and transferring the so-called bourgeois representatives that had wormed their way into the party, the government and the army and into various segments of the cultural field. In his view, this was a matter of the utmost importance bearing on the destiny and future of the party and the state and on the world revolution. The greatest pity was that he acted like a dedicated doctor who had made the wrong diagnosis and written the wrong prescription.

Every step marking the process of the development of such an erroneous viewpoint was accepted by our party and treated as a new theoretical creation on Comrade Mao Zedong's part and a development of Marxism-Leninism. This was given repeated publicity and made to produce a deep influence. As a result, when the "Great Cultural Revolution" was launched under the guidance of these leftist ideas, resistance was made very difficult.

2. The "Great Cultural Revolution" took place and lasted for as long as 10 years. Apart from the mistakes for which the blame is directly attributed to Comrade Mao Zedong, there were also complicated social factors.

(1) The international communist movement is not marked by a long history. The history of socialist countries is not an especially long one. Some of the laws governing the development of socialist society are relatively clear. But many problems remain to be explored. Marx and Engels only envisioned a communist

society and its initial stages. Except for the Paris Commune that existed for only 72 days, they did not personally witness or practice socialism. Therefore, their great ideals could only be general assumptions which pointed out the general trend of communism and which could not be something very concrete. Lenin had personal experience. But that was in the relatively uncertain first 6 or 7 years after the founding of the Soviet regime. Especially the first few years, witnessed not only bourgeois resistance but hostile action taken against the Soviet by rich peasants. There was also attack from Kolchak, Denikin and other counterrevolutionary bandits at home who joined forces with 14 capitalist countries. The early Soviet Union suffered such setbacks as civil war, famine, and economic difficulties. Though Lenin had many brilliant views about socialist construction, he basically could not find the time or have the ability to scientifically sum up the actual experiences in building socialism on a large scale. In July 1920, in the "Program About the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International," Lenin still stressed that after the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie would "become more extensive, more acute and more ruthless." He held that the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes would become 10 times as frantic in their resistance and were likely to stage a comeback. He even believed that the masses of small producers provided the basis for a comeback. The then prevailing circumstances on which Lenin based this viewpoint were quite different from things in our country after 1957. But this viewpoint had a great effect on us. Carrying out Lenin's behest, Stalin did a remarkable job of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. But he similarly could not provide all the ready-made solutions to the socialist cause. Moreover, he showed great fluctuations in his understanding of the problem of class struggle in the period of socialism. He eventually also believed that class struggle was getting more and more acute. Moreover, where the problem of the international communist movement was concerned, he adopted an attitude of imposing things on others. This oversimplified the complicated problem of socialism--socialism to be practiced by various socialist states in light of their own actual conditions.

(2) The Chinese Communist Party had for long been placed in an era of war and in circumstances of heated class struggle. It was not adequately prepared ideologically for the new socialist society that arrived quickly and for the cause of socialist construction across the whole nation. It had not made adequate scientific research in this respect. We lacked experience in handling the colossal tasks of socialist economic construction and lacked experience in handling various social and political contradictions in socialist society. These historical features of the party determined, to a large degree, the following. When we were observing and handling new contradictions and new problems in political, economic, cultural and other fields that appeared in the process of the development of socialist society, and especially after some serious social and political incidents had developed, the leadership was very likely to get ideologically used to old methods and experiences calling for stormy class struggle, which had become unusually familiar to them in the years of war but which had become basically inapplicable. This led to the enlargement of class struggle.

(3) We erroneously interpreted and dogmatized certain assumptions and viewpoints in the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, thus finding a "theoretical basis" for these subjectivist ideas and methods detached from real life. For example,

we held that the equal right in the exchange of equal amounts of labor practiced in the distribution of the means of subsistence in socialist society, or what Marx described as the "bourgeois right" should be restricted and criticized. Thus, the principle of distribution according to labor and the principle of material benefits should be restricted and criticized. In fact, what Marx said in the "Critique of the Gotha Program" about the equal right in the distribution of labor in the first stage of communist society still referred to the bourgeois right in principle. It was based on the common ground shared by the economic relations of distribution according to labor and the relations of exchange of commodities at equal value, or on the exchange of equal amounts of labor, or the economic relations embodying the equal rights between both parties involved in an exchange. This is not to say that this right was still of the exploitative nature of the bourgeoisie. Marx' assumption about the first stage of communism was that no commodity production or monetary system and no classes would exist. The "bourgeois right" here basically could not be equated with the right of a bourgeois element or any exploiter. The "bourgeois right" here was basically not used in its original sense. Lenin put things more clearly. In the article, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," he took distribution according to labor and public ownership of the means of production as a common indicator of socialism. He said, "From capitalism, mankind can only make a direct transition to socialism or to public ownership of the means of production and distribution according to labor." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 62) Other ideas were marked by the same situation of misinterpretation and dogmatization--ideas that with the fundamental completion of socialist transformation, small production would engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale, that the ideological division within the party is a reflection of social class struggle, and so forth. This caused us to take our obsession with the enlargement of class struggle as a case of protecting the purity of Marxism.

(4) The unstable international situation and failure to correctly understand the new problems appearing in the international communist movement added to the puzzling factors about class struggle. In handling the relations between China and the Soviet Union and the two parties of the two countries, the Soviet leadership with Khrushchev as its head acted more and more against Marxist-Leninist principles. Assuming the role of "an authoritative and well established party," the Soviet leadership replaced internationalism with great nation chauvinism and great nation hegemonism. In an ever more open and flagrant manner, it vainly attempted to control our country politically, economically and militarily. After Comrade Mao Zedong righteously refuted Khrushchev, the latter became so embarrassed that he acted more wildly and outrageously than ever. He even went to the lenth of provoking a battle of words between China and the Soviet Union, turning a matter of principle between two parties into a national dispute. At a time when we were having difficulties due to economic mistakes combined with consecutive years of natural disasters, the Soviet government treacherously tore all agreements to pieces, withdrew all the Soviet experts and forced us to pay debts (chiefly those for arms in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea), causing us tremendous economic losses and adding greatly to our difficulties. This was clear to our whole party and the people of all nationalities of the country. These ugly acts of the Soviet leaders forced our party to wage a just struggle against the Soviet Union's great nation chauvinism. Under these circumstances, we became very receptive to Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous

viewpoint. To keep the party and the state from changing in their political features, we resolutely conducted in the country a campaign to combat and prevent revisionism. Obsessed with morbid fears, we acted ever more wildly with every passing day. The mistake of enlarging class struggle got the party increasingly involved organically. Many problems were often discussed in an unrelaxed atmosphere. Some usual ideological differences and some not very serious erroneous tendencies within the party were treated as a reflection of inner-party struggle and took on the nature of life-or-death struggle. Things were carried so far that it was believed that representatives of Khrushchev-type figures had wormed their way into the core of the Communist Party leadership and fought the red banner by raising the red banner. It was increasingly believed that within the party there was a revisionist political line and also an organizational line serving this political line and that there had formed in the central group a bourgeois command headquarters with agents in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Then a wrong conclusion logically followed. It was that to solve such a serious national problem, we of course could not just rely upon normal criticism and self-criticism within the party as a weapon. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong could only draw on his tremendous authority that had long formed in the whole party, the whole army and among the people of all nationalities of the country to personally start a mass movement. This was actually committing in an open and overall manner and from the lower to the upper levels a violent act of having one class overthrow another. Comrade Mao Zedong even thought that such a "revolution" must be repeated many times.

3. The principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the party and the state were seriously weakened and even disrupted. This was also an extremely important reason why the "Great Cultural Revolution" could have been started by Comrade Mao Zedong alone and could have lasted for as long as 10 years. Its formation was also deeply rooted in social historical factors.

(1) The eighth national party congress stressed collective leadership and democratic centralism within the party and opposed undue emphasis on individuals, the practice of deifying leaders and the personality cult. But the general regulations then made in this respect were not thoroughly carried out. After the Zunyi meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong occupied the leading position in the party Central Committee all the time. The continuous victory of the Chinese revolution left Comrade Mao Zedong unmatched in the lofty prestige that he commanded in the whole party, the whole army and among the people of all nationalities of the country to excessively praise Comrade Mao Zedong individually. Some people sometimes even attributed to him all the deeds of merit that had been performed to achieve victory in the Chinese revolution. There was ever increasing propaganda wrongly putting him above the party and the people. Comrade Mao Zedong gradually waxed arrogant and could not treat other comrades on equal terms. People found it increasingly difficult to democratically discuss and decide on problems with him. As far as inner-party life was concerned, this abnormal state of affairs first appeared in the political life of the leadership organs of the party Central Committee. On the eve of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the party Central Committee was left practically too weak to produce any restraining effect on Comrade Mao Zedong. Once the "Great Cultural Revolution" was started, so many political commissars and old commanders, who disagreed with the way the "Great

Cultural Revolution" was launched, were condemned as "the adverse current in February." The Central Cultural Revolutionary Group was originally a work organ under the leadership of the Standing Committee of the CCP Central Committee and was established according to a decision of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. Later, the group actually took the place of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. With democratic centralism in the party disrupted to such a degree, who could stop the continuation of the "Great Cultural Revolution!"

(2) In the communist movement, leaders played a very important role. But in the history of the international communist movement, due to failure to correctly solve the problem of relations between leaders and the party, there also appeared some serious errors. Stalin, in particular, as mentioned above, erroneously magnified his own role to an inappropriate degree, when he won great honors among the people at home and abroad. He set individual power up in opposition to collective leadership and democratic centralism. In the latter part of his life, he increasingly enjoyed, accepted and encouraged the personality cult and practiced personal dictatorship. Moreover, the Third International, which was actually led by him after Lenin, also practiced a system of overconcentration of power. All this inevitably had a negative effect on our party.

(3) That individual dictatorship and the personality cult were liable to appear was inseparably linked to our country being originally a feudalist one with a long period of despotism. Despotism had a long history and a deeply rooted social foundation in our social and political life. The new democratic revolution led by our party thoroughly destroyed the feudalist economic and political systems. However, we only paid attention to the decisive role of economic reform and failed to take note that those traditions rooted in people's minds could also play a given role, though not a decisive one. As a result, we did not make systematic and purposeful criticisms against the remaining influence of feudal despotic ideas that had extensively existed in social political life. The remnants and forces of habit represented by the personality cult, patriarchy, clannish relations, the concept of privileged treatment, the class concept and other feudal despotic ideas thus invaded our party. A relevant factor was that we had for a long time failed to acquire an adequate understanding or gained experience, where the establishment of a perfect people's democratic political system and the introduction of a perfect socialist constitution, proper laws and an appropriate legal system were concerned. Instead, we even negated some rational political laws and viewpoints, allowing the remaining influence of feudal despotism to assert itself in our political life. Such a situation enabled the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary groups to promote the personality cult to serve their own ends. A great Marxist like Comrade Mao Zedong also could not help being influenced. Many people felt that things were carried to excess. As a result, anything said by Comrade Mao Zedong was cherished as "the supreme directive," an exemplary truth and even an inviolable law. Without such a political background, the "Great Cultural Revolution" could not have been launched and continued.

We must learn from past mistakes. We must draw lessons from the "Great Cultural Revolution" so that we can compensate in the days to come for the great price we have paid. Otherwise, what are those experiences and lessons worth? Nothing?

1. We should stop practicing the personality cult or "deification" in our approach to any party leader. The outbreak of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and its duration of 10 years must of course be blamed on Comrade Mao Zedong's individual dictatorship and his defiance of the party's principle of collective leadership. But such a phenomenon as his putting himself above the party and the state did not appear overnight and had to do with the improper publicity our party had given to Comrade Mao Zedong over many years. As far as this is concerned, the whole party and the party Central Committee are to be held equally responsible.

According to the principles of historical materialism, any class that does not recommend its own political leaders and advanced representatives as good at organization and leadership cannot possibly have acquired a ruling position. But also according to the principles of historical materialism, any leader of the party or the state who puts himself above the party and the masses and who draws apart from the party and the masses will inevitably lose his overall power of observation concerning national affairs and party problems and make mistakes in leadership. Therefore, improperly building up an individual and raising a leader to an inappropriately high plane is unfavorable to the leader himself and the party's cause. Moreover, party leadership is collective leadership and represents a number of people. Deifying an individual is incompatible with reality. It will only have an increasingly harmful effect on collective party leadership.

2. The principle of democratic centralism within the party can never be undermined. Democratic centralism must be based on a wide democratic basis. The principle of subordinating the individual to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower levels to the upper levels and the whole party to the party Central Committee must be followed, so that the party Central Committee can have the extensive power that it must command. No matter how high in rank or position, any party member is only a member of the party organization and must carry out the party's collective decisions. The leadership of the party Central Committee is also collective leadership. If these principles are adhered to, there will not appear the phenomenon of an individual placing himself above the party organization. Once such a situation appears, the party organization will immediately take measures to overcome it and will never feel any difficulty involved.

3. We must wholeheartedly uphold strong party unity. Given lack of unity within the party, unity among the people can hardly be achieved. Given internal disorder within the party, the people and the state will similarly get involved with civil strife. If the enemy discredits our party, the masses will not believe it. If we discredit ourselves, people will have doubts. Those who have doubts and those who do not will inevitably "fight among themselves." The so-called claim about "from great disorder across the land" to "great order in the world" made during the turmoil of the "Great Cultural Revolution" was just wishful thinking. Only with unity can there be stability. Only with stability can we run the state effectively.

4. Class struggle should be strictly limited to the scope within which it takes place and can in no way be enlarged and put in absolute terms. With the

fundamental completion of socialist transformation in 1956, the main contradictions of our society were no longer class ones. Later, we still stressed "taking class struggle as the key link." This then constituted a great historical mistake. It is a serious historical lesson. We can never repeat it in future. Of course, there will still be class struggle within a given scope. We must oppose the erroneous tendency toward the theory of class struggle dying out. But such struggle must be limited to the scope of where it arises and be conducted by relying on legal means. Every effort must also be directed toward the business of transformation. We must have faith that by relying on the forces of the people's democratic dictatorship, we can transform people well.

5. Ideological struggle within the party and among the people can no longer take the form of a political movement. If the problem of ideological struggle within the party and among the people is solved after the fashion of a political movement, things will inevitably become complicated. Struggle will be enlarged. Excesses will result, causing harm to comrades.

As far as the problem of ideological struggle is concerned, we must create a style of criticism and self-criticism--a style marked by equality, the practice of setting forth facts and reasoning things out, and a normal state. We must really act according to the guideline of "unity-criticism-unity." We cannot freely raise things to the higher plane of principle, wield the stick and make accusations.

6. Socialist democracy can only be developed and cannot be abused. The socialist legal system can only be strengthened and cannot be undermined. Socialist democracy is first of all a problem of the system of a socialist country. Socialist democracy means the enjoyment of the supreme power of management of the state by the whole people on the basis of a common share in the ownership or control, along different lines, of the means of production. Running counter to the fundamental political principles in establishing this socialist system will inevitably spoil the national nature of socialism. A socialist state must give full play to socialist democracy, as the term suggests. But Marxism holds that socialist democracy is not perfect at the very outset. The proletariat that has achieved victory must continuously improve and round out the socialist democratic system. We once suffered, because we did not recognize, put forward or solve this problem. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary groups were thus given a chance to perform an outrageous and ugly show on China's political stage. Striking with the palm of the left hand, they used "overall dictatorship" to completely overthrow socialist democracy. Striking with the palm of the right hand, they used so-called "great democracy" to completely ruin socialist democracy. Up to now, interference with socialist democracy still comes from the left and the right.

Closely related to socialist democracy is the socialist legal system. The fundamental task of the socialist legal system is to safeguard socialist democracy. Socialist law embodies the unified will and fundamental interests of the proletariat and the masses of laboring people. A law is solemn and inviolable. Once it is drawn up by an authoritative organ, none can act against it. None can overthrow it or formulate a different law. To change a law or make any minor change, we must leave things to a law-making organ that carries authority. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," there appeared the phenomenon of handling cases according to the will of individuals or basing judgment of people on articles published in newspapers and magazines. This was entirely acting in defiance of the dignity of law and taking law as child's play. Historical experience shows that the violation of the legal system will only give law-breakers and criminal elements a chance to assert themselves and confuse or bring difficulties to people in properly enforcing law. Therefore, as far as the proletariat and the masses of people are concerned, enforcing law is asserting our own authority. The process of acting according to law is exactly one of realizing our own will and protecting our own interests.

7. We must step up studying and researching fundamental Marxist principles and fundamental socialist principles and step up investigating, studying and really understanding the actual conditions of China. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," much of what was criticized was correct and Marxist. Most of what was advocated was absurd and anti-Marxist. This was partly because out of ulterior motives. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary groups distorted, altered and quoted out of context Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought. This was also partly because our Marxist level was not high. Thus, some theories running counter to Marxism-Leninism were for a time allowed to dominate the scene. Well-groomed and oily-mouthed crooks like Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan hoodwinked people for a while. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, full play has been given to democracy, people's minds have been emancipated, chaos has been turned into order, and the true features of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought restored. Such work is still being carried out. This is unusually necessary. Every effort must be made to raise the whole party's level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to study the stand, viewpoint and methods of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Marxism-Leninism can play a real role only if it is integrated with the realities of China. China is such a vast land. Without understanding its conditions or with only scant knowledge of its actual conditions, we cannot avoid making mistakes. Mistakes made in work chiefly arise from failure to seriously make investigations and studies. They have also to do with such factors as making hasty decisions, rushing to the front recklessly, "cutting with one knife" and "following a fixed pattern." During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Mao Zedong was advanced in years and was later in very poor health. Besieged by a small group of people, he paid particularly little attention to investigation and study. He chiefly drew on his own prestige to handle major national issues. Later, he even ran the government by just passing on messages. Here lay one of the fundamental reasons why he made mistakes. We must insist on doing investigation and research work--a practice which was advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong and which was once assiduously followed by him. We must keep abreast of changing conditions at all times, so that our guidance for the socialist cause can be built on an objective solid basis.

The lessons from the "Great Cultural Revolution" are too numerous to be cited. Our experience is that so long as lessons are properly summed up, bad things can be turned into something good after proper efforts. It can be rightly claimed that after the "Great Cultural Revolution," the Chinese Communist Party and its Central Committee were made stronger and more mature. The turning point was the

3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee--which was marked by the "Resolution on Some Problems in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC." Over 39 million Chinese Communist Party members share unified faith and will. Nothing can stop their advance. We must uphold party leadership, doggedly follow the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, give full play to the superiority of the socialist system, and use the effective guarantee of the people's democratic dictatorship to protect and stimulate the development of the social productive forces. Given the establishment and development of the relations of unity, fraternal love and mutual respect, we can thus surely change the poverty and backwardness of the state and build a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized powerful socialist country.

CSO: 4004/129

CORRECTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 81 p 48

[Text] After checking several figures on page 33 of the No 14 issue of this year's RED FLAG, it was determined that the actual figures should be: From 1949 to 1979, our country's industrial production increased 41 times compared to the 1949 figure; in 1979 the per capita total value of China's national production was $253; and in 1979 China's per capita foodgrain output was 326 kilograms.

CSO: 4004/129

ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO THE PRODUCTION OF MEDIUM- AND SMALL-SCALE FARM IMPLEMENTS BADLY NEEDED BY THE PEASANTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 81 inside back cover

[Article by Liu Jianhong [0491 0494 5725] and Shao Guo'an [6730 0948 1344]]

[Text] With the development of the introduction of various forms of the production responsibility system in the rural areas and with the diversification of the rural economy, the peasants' demands for medium- and small-scale farm implements are increasing greatly, and there has emerged a situation in which the supply of medium- and small-scale farm implements has fallen short of demand. For instance, the second light industrial system of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region and its affiliated organizations and the enterprises run by the communes and production brigades produced altogether 865,000 medium- and small-scale farm implements made of iron in 1980, 501,400 less than in 1979, a decrease of 36.8 percent; and 118,000 farm implements made of wood, 88,600 less than in 1979, a decrease of 42.9 percent. This is detrimental to production, and due importance should be paid to this.

The reasons for the decline in the production of medium- and small-scale farm implements are chiefly that, owing to the influence of "leftist" ideology for many years in the past, one-sided emphasis was placed on producing large-scale farm machinery and the production of medium- and small-scale farm implements was never accorded its proper position. This was expressed mainly in: First, the supply of raw materials, in particular the supply of wood, was insufficient, with the result that some enterprises could not operate at full capacity or had to stop production. Second, in order to seek profits, a small number of enterprises fully used the wood and rolled steel allocated by the state to them for producing medium- and small-scale farm implements to turn out other products and even used them to indulge in unhealthy practices. Third, in the past few years, the prices of rolled steel and wood were raised, but the prices for medium- and small-scale farm implements remained the same. This reduced the profits of the enterprises which produced medium- and small-scale farm implements and even made them operate at a loss, thus dampening some enterprises' enthusiasm for producing medium- and small-scale farm implements. Therefore, paying attention to and speeding up the production of medium- and small-scale farm implements are not only a pressing matter at the moment, but also a "long-term policy" during the current phase.

In order to expedite the production of medium- and small-scale farm implements, we hold that the following problems earnestly require solution. First, production units producing medium- and small-scale farm implements should uphold the orientation of serving agriculture and not change to turn out other products for the purpose of concentrating on profits alone. Second, it is necessary to arouse the enthusiasm of the farm tool (machine building) factories run by the counties and communes, the brigade-run farm tool repair service groups and the rural individual handicraftsmen, to advocate the adoption of various forms of cooperation and joint operation among the state, the collective and the individual and among the departments, trades and regions, and to accelerate the pace of the production of medium- and small-scale farm implements. Third, it is necessary to earnestly implement the policies, effectively ensure the supply of raw materials for producing medium- and small-scale farm implements and put the raw materials under unified management so that specialized raw materials are put to specialized use. Fourth, in order to prevent the enterprises from operating at a loss and to avoid increasing the burden on peasants, it is necessary to appropriately readjust the prices for medium- and small-scale farm implements or financially subsidize the enterprises producing medium- and small-scale farm implements. Fifth, it is essential to put the idea of making production, supply and marketing a coordinated sequence into effect, strictly follow the contract system and prevent easing off when products are plentiful and rushing when products are scarce. Sixth, it is imperative to strengthen scientific and technological research, continuously improve the production technology and product quality of medium- and small-scale farm implements and provide the peasants with farm implements of varied designs and high effectiveness.

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CHINA REPORT

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SEVERAL QUESTIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY'S INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 2-6

[Article by Yuan Baohua [5913 1405 5478]; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our industrial and communications fronts have, under the leadership of the party Central Committee and the State Council, made initial achievements in implementing the principle of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving. The industrial structure has begun to develop rationally and harmoniously. Thanks to a series of measures taken to guarantee the supply of raw materials, fuel, power and funds that are needed by light and textile industrial production, the light and textile industries have experienced a bigger growth than heavy industry over the past 2 years. During the readjustment, the growth of heavy industry has slowed down and changes have begun to take place in the structure of the industry. By following the principle of closing down and suspending fewer enterprises and merging and shifting more enterprises to other production, a number of the backward enterprises with high consumption, the situation in which there was serious waste and very little economic results has been improved. Better economic results have been obtained by concentrating the limited fuel and raw material resources so as to guarantee the needs of the enterprises which have good quality and saleable products and low consumption. The trial implementation of the expansion of enterprise autonomy has helped mobilize the initiative of enterprises and their staff and workers and has improved the readjustment as well as the management of these enterprises. Beneficial experiments have been carried out for reorganizing industry and integrating enterprises. The experiences accumulated in this aspect will be useful in reforming the economic system. Under the guidance of state planning, regulation by market mechanism has played its auxiliary role in promoting production. Over the past 2 years and more, our industrial production has gradually developed amid readjustment and reform with a correct orientation and with good results. This orientation must be followed in the future.

According to the principle of "promoting a further readjustment economically and a further stability politically" put forth by the party Central Committee, our industry must be centered on readjustment for the next several years so that, through readjustment and reform and on the basis of a stable economy, our industry will be able to gradually rationalize its structure, management system and enterprise organization. It will take a new road of development characterized by less investment, low cost, good quality, many varieties and good economic results. That is to say, our industry must take the road of stabilizing the economy through readjusting the structure, relying on old enterprises in tapping potential, and restructuring and reforming the system to obtain better results. This is the basic change in the work on our industrial and communications fronts and it is a very arduous task. To effect this change, it is imperative to do the following:

1. /Develop the production of consumer goods in a big way and further readjust the service orientation of heavy industry and the structure of heavy industrial products./ Developing the production of consumer goods in a big way will help change the whole economic structure, gradually restore the rational inner relations among various economic departments, and improve the link between the structure of production and the structure of consumption. This will result in a good national economic cycle. In this way we will be able to improve considerably the economic results of the whole society and properly solve the contradiction between accumulation and consumption. With a population of almost 1 billion of which 800 million are peasants, our country is a very big market with very favorable conditions for developing the production of consumer goods. We must take various measures to increase the output of consumer goods by a bigger margin. But, in developing the production of consumer goods, we must pay attention to solving the following problems: 1) We must calculate the society's purchasing power and must be fully aware of the new situation in which the purchasing power in rural areas is constantly growing. Following the implementation of economic policies for rural areas, the peasants' collective and individual income has drastically increased. Thus, the peasants have more money in their hands and, consequently, their purchasing power is growing rapidly. We must carry out investigations of typical cases, analysis and calculation and proceed from reality to do a good job in producing and supplying commodities in rural areas. 2) We must study the consumption structure of our country. With such a huge population, our country's per capita natural resources are low. But our people have maintained the good tradition of frugality and hard work. We must decide on our way of life based on our national conditions. We must save energy in carrying out industrial and agricultural production and in our consumption. Western countries in their way of living have consumed too many natural resources and consequently have gone down a blind alley. We cannot follow their path. 3) We must do a good job of selecting proper locations for the production of consumer goods so as to lessen our blindness in this respect. As soon as possible, we must do good planning work for the mass production of famous-brand products and formulate standards for calculating costs and prices according to mass production by advanced and big factories. Heavy industrial departments must serve the production of consumer goods and take active measures to solve the problem of supplying various raw materials and technical equipment needed for production. 4) In order to enable factories to constantly improve quality and lower costs, consumers may be organized to compare and assess products.

Developing the production of consumer goods does not mean slackening the production of heavy industry, which is supplying technical equipment for the whole national economy and supplying an increasing amount of industrial raw materials for the production of industrial consumer goods. We must further readjust the service orientation and the structure of the products of heavy industry so that heavy industry will be able to maintain a certain growth in the interest of the harmonious development of the national economy.

2. /Truly do a good job of promoting the economical use and development of energy./ Waste of our energy resources is a very serious problem. The amount of national revenue created per ton of energy now is only half of that during the first 5-year plan and 20 percent lower than in 1965. Most of the 100 million tons of crude oil produced annually is consumed domestically. At present, oil supply is tight and has become an outstanding problem in our national economy. In order to solve the energy problem, we must simultaneously promote exploitation of oil resources and energy conservation. For a certain period we must practice the principle of giving top priority to energy conservation, with oil conservation as the key at the present stage. There is very great potential for oil conservation. Therefore, it is necessary to take strict measures to effect a large reduction in the volume of oil consumption and a lower per-unit consumption of crude oil, and to replace oil with coal and resolutely reduce domestic oil consumption. We must take administrative, economic and legal measures to promote the rational utilization and conservation of oil so that we will be able to set aside more oil and coal for export. With increases in the oil export, we will be able to garner additional foreign exchange that can be used as a special fund for exploiting energy and building up the related infrastructure such as railroads and harbors. This is an important matter that is in the interests of stabilizing the development of the national economy and that will promote the smooth development of the modernization program. Therefore, this work must be done well.

3. /Give full play to the role of existing enterprises./ In order to open up a new road for the development of our industry, we must basically change the principle for construction. In the future, the development of our industrial production must not depend heavily on investments and the building of new factories. On the contrary, it must depend on giving play to the role of existing enterprises and gradually shift the emphasis from expanded reproduction by extension to expanded reproduction by intention and from extensive to intensive management. In order to give full play to the role of existing enterprises, we must resolutely implement the principle of "production first and then capital construction, and tapping potential and renovating first and then building new factories" and regard technical renovation and renewing equipment as a strategic task. This is relevant to the question of whether our industrial production will be able to maintain a certain growth during the period of the national economic readjustment and preserve its strength for future development; whether light industrial production will be able to continue to grow so that heavy industry, and particularly the machine building industry, will rapidly change the situation in which production is dropping and to gradually increase production to enable the national economy to have a favorable economic cycle; and whether we are able to rapidly improve the production technology of our industry and basically change the situation in the many enterprises that are characterized by old equipment and backward technology. That is to say, in modernizing our industry we must start from modernizing existing enterprises and use our limited funds and goods and materials primarily to restructure existing enterprises. Some enterprises with certain conditions must gradually modernize through tapping potential and renovation. The main task of technical renovation includes

equipment renewal, technological improvement and technological innovation so as to improve the quality of products, increase variety, lower consumption and, in particular, save energy and comprehensively utilize resources. The key problem is to improve the quality of products and reduce the consumption of raw materials. If we fail to improve quality and to reduce consumption, we will be able neither to achieve good economic results nor raise the level of industry as a whole.

To give full play to the role of existing enterprises, it is also necessary to continue to readjust enterprises well and to strengthen their management. The weak links in our present management of enterprises include a lack of solidity in our basic work and an incomplete implementation of responsibility systems. Consequently, the production of a number of enterprises is still chaotic, coupled with low quality, high consumption of raw materials and serious waste. Therefore, we suggest that the industrial and communications systems throughout the country must learn from Shanghai's advanced technology and management experiences so as to do a good job in readjusting enterprises. The primary task at present is to rectify and build well the leading groups so that they will gradually be composed of revolutionary and young people with specialized knowledge. We must also step up the building of the ranks of staff and workers on the basis of advanced technology, technical capability and strict discipline. We must also form and develop various responsibility systems. This work can be started by establishing a responsibility system by factory directors and then gradually establishing a responsibility system by workshop heads and group heads down to responsibility systems for various production links and processes. In this way, we will be able to improve management and the economic effect through readjusting basic work.

In readjusting enterprises we must also perfect the leadership system. The factory director responsibility system and the workers' congress system under the leadership of the party committee are the basic systems for enterprises. In our socialist enterprises, it is imperative to truly give play to the party's leadership role and strengthen the party's ideological and political leadership over enterprises; to carry out democratic management by staff and workers so as to give full play to the initiative of the masses as masters of their country; and to allow factory directors to exercise unified command over the production and administrative work of enterprises. The combination of these three aspects demonstrates the dialectical nature of collective leadership and democratic management, which complement each other. This is a leadership system, arrived at after years of exploration, which is in line with our national conditions and is effective. But it must be stressed that while we are strengthening the party's leadership over enterprises, we must also set up a responsibility system by factory directors. Socialized, modern and mass production requires that we set up a production command system with high-level authority and a production and technical responsibility system at various levels headed by factory directors. Factory directors are the leaders of the administration of enterprises and the commanders of production technology and management who are responsible for all economic activities of enterprises. Therefore, they must have a certain autonomy so that they will be really responsible and will dare to grasp tasks and manage and shoulder responsibility. But such centralized command does not entail arbitrary action. The socialist public ownership system demands that we carry out democratic management so as to really guarantee the position and right of the broad masses of staff and workers as masters of their country. On the other hand, centralized management will be able to really give play to its role only when it is based on democracy. Therefore, leading factory cadres and management staff must respect the democratic right of workers' congresses and the congresses must support the administrative authority of factory directors, defend the authority of the production command system headed by factory directors, and educate staff and workers to abide by laws and discipline. In this way, factory directors will be able to perform their tasks well, administrative planning and measures can be perfected after they are discussed and passed by workers' congresses, and this planning and these measures are then guaranteed implementation by the staff and workers, who will conscientiously carry out their tasks. This means that people will follow the command of factory directors in managing enterprises well.

4. /Practice various forms of the economic responsibility system according to different situations in existing enterprises./ Various forms of the economic responsibility system have been widely introduced into industrial production this year and the situation is good. Preliminary statistics show that the industrial enterprises above the prefectural level across the country that have implemented the economic responsibility system now comprise over 65 percent of the total enterprises. The reasons that this responsibility system has developed quite rapidly are that, first, there are definite policies emanating from the party Central Committee and the State Council, and there is a foundation based on the experiences over the past 2 years in experimentation on the expansion of the autonomy of enterprises and on other reforms. Second, the agricultural production responsibility system has effected great changes that have encouraged and enlightened the industrial front. Third, enterprises and the broad masses of staff and workers have urgently demanded that the situation of "eating out of the same big pot" and egalitarianism be changed. It is now apparent that the industrial and communications fronts must implement the economic responsibility system because it is a major reform that accords with the present production and management levels and with the consciousness of the broad masses of people. It plays a positive role in overcoming the longstanding shortcoming of "eating out of the same big pot" and egalitarianism, in mobilizing the initiative of enterprises and their staff and workers, and in improving management, production and the economic effect.

In order to implement the industrial production responsibility system well, it is necessary to do the following:

1) Two links must be grasped well. One link is to handle well the relations between enterprises and the state and to assign full responsibility to enterprises so as to solve the problem of thinking that it makes no difference whether enterprises incur losses or make profits. Another link is to introduce the principle of distribution according to work and understand well the relations between enterprises and staff and workers so as to solve the problem of thinking that it makes no difference whether one works hard or not, and to directly link the income of staff and workers with their work performance and encourage them to be concerned with the development of production and the economic effect. 2) The realization of the "three more's," that is, more revenue for the state, more profit retention for enterprises and more income for workers, must be guaranteed. The key point in the relation between the state and enterprises is to define a

rational basic figure for assigning full responsibility and the proportion of profit retention; the key point in the distribution within enterprises is to define average quotas and rational per-unit prices for piecework. The main goal in this aspect is to decrease the amount of wages included in the per-unit cost of products. 3) In order to carry out the principle of assigning full responsibility for profits, state planning quotas must be met, profits must be linked with quality, quantity, variety, consumption, cost and safety, and a comprehensive verification must be carried out so as to prevent one-sided seeking of profits. 4) Various forms and methods must be carried out according to specific conditions, hasty mass action must be prevented, while the enterprises without the necessary conditions should not strain their efforts to introduce economic responsibility system. The enterprises that are carrying out the piecework system or the system of piecework with overfulfillment of quotas must have better leading groups and more production tasks, have the necessary raw materials resources, produce saleable products and have a fairly complete basic work and management system. 5) Implementation of the economic responsibility system must be closely combined with readjustment of enterprises. This system must be considered as a breakthrough in readjustment. At the same time, we must readjust well enterprises and work hard to improve management so that the economic responsibility system will be able to develop healthily. 6) The strengthening of ideological and political work must be guaranteed, while repeated education must be carried out so as to correctly handle the relation between the state, the collective and the individual and to educate the masses in the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." In this way staff and workers will be able to keep the whole situation in mind and make greater contributions to the country. 7) Supervision and control over economic activities of enterprises must be strengthened. It is imperative to protect the proper rights of enterprises and prevent them from getting income through improper measures so as to gradually define and complete various economic laws. 8) The method of assigning full responsibility for trades or companies by various management departments or companies may be implemented in cities, regions and provinces. This method will help mobilize the initiative of management departments and enterprises, and is conducive to regulating unbalanced business situations among trades, unifying the planning of various trades, promoting reorganization and integration, preventing blind development, overcoming commandism and decreasing bureaucratism. This method must therefore be advocated.

In short, in carrying out the economic responsibility system in industrial production, we must follow the correct orientation, have a positive attitude, advance firmly and resort to flexible methods. Because the economic responsibility system has been popularized, the party committees at various levels must strengthen their leadership and study and solve in time various problems that might occur so as to constantly sum up and perfect experiences in practice. Special attention must be paid to the following: First, prevent the situation of being willing to work hard for big profits but reluctance to work hard for small profits, or divorcing production from social needs. Second, it is necessary to guarantee the quality of products and oppose shoddy production and the shifting of responsibility onto consumers. Third, full attention must be given to the additional income of staff and workers (including awards and additional income from piecework). The average income of staff and workers in an enterprise cannot be increased too much or too suddenly. When the profits retained by an enterprise for use as an award fund become excessive, the staff and workers must be persuaded to shift part of the retained profits to reserve funds.

5. /Promote in a big way industrial reorganization and integration of enterprises in industrial cities as the core with regard to developing famous-brand products./ The key cities and enterprises that are producing such products generally have advanced technology with a high management level. With such cities and enterprises as the core, measures must be taken to promote the reorganization and integration of enterprises, because such measures will achieve quicker results in setting an example for the whole country. At present, the biggest obstacle to reorganization and integration is "departmental and regional ownership." Therefore, in order to do a good job of reorganization and integration, we must uphold the principle of voluntarism and at the same time strengthen administrative intervention. In particular, the big enterprises that are concerned with the national economy and people's livelihood must rely on strong administrative measures in making timely decisions. In order to break away from the situation in which departments are isolated from each other and have regional barriers and self-styled systems, the State Council has decided that the integration and reorganization of the enterprises in 22 cities, including Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai, will be planned in a unified way and carried out by localities with strong support from various departments of the State Council. Matters that cannot be decided after consultations between localities and departments must be handed over to the State Council for adjudication. This practice will help enterprises break away from "departmental and regional ownership" and give full play to the initiative of localities. But when localities encounter problems, they must proceed from the situation in the whole country and fully discuss the problems with the management departments concerned. Industrial reorganization must be considered from the point of view of the national situation and it is not permissible to only consider the development and growth of a single city.

In promoting industrial reorganization and integration of enterprises, we have also experimented in establishing a consultation conference in some trades, and we have gradually explored and summed up the experiences in strengthening management. According to our national conditions, the reorganization of trades can be based on the following eight assumptions: 1) The trades may draw up medium- and long-range plans, annual plans, and plans for readjustment and reform. 2) The trades may draw up standard specifications and technical standards. 3) They can exchange technical and economic information and share the collected information with others. 4) They can provide inquiry services, organize work in making technical breakthroughs and provide guidance for enterprises. 5) We can organize coordination within trades, launch interfactory competitions with assessments made by the appropriate trades. 6) We can propagate government policies and laws regarding the trades, perfect the management of business activities of the trades and put forth demands and suggestions. 7) We can train specialized staff in the trades. 8) We can organize international activities for the exchange of economic and technical experiences. We still do not have enough experience in trades management; therefore, we have to obtain such experience through experiments and through training cadres so as to create conditions for further reforming the economic system.

6. /Persist in regulation by market mechanism under the guidance of state plans and do a good job in coordinating industry with the departments of commerce, goods and materials and foreign trade./ At present, the tasks of production and circulating goods are respectively taken by industrial departments and the departments of commerce, goods and materials and foreign trade. The products of industrial enterprises are mainly distributed and sold by goods and materials departments and commercial departments. The products for export are handled for foreign trade departments. Consequently, contradictions among these departments with regard to coordinated planning as well as purchasing often appear. In order to solve this problem, we must give full play to the role of regulation by market mechanism under the guidance of state planning. Do a good job of linking and coordinating planning in industry, commerce, goods and materials, and foreign trade. We must also stipulate that: 1) All enterprises must consider it their primary task to fulfill state plans. An enterprise can sell by itself part of its products after it has fulfilled its plans and orders. Such an enterprise may sell its products according to unified pricing. It must pay taxes and strictly abide by the state's financial discipline, and it cannot increase prices on its own or resort to improper measures to obtain income. 2) Industry must be closely coordinated with commerce, be mutually supportive, strictly carry out state planning and conscientiously implement contracts for purchasing and selling. Industrial departments must supply saleable products according to quantity, quality and planning. Commercial departments must make full use of existing organizations, traditional channels, and wholesale and retail networks and points, actively purchase products and organize selling, supply industrial departments with timely information about changes in market demand, and support industrial enterprises in selling part of their products so as to support production, expand purchasing and sales, stabilize prices and promote the flow of goods. 3) Industrial and foreign trade departments must closely coordinate with regard to goods for export, and they must be active in expanding exports so as to create more foreign exchange for the state. Industrial departments must work hard to promote the production of goods for export and fulfill the foreign trade purchasing plan. Industrial enterprises may negotiate with and export to other countries the products that are not included in the purchasing plan of local foreign trade departments, but they must get approval from local governments.

7. /Implement the policies for collective economy and actively support the development of the collectively owned industrial enterprises in cities and towns./ This question is particularly important to the development of the secondary light industry. At present, there are nearly 60,000 secondary light industrial enterprises across the country, with 7 million staff and workers, and 80 percent of these enterprises are collectively owned. In 1980, the gross output value of the secondary light industry was 49.3 billion yuan, 51.2 percent of the gross industrial output value of the entire light industry; foreign exchange earnings were $2.8 billion, 70 percent of the total foreign exchange earned by light industry. There are tens of thousands of varieties in our secondary light industrial products, and this industry affects hundreds of millions of households and is closely related to the lives of people in both rural and urban areas. Developing the secondary light industry is very important to enlivening the market, expanding exports, accumulating construction funds and solving the problem of social unemployment. In order to develop secondary light industry, the State Council has defined various policies with regard to the distribution of after-tax profits

of the collective enterprises of the secondary light industry and yearend bonuses. The collective enterprises have their own characteristics and they cannot be treated the same way we treat the enterprises under ownership by the whole people. The key to promoting the production of the collective enterprises is relying on policies. Practice in many places has proved that, as long as there are correct policies, the industrial enterprises under collective ownership in cities and towns will have a very great production potential.

8. /Step up training of staff and workers to improve their political, cultural and technical level./ This is an important strategic measure for realizing the modernization program; it is also an important aspect of implementing the readjustment principle. The party Central Committee and the State Council have always paid very much attention to the education of staff and workers and we have made very great achievements in this aspect. But this education was seriously damaged during the 10 turbulent years. Although it has been rehabilitated and developed in recent years, it is in general still lagging behind the previous level and it is a very arduous task to train staff and workers and establish related regulations. In February of this year, the party Central Committee and the State Council have specifically passed down the "decision on strengthening the educational work of staff and workers." In the following month, the State Council convened a national conference on the education of staff and workers and worked out the corresponding regulations. In order to carry out such education well and promote this work in ideology, planning, organization and measures and gradually establish a regular training system, it is necessary to grasp well the two points of leading cadres and young workers. The level of leadership can be improved only when we are able to grasp well that the leading cadres in factories and mines must study, and consequently these leading cadres will be able to lead the whole staff and workers in training to change the situation in enterprises. Young workers make up about half of the total number of staff and workers but they generally have a lower political, cultural and technical level. Therefore, through training they must be helped to improve their level. All enterprises that do not have any or enough production tasks must grasp the opportunity of readjustment and organize their staff and workers to carry out systematic study. Those with full production tasks must also, on the basis of assigning certain production quotas for certain people, organize the surplus people to study in various ways so as to improve the political and cultural level of staff and workers as soon as possible.

The staff and workers of the industrial and communications fronts are now shouldering very heavy tasks. Therefore, we must conscientiously study and implement the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, unify our thinking, strengthen unity, combine strict implementation of responsibility system with a high sense of responsibility, perform tasks in a down-to-earth way, go deep into reality and tap the potential of enterprises, improve management, strive to increase the economic effect, create more materials and wealth for the country and create more benefits for the people. We must work with enthusiasm, seek truth from facts, go deep into reality in carrying out our work and break down conventions to open up a new road so as to enable industrial production and transportation to make further progress amid readjustment and reform.

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CARRY FORWARD LU XUN'S SPIRIT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 7-12

[Article by the Office for Editing Lu Xun's Works]

[Text] Over the past several years, under the leadership of the party and with the support of various units, we edited and annotated the new edition of "Complete Works of Lu Xun." Now this annotated 16-volume "Complete Works of Lu Xun" (hereafter called "Complete Works" for short) has been published. The publication of this "Complete Works" is in commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Lu Xun and is also an important part of our cultural capital construction. Lu Xun was a great writer, thinker and revolutionary who was held in high esteem by the Chinese people. His works are a precious spiritual wealth for us. They educated and encouraged generations of people in the past and will certainly have a far-reaching influence on our magnificent struggle today for the realization of socialist modernization and for establishing socialist spiritual civilization.

While reading and studying Lu Xun's works, we often feel as if fire is burning in our breast. Like a brilliant light illuminating our hearts, his great spirit, his profound thinking and lofty moral character have always inspired us to continue fighting unceasingly. Although a new socialist system has been established in our country, which put an end to the humiliating history of the semifeudal and semicolonial society, and our times are entirely different from Lu Xun's, his works still have great vitality, for the thinking and the spirit of a communist, as well as the virtue and the most precious character of the Chinese nation concentratedly expressed in such a great image, will live forever. Lu Xun's spirit, especially his spirit of patriotism, his spirit of "perseverance in struggle" for the liberation of the people and for socialism, and his spirit of adhering to principles and taking the whole situation into account, is still a good example for us today and is worthy of our study.

I

Lu Xun was a great patriot. In his youth, he had already appeared in the historical arena with lofty sentiments and aspirations, ready to devote himself to his motherland. "There is no way for my heart to evade the arrows of the gods while wind and rain like a huge rock dim my homeland. Asking in vain the cold stars to greet my people, I am resolved to give my blood to my dear motherland." This was a pledge he made at the time under the influence of the democratic ideological trend and in the face of the corrupt Qing government and the great sufferings of the Chinese people. From then on, he made indomitable efforts to fulfill this pledge.

When selecting a road to follow in his youth, he always closely linked himself with the future of his motherland. For the revival of the motherland, he once selected a road to "learn from the Western countries," which was then disdained by many people. When he believed that medical science could not only be a means of curing disease but also could help the reformation of the country, he changed to the study of Western medical science without hesitation. Later, stimulated by facts, he felt that transforming the national spirit was the "most important way" to save the nation, and finally selected the road of promoting a literary movement, which was also disdained by commonly held views at that time. Lu Xun voluntarily regarded the needs of the motherland and the people as his own duties and thus displayed the high consciousness of a young patriot.

"The Spirit of the Spartans," his first literary work, was a heroic ode to patriotism. It highly lauded the heroic spirit of the Spartans characterized by "better to die for the country than to live in a conquered nation" and inspired people to rise and fight to save the nation from subjugation and ensure its survival. In order to "transform the national spirit," he studied and explored the weak point of the "national spirit" with a deep and warm affection for the Chinese nation, trying to learn the "sickness" and "call for attention to cure it." On the other hand, like many noble-minded patriots at that time, he sought help from the Western countries, actively introduced natural sciences and democratic ideas of the West and lashed out at national conservatism that cherished the outmoded and preserved the outworn, so as to speed up the awakening of the national people and push forward China's reformation. He held that we should have more national confidence and learn from foreign countries in our own development so that China would become rich and prosperous and progress, and so that the Chinese nation would be able to "compete for survival under heaven." Simultaneously, out of his pure and lofty national pride, he resolutely opposed the decadent deeds of "picking up some odds and ends of the Western countries to show the people without knowing the conditions in China and the actual situation in Europe and America," or even "regarding feudalist and declining things as modern civilization." Showing great indignation at the imperialist plunder of China's natural resources, he wrote "China's Mineral Annals," in which he loudly appealed to the public: "China belongs to the Chinese nation. It can be studied but never be explored; can be admired but never coveted by foreigners." This expressed the strong demand for safeguarding national independence, sovereignty and dignity. Under the historical conditions at that time, Lu Xun's spirit of patriotism and his demands were in keeping with the requirement of the old democratic revolution. Naturally, he pinned his hopes on and actually threw himself into this revolution. However, the old bourgeois democratic revolution symbolized by the 1911 revolution did not bring independence and prosperity to China. This was because China's bourgeoisie was weak and was easy to compromise. It was unable to carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, unable to put forth a revolutionary program in this struggle and, therefore, unable to save our motherland from the abyss of semifeudalism and semicolonialism. Thus, he could not help but feel suspicious and disappointed at the political forces which he pinned his hopes on as well as its prescription to save the nation.

However, unlike Yan Fu, Zhang Taiyan and some other well-known patriotic thinkers, Lu Xun did not stop fighting. This is why his spirit is commendable. He went on searching for new forces and new weapons. After the victory of the Russian October Revolution and the rise of the new democratic revolution in our country with the May 4th movement as its beginning, his enthusiastic patriotism burst out again from several years of silence, and, being full of valor and vigor, he threw himself into the new and surging patriotic revolutionary movement. He integrated his ideal and wishes for saving the nation and saving the people with the great and thorough anti-imperialist and antifeudalist struggle of the broad masses of people led by the proletariat, conscientiously obeyed the orders of the "pioneers" and cheered the "galloping warriors." He launched fierce offensives against the imperialists, the northern warlords and their running dogs, against the feudalist traditions that hindered the reformation of society and swept away all corrupt ideas that harmed the existence and development of the Chinese nation. In spite of the oppression and attack of the reactionaries, he wholeheartedly supported the patriotic struggle of the masses of people. Though he was depressed in a period of time after the May 4th movement, due to the split of various forces within the new cultural united front and his discovery of the disagreement between his subjective world and the objective things, he was still always in the forefront of the struggle and advanced rapidly. He continually examined, revised and enriched his ideas with practical experiences he gained in the revolutionary struggle and finally accepted the truth of Marxism and firmly advanced toward the communist world outlook.

After Lu Xun had mastered Marxism and knew more about the CCP, his patriotism reached a new height. He firmly pinned his hopes for the independence and liberation of his motherland on the revolutionary cause of the proletariat led by the CCP and integrated it with proletarian internationalism. He firmly believed that "the proletariat, and the proletariat alone, which was newborn, can represent the future." He praised the people's revolutionary struggle under our party's leadership as "a most glorious page in the history of national emancipation in China," and said: "The future of China and of mankind rests with you." Taking Marxism as a weapon, he enthusiastically threw himself into the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and fought heroically for national emancipation and the glorious future of socialism and communism. The achievements he scored in his later years were the most brilliant of his fighting career. All his struggles in this period, such as his struggle to safeguard the principles of Marxism and the cause of the proletariat, his exposure of and struggle against Japanese imperialist aggression and the treacherous and anticommunist policies of the KMT government, his exposure of and struggle against the KMT fascist rule and its counterrevolutionary cultural "encirclement and suppression," and his criticism of feudalism, the slavish comprador mentality and various rotten bourgeois ideologies, were demonstrations of the invincible revolutionary and ideological force of a communist. History has proved that being a historical category, patriotism has different substance and characteristics under different historical conditions and always has the closest connections with the advanced classes at the time. In order to find a way out for his motherland, Lu Xun struggled and searched for a long time and finally came to realize and unswervingly believe that only Marxism, the CCP and the people's revolutionary cause under its leadership could save China and bring China a bright "future." Lu Xun's road was a reflection of the inexorable trend of development in modern Chinese history. It was also a typical road that many noble-minded patriots had followed at that time. This is still an inspiration for us today.

Lu Xun loved the motherland with utter devotion. He did not, and of course was unable to, show his love for the motherland when all flowers were in bloom, but he was determined to devote himself to the motherland when she was suffering, after "asking in vain the cold stars to greet my people." The sufferings of the motherland deepened his lofty love, and for its future, he never stopped fighting in spite of innumerable trials and tribulations he experienced, which was seldom seen in the cultural history of our country. Under the reactionary White terror, his name was on the wanted list several times and he was forced to take refuge on many occasions. The slander against him from the class enemies and the misunderstanding, exclusion and sometimes the attacks from his comrades-in-arms often pushed him into great "misery." He once said: "In my past career, I have received nothing but scolding." Even so, he never wavered in his love for the motherland. He never cared about his own safety or personal gains and never required remuneration from the motherland and the people. He said: "I need neither reputation nor high position." Under the White terror, since he was always in danger of being assassinated, many friends, both at home and abroad, advised him to go to some foreign country for convalescence, but he refused and said: "I cannot leave China now." He also said: "The revolutionary love exists among the people." Having integrated himself with the fate of the motherland and the people throughout his life, he always showed boundless love for his motherland and the people no matter how perilous the situation was. This was why he had devoted all his strength selflessly and fearlessly in the unremitting struggle and made great and immortal contributions to the liberation of the Chinese nation. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Xun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history." Lu Xun set a glorious and everlasting example of patriotism for us. In our struggle for a prosperous China, his spirit of patriotism will always encourage and educate us.

II

Lu Xun experienced three historical periods in his life: The last years of the Qing dynasty, the reign of the northern warlords and the KMT rule. He witnessed such great revolutionary movements as the 1911 revolution, the May 4th movement and the first revolutionary civil war. He also experienced the period of White terror in which Yuan Shikai massacred members of the revolutionary parties, the Duan Qirui government butchered the patriots, and the KMT committed counterrevolutionary massacre. At the time when sudden changes often took place in the situation and on the tortuous road, Lu Xun always fought indomitably and effectively and struck relentless blows at the reactionaries. On the cultural front, he waged unremitting struggles to open up a road for the development of China's new culture, such as the struggle against the "Xueheng [1331 5899] faction" and the "Jiayin [3946 1377] faction," which upheld the doctrine of "back to the ancients," the struggle against the "modern commentary faction" and the "new-moon faction," the debate and struggle against "nationalist literature," against "free men," "the third kind of people" and the "Lunyu faction" [the Confucian faction]. In these persistent and complicated struggles, Lu Xun advocated and displayed the spirit of "perseverance," which was a summation of his experiences in the long-term struggle and an outstanding characteristic of his spirit.

Lu Xun said more than once that any reformation in China required "thoroughness and perseverance in struggle." What he meant by "perseverance" was to "keep on carving unflaggingly," or to keep on fighting with perseverance, and never stop until one reached his goal. He exhorted people not to be satisfied with "discussing and criticizing social malady," not to be "impatient and too violent," but to make the reform steadily and step by step, not to relax their will to fight or stop fighting when they scored some achievements and not to waver, give up halfway or feel disheartened in failure. But, having the lofty ideals in mind, he exhorted them to go on fighting indomitably and steadily, and "never stop fighting until the furious enemy is conquered." Obviously, this "perseverance" embodied the spirit of making thorough and uncompromising revolution, the indomitable revolutionary will and the solid and hard-working style of fighting.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Lu Xun was a man of unyielding integrity." The spirit of "perseverance" is an expression of such unyielding integrity. It means a great deal to a revolutionary, because the success of any profound revolution or reformation cannot be easily achieved without tortuous or even repeated struggles. It is especially so under China's conditions. China had a history of more than 2,000 years of feudalist rule. Although the 1911 revolution put an end to such a history, it did not eradicate the foundation of the feudalist rule. The feudalist forces remained rather strong. The old and new warlords, which were products of the integration of both feudal and imperialist forces, lay like a dead weight on the backs of the Chinese people. For a long period of time, the feudal and semifeudal, semicolonial ideology and culture corrupted and shackled the minds of the people. All this became a huge obstacle on the road of advance of the Chinese people. To defeat such powerful enemies and overcome such a huge obstacle and to win victory for the democratic revolution, especially for the socialist revolution, it is necessary to carry out long-term and repeated struggles in which another steps into the breach as one falls. Lu Xun learned this characteristic of the Chinese revolution through practice. He said: "Having witnessed so many happenings in China, such as the 1911 revolution, the second revolution, Yuan Shikai becoming emperor and the restoration of Zhang Xun, I cannot help but be more and more suspicious." Being suspicious, he studied more carefully the conditions in China and came to the following conclusion: "There is only one way to cure the numbness of this country, that is, to 'persevere,' in other words, to 'keep on carving unflaggingly.'"

Lu Xun was a clearheaded realist. His spirit of "perseverance" was based on his thoroughgoing investigation of the social practice and his profound understanding of the difficulties and arduousness of the revolutionary tasks. He repeatedly stressed the necessity of boldly facing up to reality and the powerful reactionary forces. It was necessary to face up to the "fierceness and power" of the forces of darkness, "not only knowing the revolutionary reality but also knowing clearly the enemies and the situation in all aspects, and then decide the future of the revolution." With regard to the ideal at that time that took "facing up to reality" as "propagating darkness" and "being unable to find a way out," Lu Xun pointed out that without the courage to face up to reality and the dark side, there would be "no way to reform," and that all about a "bright way out" was but empty talk. Thus he pointed out clearly that facing up to reality is the foundation and starting point for changing reality. Lu Xun said: "Without a powerful force, new movements will not be able to shake the strong foundation of the old society." According to his analysis, the strength of the old society could be seen not only in the power and fierceness of the reactionary violence, but also in "its good method of making the new forces compromise while the old society itself does not compromise at all." In the meantime, like a "big dye vat," the deep-rooted tradition of feudalism can make new things degenerate. This is why "China experienced many new movements, but each time the new was defeated by the old." Thus he advocated "being resolute, persevering and enhancing actual strength in the struggle with the old society and old forces." Since Lu Xun dared to face up to reality and difficulties and upheld the attitude of a thoroughgoing materialist, he was able to wage a forceful and unswerving struggle against the reactionary forces and make himself ready at all times to deal with all kinds of perilous conditions and sudden changes in the situation, thus placing himself in an invincible position.

Lu Xun's spirit of "perseverance" was also based on his firm confidence in the future. Lu Xun was not at all a "pessimist" or "nihilist" as some people claimed. On the contrary, he was always full of confidence in the future even in the darkest years. He firmly believed: "We are sure to have a long and bright future." His faith in the future was, at the earlier stage, a result of being influenced by the theory of evolution. As he himself put it, he did not know what the "future" would be like, but he believed that brightness would defeat darkness. So he fought steadily for a bright future. When he accepted Marxism and realized that "the creator of a 'new' society is the proletariat," he set this faith on a new scientific foundation of historical materialism. The bright future of socialism and communism, which was brought to light by Marxism, became his lofty ideal and firm belief. However, Lu Xun was different from those who "cherished romantic illusions toward revolution." He did not regard his ideal as an empty illusion that was separated from reality. He held that an ideal could be realized through arduous struggle, and for its realization, it was necessary to "devote much attention to the present which is the first step toward such a future." It was necessary to get ready for a sanguinary struggle and "do all kinds of lowly and troublesome work--not as romantic as poets have imagined." All "those socialists who sit in a salon talking about socialism, which sounds pretty and noble, but never thinking of putting into practice, are entirely unreliable." For the realization of his ideal, Lu Xun fought untiringly throughout his life. Simultaneously, his idea and belief made him full of hopes in the long and arduous struggle and full of confidence in victory.

The integration of clearheaded realism and revolutionary idealism was the profound ideological basis of Lu Xun's spirit of "perseverance in fighting." Obviously, without a profound understanding of reality and a correct estimate of the arduousness and tortuosity of the revolutionary road, one could not have the spirit of "perseverance in fighting," because in this case, he could easily be involved in infantile "leftist" disorder which was divorced from reality, or even become wavering and disappointed when meeting with unexpected setbacks. Similarly, without firm confidence in the future of the revolution and without an ambitious goal and lofty ideal, one could not have this spirit either, because in this case, he would be afraid of difficulties and accomplish nothing. This often occurred in the history of modern revolution. Lu Xun, however, kept up the struggle in extreme hardships and difficulties under the attack of darkness and violence, especially during the 10 years of the counterrevolutionary cultural "encirclement and suppression" of the KMT, and thus became a giant in China's cultural revolution. His spirit of "perseverance in fighting" also showed its strength in this struggle. Undoubtedly, this is valuable experience in struggle and a spiritual wealth Lu Xun bequeathed us. It is necessary for us today to learn from and to develop this spirit of "perseverance in fighting," in order to overcome all difficulties in the advance of our socialist cause and win still greater victory.

III

During his life, Lu Xun carried out resolute struggles against class enemies of every hue. He also struggled against various erroneous ideas and tendencies within the revolutionary camp. In dealing with these erroneous ideas and tendencies, Lu Xun had a strong sense of principle and, simultaneously, paid much attention to taking the interests of the whole into account.

The strong sense of principle was a distinctive characteristic of Lu Xun in dealing with ideological differences within the revolutionary camp and an expression of his high sense of responsibility toward the revolutionary cause. Lu Xun always attached great importance to unity within the revolutionary camp and made great efforts for it. But he insisted that this unity should be reached on the basis of principle; in his words, it should "have a common ground."

Experience shows that due to the complicated nature of social life, people often have different views on the revolutionary situation and tasks, as well as the tactics in struggle--hence the inevitable ideological differences. These differences are usually principled differences. Lu Xun never yielded or accommodated himself to the erroneous ideological tendencies that "do harm to revolution." Instead, he resisted, criticized or struggled against them in accordance with different conditions. Especially when some erroneous ideas and tendencies appeared, which had wide influence upon the society, he never hesitated to engage in open polemics on these erroneous views, so as to draw a clear distinction between right and wrong in ideological and theoretical principles and to safeguard the fundamental interests of the revolution. As everyone knows, before the disintegration of the "new youth," when Hu Shi, one of its well-known members, raised the absurd idea of "not talking about politics," Lu Xun resolutely resisted this idea. In the spring of 1930, Comrade Li Lisan had a meeting with Lu Xun in which he asked Lu Xun to write something to support his leftist stand. Though, of course, Lu Xun showed respect to Comrade Li Lisan as he was the leader of the party, he did not accommodate himself to his erroneous propositions. Lu Xun also offered sharp criticisms of the dogmatist trend on the question of "revolutionary literature" in 1928, which was divorced from China's reality, and of the erroneous views in the propaganda of the slogan of "national-defense literature" in 1936. He not only criticized the erroneous ideas of those who opposed him, but also the erroneous ideas of those who supported him. (The criticism of Hu Feng in the polemics on the "two slogans" was a glaring example.) This showed his open and aboveboard attitude of a great thinker who never acted out of personal feelings at the expense of principles.

On the question of principles, Lu Xun deeply hated those who "change their minds easily without taking a firm stand." He insisted that one should have a firm stand and be principled rather than trim the sails. Only when "everyone has an independent will and is unshakable in the storm" can China have a bright future. One should not act "without a correct outlook on right and wrong" and say something today and change it tomorrow, as if he believes in everything but actually does not believe in anything. Lu Xun said: "From ancient times to the present, all those who do not have their own theories, or whose changes of mind cannot be traced, or who use various theories at any time as their weapons, can be called hooligans." Though these words are sharp, they remind us that the act of trimming the sails, which shows no sense of principle, is a serious problem. To a revolutionary, in particular, this is a problem of ideological quality and should not be taken lightly.

While taking a clear-cut stand and making a penetrating analysis of ideological and theoretical problems in internal polemics Lu Xun also paid much attention to taking the interests of the revolution as a whole into account in leading with various relations. He had sharp disagreements with the "Chuangzao She" ["The Creators' Association"] but at the same time pointed out that there were "many of the firmest and most correct people" in this organization. He insisted on uniting with these people and finally founded the "League of Leftwing Writers" with them. In his correspondence we can see that he was not satisfied with the dogmatist and factionalist tendencies within the "League of Leftwing Writers," but he continued to support and defend this organization and on many occasions publicly announced that he was still a member of it in order to defend the honor of this league.

Lu Xun said: "As to those attacks on me, whatever they might be, if they started from a lofty goal and not from personal consideration, I have nothing to complain about." This showed his broadmindedness and forgiving attitude toward the revolutionary comrades, and he meant what he said. For example, he was once incorrectly criticized by Comrade Cheng Fangwu, and to fight back, he made very sharp and sarcastic refutations. Even so, he continued to regard Cheng Fangwu as his comrade. In the winter of 1933, when the latter secretly went to Shanghai from the soviet area, Lu Xun enthusiastically helped him find the underground party organization. Guo Moruo too, under the pen name of Du Quan, wrote some articles attacking Lu Xun as a "remnant of feudalism" and a "fascist." Having a tacit understanding of this, Lu Xun then said: They "abused one another with pens, but since the fighting was for a common goal, personal resentment was never borne in mind." Lu Xun held that since man cannot be perfect, one cannot be too hard on his comrades and require that "the ideas of all fighters be 100 percent correct." If people have a common goal, they should be united. When talking about the merits and shortcomings of others, it is necessary to "avoid mentioning small matters and have eyes on the main aspects." Only in this way will we be able to make more comrades and friends united and advance together.

Adhering to principles and simultaneously paying attention to the interests of the whole--this is an expression of a high ideological and political consciousness and the fine quality of a revolutionary. It is an important guarantee for maintaining the powerful fighting force of the revolutionary ranks. In order to win continuous successes for the revolution, it is necessary to encourage this spirit and, simultaneously, fight against all ideas and actions that run counter to principles and the interests of the whole and that corrode the revolution. Therefore, it is extremely important to learn from and carry forward Lu Xun's spirit of adhering to principles and having the interests of the whole in mind.

Of course, the ideological legacy Lu Xun left us is more than what is mentioned here, but the above-mentioned spirit is of great importance today. The cause we are undertaking today is the continuation and development of the great cause for which Lu Xun devoted his entire life under the new historical conditions. We have established a state power in which people are masters of their own houses, and we have established the socialist system. Our task is to build our country step by step into a modern and powerful socialist country with a high degree of material and spiritual civilization. This is a historical task more profound and more arduous than that of the democratic revolution. To attain this goal, longer and more arduous and complicated struggle are needed. Thus, we must develop the spirit of patriotism and, like Lu Xun, loyally and selflessly love our great motherland, love our socialist system, love the great CCP that leads us forward and devote ourselves to the prosperity of our motherland. We must constantly carry forward the indomitable revolutionary spirit of hard struggle and, like Lu Xun, through "perseverance in struggle," surmount every difficulty to win victory. We must carry forward the spirit of adhering to principles and taking the interests of the whole into account and, like Lu Xun, hold firmly to the truth and fight resolutely against all words and deeds that "harm the revolution." Today, the most important thing to do is to adhere to the four basic principles, maintain the political situation of stability and unity, unite all forces that can be united and work hard with one heart and one mind. Thus, we shall be full of confidence in accomplishing the glorious task that history has entrusted to us.

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SUN YAT-SEN--A GREAT PATRIOT

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[Article by Liu Danian [0491 1129 1628]]

[Text] In the 40 years between the time he resolved to overthrow the Qing regime in 1885 to the time of his death in 1925, Dr Sun Yat-sen had been through such important historical events as the 1911 revolution and the first KMT-CCP cooperation and had waged an indefatigable struggle for the independence, freedom and unification of our motherland. The life of Dr Sun Yat-sen was that of a great patriot.

Patriotism, a word of great sanctity and solemnity, has inspired countless patriots from various revolutionary as well as ruling classes in modern China to sacrifice their lives, shed their blood and suffer untold hardship. All patriots in our country, regardless of what nationality or class, have been regarded as advanced elements of the Chinese nation, and as people with lofty ideals and are honored and respected by the people. Dr Sun Yat-sen was the most outstanding representative of such people with lofty ideals.

Why is it that in modern China, the question of patriotism has become such a prominent question, something which it had never been in past historical periods? The reason for this lies in the fact that the contradictions that existed between imperialist aggression and oppression and the independence of the Chinese nation had become the most important and prominent issues in modern Chinese society. Imperialism made more and more frenzied attacks, while the ruling landlord class and comprador bourgeoisie capitulated and betrayed their country. The Chinese nation suffered unprecedented enslavement and China was in imminent danger of being carved up and subjugated. In his early work, "On Patriotism," Liang Qichao said: In speaking of China, Westerners often say that the Chinese do not have patriotism in their nature. Their leadership power is waning. They are timid and overcautious. When something is forced upon them by foreigners, they yield and obediently follow. At the slightest chance of making a profit, they madly scramble for it. Foreigners talk every day about how they are going to carve up China and choose the best pieces for themselves. They treat the Chinese as their servants and China's land resources as being rightfully their own. They openly discuss the matter in parliaments and newspapers. They think it quite normal and have no misgivings about it whatsoever. Even now this picture conveyed by Liang Qichao is enough to make one's hair stand on end. In his analysis, he went on to say that the Chinese did not have the deeply rooted bad habit of being devoid of patriotism. "Since the Sino-Japanese war, our armies have been suffering defeats and have had to give up whole slices of their land and pay indemnities. The experience was both traumatic and painful. Thus many fervent patriots gradually rose up to defend national policies." ("The Cold Drink Pavilion Collection" [Yinbing Shi Heji 7390 0393 1358 0678 7162], Vol 2) This analysis of Liang Qichao accords with reality. Modern Chinese history, viewed from one angle, is the history of the Chinese people's anti-imperialist, antifeudal struggle. Patriotism--anti-imperialism--is one of the mainstreams of modern Chinese history. However, chronologically speaking, that kind of struggle ought not be calculated from the time of the "Sino-Japanese war" but from the time of the Opium War.

The dissensions and antagonism between the resistance group led by Lin Zexu and the Daoguang emperor, Mu Zhanga, Qi Shan and other such people during the Opium War, and both before and after Dr Sun Yat-sen launched his patriotic activities, between hawks like Peng Yulin and the gang of Li Hongzhang during the Sino-French war, and between hawks like Weng Tonghe and the Westernization group of Li Hongzhang--all sprung from the antagonism between the patriots or patriotically inclined within the landlord class and the traitors and capitulationists. The "100-day reform" was an early bourgeois movement with patriotic overtones. The Taiping Rebellion, though it never called for opposition to foreign aggression, fought, as its final adversaries on the battlefield, foreign aggressors as represented by Gordon. Despite its backwardness, the goal of the Yihetuan was to "uphold the Qing and exterminate the foreigner." Even an aggressor like Hart had to admit that it "actually had its roots in patriotism and was aimed at strengthening China in its resistance to foreigners." The Taiping Rebellion and Yihetuan were both patriotic struggles waged by peasants. The patriotism of both the "100-day reform" and Yihetuan were subjected to willful distortion by the "gang of four" some 10-odd years ago. In order to "Drag out Liu Shaoqi," and under the pretext of criticizing the film "The Inside Story of the Qing Court," they did a grand job of an article entitled "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" According to their version, reform activities and the Yihetuan that resisted the carving up of China could not apparently get rid of the stigma of national betrayal, while the Empress Dowager, who said that we had to "curry favor with countries on which we are on good terms as far as China's resources would permit," was merely a bit "xenophobic" and should really be considered a patriot. Of course, all this has been cleared up today and history has been restored to what it should have been in the first place. Dr Sun Yat-sen's patriotic struggle was the continuation of the patriotic movements of the landlord resistance group, the bourgeois reformist group and the peasantry. At the same time, it was also a brand new development of these struggles and possessed the complete character of the bourgeois democratic revolution.

Among Western works researching the life of Dr Sun Yat-sen, one line of thinking appears to be popular: Considering he was a revolutionary, there was a rather disconcerting side to Dr Sun Yat-sen, and that was his predilection for forming alliances with the most adventurist of imperialist elements in the West and Japan during his struggle for the realization of his great revolutionary plan. These writers give as examples Dr Sun Yat-sen's extensive contacts with expansionist elements in the Japanese Government and among the Japanese public, his associations with English, German and French expansionist elements, as well as his acceptance of vast sums of money from the Japanese at the time of the anti-Yuan struggle. They then go on to ask pointedly: Was he in fact a patriot and "nationalist" or the opposite? There is no denying the fact that Dr Sun Yat-sen entertained illusions about imperialism. What the involvement of foreign imperialist elements in fact brought for the revolution was, on the whole, not achievements but rather destructive and negative influences. However, there is no reason for us to exaggerate this aspect.

As a bourgeois, semibourgeois revolutionary, it would in fact have been quite remarkable if, under the historical conditions of the times, he had not entertained any illusions whatsoever. Marxist studies, in confirming the fact that Sun Yat-sen was a great patriot, did not disregard these illusions or consider them to be above criticism. In the final analysis, looking at something from the side is not like looking at something directly, and nonessential matter will never become essential matter. We must not think that, in considering this problem, the Marxist exposition is so-called "new orthodoxy," in that it is only by paying attention to those illusions that a scientific study can be carried out. Facts do not allow people to explain things as they please. Each fact has its own appropriate role to play.

The bourgeois nature of Sun Yat-sen's patriotic struggle became apparent in a series of speeches and in his practice both before and after the 1911 revolution. Of these, certain points are of universal significance.

I. Distinguishing Between the Different Natures of State Power and Pointing Out That the Chinese Should Only Love an Independent "Chinese State" That Was Opposed to the Qing Regime

At that time, the "throne-saving," "monarchist" and "constitutionalist" activities in which Kang Youwei, Tang Caichang, Liang Qichao and such others were successively engaged were all based on the premise that it was patriotic to uphold the Qing regime. Sun Yat-sen had sharp powers of observation. In his 1903 article "Refutation of 'Protect-the-Emperor Daily'" he wrote: "They ('protect-the-emperor daily') purport to love their country. I cannot but ask whether it is the Qing empire or the Chinese state that they love. If it is the Qing empire, they should stop saying 'recovery means the immediate expulsion of foreign races.' If it is a Chinese state that they love, they should not adopt as their patriotic policy the protection of the emperor, since helping a foreign race to enslave China does not constitute loving one's country, and they will in fact be harming their country." ("Collected Works of Premier Sun," four-volume edition, edited by Huang Jilu, Vol 4, pp 176, 177) In his "Joint Discourse on the Preservation of China's Integrity and Its Partitioning" published in the same year, he said: "The Chinese people are, in the eyes of foreigners, like a disorderly herd and appear not to be patriotic by nature. Thus, on the battlefield, they flee before the fighting starts, and when it comes to doing things, they shift responsibility onto others. It is felt that they are incapable of being aroused and it is not known whether it is only under Qing rule that they are like this...or the Chinese people's patriotism and righteousness find expression in other things." ("Collected Works of Premier Sun," three-volume edition, edited by Huang Jilu, Vol 3, p 110) By saying that the Chinese should not love the "Qing empire" but the "Chinese state," Sun Yat-sen meant that patriotism did not allow one to love the Qing regime. As Sun Yat-sen saw it, the Qing regime could not survive without ceding territory, bartering away its sovereign rights and fawning on foreigners. "Not only is it ceding and bartering away our territory by mortgages and indemnities, it is also helping foreigners to quell local uprisings and then giving away the land. Xian County and Guangzhou Bay in Guangdong are examples of this. If the Qing government did not help them in their nefarious deeds, our people would be able to go about their business undisturbed and our country would be worth sacrificing our lives for. ...Now with the Qing government acting as the foreigners' hired thugs, our land is theirs for the taking." ("Collected Works of Premier Sun," four-volume edition, edited by Huang Jilu, Vol 4, pp 176, 177) This in fact points out the fact that the Qing regime was the tool of the foreign bourgeoisie and the Chinese landlords in their joint rule over the Chinese people or perhaps the "foreigners' imperial government." How can a patriot love such a traitorous imperial government? Well then, what was the class nature of the "Chinese state"? Sun Yat-sen did not use any class analysis viewpoint to categorically point out which social classes it comprised. In any case, there were big differences between the earlier period and the later period. It was in the early period that he indirectly gave a clear and correct explanation of this problem. The American President Lincoln once put forth the slogan: "Of the people, by the people, for the people." Naturally the "people" referred to by Lincoln consisted mainly of none other than the bourgeoisie. Sun Yat-sen frequently cited this bourgeois slogan of Lincoln's to expound his "three people's principles," explaining that the "nationalist republic" that he advocated setting up was a country that was run according to the principle of "of the people, by the people, for the people." Therefore, loving the "Chinese state" meant loving an independent China with the national bourgeoisie as its main body. At that time, there was only the latter type of China which could stand against the "foreigners' imperial governments." By the time of the later period, Sun Yat-sen had developed the old three people's principles into a new set of three people's principles that aligned itself with Russia and with communism and supported the peasants and workers. Although the country that he thought should be loved still belonged to the category of a bourgeois republic, it already included an element of the popular masses and its nature was thus much clearer.

II. In Order To Remain Patriotic, One Had To Take the Revolutionary Road

The debate about which country they loved boiled down to this: whether to overthrow Qing rule by revolutionary violence and establish an independent China or, by means of constitutional reform, to preserve Qing rule. Before the 1911 revolution, the Kang-Liang faction abroad and the constitutionalist faction at home, due to their fear of revolution, did their utmost to request a reform of the Qing government, to preserve the Qing government and to quietly put down the revolution. Kang Youwei said that the blood of revolutionaries flowed like streams, that there corpses were strewn all over the place and that "they must have killed over 400 million people." Liang Qichao said that revolution called for "the barbarous massacre of 200 million people." Zhang Jian said that revolutionaries in fact belonged to the category of bandits and that the tragic fragmentation of China that occurred during the periods of the six dynasties and five dynasties would occur again. They unanimously concluded that in order to be patriotic and save the country, they could only take the road of constitutional reform. Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionaries insisted that in order to be patriotic, it was necessary to overthrow the Qing regime that had already become the puppet of imperialism, to starve it of fuel and to take the revolutionary road. The road of the reformists and constitutionalists was in fact that of letting the Qing government adopt the constitutionalist label while preserving the pillars of imperialist and feudalist rule. China would merely continue in its bleakness. The road of Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionaries was that of overthrowing the Qing regime. It thus dealt a hefty blow to the imperialism that lurked behind it. This heralded the beginning of the alliance between anti-imperialism and antifeudalism. Only then did China stand any hope of recovery.

The "Kang Youwei Refuted," "Advice to Fellow Villagers" and "Refutation of the 'Protect-the-Emperor Daily'" published severally by Zhang Binglin and Sun Yat-sen in 1903 marked the beginning of the great polemics between the revolutionaries and the monarchists and constitutionalists. In his "Letter of Advice to Fellow Villagers," Sun Yat-sen pointed out: "Revolution and protecting the emperor go their own separate ways and, like black and white, do not mix and are not mutually interchangeable.... The logic behind them is different, they run counter to each other, they are at odds with each other and are as incompatible as fire and water. This should come as no surprise to anyone." ("Collected Works of Premier Sun," edited by Hu Hanmin, Vol 3, p 112) He bitterly attacked the constitutionalists, saying that they were traitors just like Wu Sangui, Hong Chengtao, Zeng Guofan and Zuo Zongtang. Ranks and titles, banks, railways, mines, businesses, schools and so forth are merely tools with which to lure people and lies with which to trick them. (ibid., Vol 1, p 1072) After the founding of the China Revolutionary League, the polemics were stepped up. In the third issue of MINBAO [3046 1032] it was announced that article 12 of the "Program of MINBAO for the Refutation of XINMIN CONGBAO [2450 3046 0654 1032]" could be summed up as one concerning anti-Qing revolution and pro-Qing reform. The XINMIN CONGBAO published its polemical articles in a collection called "A Major Question Concerning the Life or Death of the Chinese Nation." The MINBAO pointed out that revolution and reform did in fact constitute a major question concerning the life or death of the Chinese nation. However, if we had acted according to the way advocated by the reformists, we would have brought about the "immediate downfall of China." In the article "On Present Party Groupings and Future Political Parties in China" published in 1906 in the XINMIN CONGBAO it was said that the theory of revolution was very popular in China and that those who advocated constitutionalism were branded as traitors. Without justice on their side, it said, they could not be bold and assured. It admitted that in the course of the struggle surrounding ideological theories, the revolutionaries had won and the reformists had lost. Shortly afterwards, Liang Qichao tried to drum up support for his hope that the MINBAO and XINMIN CONGBAO would "in the future make pacified remarks and desist from attacking each other." Even the staunchest opponent of Manchu rule, Zhang Binglin, thought that "a reconciliation was permissible." Sun Yat-sen was firmly opposed to this idea. The revolutionaries gathered strength in the course of the resistance struggle of the dispersed masses at home and sowed the seeds of revolution among them. In the end, after much hard work, they launched the Wuchang Uprising and toppled the Qing regime with one blow. This was the result of their adhering to the revolutionary path. In his "Origins of the Revolution," Sun Yat-sen gave a blow by blow account of the armed uprisings that he personally took part in. Attention should be paid to those struggles. However, like certain publications put out by the KMT before, it simple-mindedly attributed the downfall of the Qing regime to those 10 uprisings, an analysis which is obviously contrary to historical fact. In their eyes, the popular masses did not exist. On the other hand, certain Western researchers have recently gone to the other extreme. They belittle or even reject Sun Yat-sen and the leadership of the China Revolutionary League, considering their effect to be insignificant. This does not accord with the facts either. If that had been the case, how do they explain the birth of the Nanjing revolutionary government and the election of Sun Yat-sen as provisional president? There may be as many rooms as there are clouds, but we must still have a main hall; mountains may tower up in all their splendor, but there must still be a principal summit among them. After the 1911 revolution, Yuan Shikai and the northern expedition took over from the reactionary rule of the Qing regime. Sun Yat-sen, standing firmly by his revolutionary principles, forged ahead to the point of cooperating with the CCP. With China under imperialist and feudal rule, patriotism called for revolution. This was the road adhered to by Sun Yat-sen throughout his life and it was also the only correct road to take.

In the past 2 years, in discussions on the 1911 revolution, one viewpoint, gleaned from the early works of foreigners, seems to be in vogue, namely that if China had only continued along the constitutionalist road, it appears that it could have modernized itself. The need for the 1911 revolution is thus disputed, and some think that it might even have messed things up. In analyzing this question, we should retrace history. In the beginning, Yi Xin, Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang and other such people of the landlord class launched the Westernization movement. They hoped that by honoring the unequal treaties and without touching the vital points of the feudal system, they could make use of Western technology, preserve the old ruling order and realize the principles of so-called "self-strengthening" and "self-support." The result was that China further became a semifeudal semicolony. National capitalism was suppressed, thus making it hard for it to grow and develop. After 30 years, the Westernization movement finally failed. Thus the bourgeois reform movement initiated and launched by Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, Yan Fu, Tan Sitong and such others arose in response to the needs of the times. They demanded that the Qing government carry out a thorough political reform, change the feudal dictatorship system, institute a constitutional monarchy and reward national capital. They advocated studying Western bourgeois culture to save the nation from disaster. Holding an imperial decree in one hand and holding out Confucianism as their protective shield with the other, they appeared to act with all vigor and speed. However, as soon as a minor counteroffensive was launched by die-hard feudal forces, it had to admit defeat. According to the various explanations given by researchers, the Westernization and reform movements differed in nature. One was traitorous, the other involved patriotic bloodshed. However, the failure of both illustrates one and the same problem: in China, if we take the road of reform, whether it be that of minor reform or of a reform in the political system, we will, in our bid to achieve independence, prosperity, strength and modernization, run up against a signboard bearing the words "no thoroughfare." If the Westernization movement had solved China's problem of "self-strengthening" and "self-support," the reform movement would not have come on the scene. Similarly, if the reform movement had solved China's problems of national independence and capitalist development, the 1911 revolution would not have come about. It was because the Westernization movement had not found any solutions for China that we had the reform movement.

Similarly, it was because the reform movement had not found any solutions for China that we had the 1911 revolution. A bourgeois democratic revolution was necessary for China's progress. This was the cause of the 1911 revolution. Marxist studies have appraised the historical achievements of Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionaries in the light of this historical necessity. If we were of the opinion that the constitutionalist road could have led China to its ultimate goal of modernization, we would not know how to view historically the string of defeats suffered from the time of the Westernization movement to the time of the constitutionalists themselves. Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionaries wanted, by means of a revolution, to carve out a path that would lead China to modernization, and the constitutionalists tried in vain to obstruct that path. Therein lies the basic difference between them.

III. Opposing the Fragmentation of the Country and Calling for Its Unification

Soon after Sun Yat-sen entered the political arena, he was faced with the carving up of China by the imperialists. After the 1911 revolution, separatist warlord regimes were established and the country fell apart at the seams. Opposing the fragmentation of the country and supporting its unification became a pressing task in his patriotic struggle. The longer he struggled, the more profoundly he understood the fact that the establishment of feudal separatist warlord regimes and the unification of the country were inextricably bound up with the forces of foreign aggression and the unequal treaties. This understanding was most clearly expressed in the "Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Chinese KMT": "The interests of the warlords themselves run counter to those of the people and they are incapable of existing independently. Therefore all warlords have to establish contacts with imperialist superpowers. ...And the superpowers also make use of them. They hand out large loans to meet the warlords' military expenditures, thus creating internal disorder and interminable disputes in China. In the course of this, their economic power is increased and there is a scramble for concessions. From this it can be seen that the internal disorder in China is really the doing of the superpowers. A conflict of interests arises among the superpowers in China, and each superpower, in order to further its own interests, helps warlords slaughter our people." ("Collected Works of Premier Sun," four-volume edition, edited by Huang Jilu, Vol 3, pp 70-71) Sun Yat-sen pointed out in his many conversations on his journey from Guangdong to the north in 1924, that the many incidences of disorder since the revolution were all the result of aid given to military men by various countries in order to fulfill their ambitions. "China is at present the colony of over 10 countries. We have more than 10 countries as masters, for we are the slaves of more than 10 countries." "The soldiers and viceroys at present in China are all the result of foreign treaties." Only by eliminating the foreign powers who are creating disorder in China can its peaceful unification be achieved. His requesting the government of Duan Qirui to convene a national assembly from the time of his arrival in Beijing from Guangdong up to his death in Beijing could be said to be his final attempt at unifying the country.

Sun Yat-sen had on more than one occasion discussed the logic of why China should not be split up, only unified. Much of his 1924 lecture "Democracy" was devoted to this question. It was a brilliant exposition. At that time, certain intellectuals advocating the total imitation of Western ways thought that America's prosperity and strength were attributable to its implementation of a federal system. A federal system meant that each state drew up its own constitution and enjoyed autonomy. If China was to become as prosperous and strong as America, each province should draw up its own constitution and practice provincial autonomy. After the provincial constitution had been adopted, we could then proceed to jointly set up a national constitution. In other words, they sought to divide an originally unified China into over 20 independent units and to unify it at a certain future time. Rebutting this "theory," Sun Yat-sen was at pains to say: "This kind of thinking and mentality is truly erroneous to say the least. It could be said that these people simply repeat what other people say and get used to it after awhile. Thus, they see that America adopted the federal system and became the richest and strongest country in the world and think that if China is to become prosperous and strong, we must also emulate the American federal system. Take as another example the struggle I mentioned last time of the people of Europe and America for democracy. There they did not say they were struggling for democracy, merely freedom and equality. We would be equally blind and it would be equally inexplicable for us to say that we Chinese must, in this our next attempt at revolution, emulate the slogan of the people of Europe and America and say that we are struggling for freedom and equality.... The reason for America's prosperity and strength do not lie in the independence of each state, but in the unified country that has evolved from the union of all the states. Thus the prosperity and strength of America is the result of the unification of the states and not of their fragmentation. As China was once unified, we should not divide it up into provinces again. China's present disunity is a temporary phenomenon and this is the work of armed separatists. We must eradicate this kind of separatism and prevent armed separatists from using the idea of a provincial federation as a protective shield. If these military men are given half a chance of setting up a separatist regime, China will not be able to grow prosperous and strong again.... Only by overthrowing the Qing dynasty and inheriting its territory were we able to set up our present republic. Why do we again have to split up our country which has up to now been unified? People who advocate splitting up China are definitely careerists wanting to set up separatist regimes for themselves in various provinces, as Tang Jiyao has done in Yunnan, as Zhao Hengti has done in Hunan, as Lu Tingrong has done in Guangxi, and as Chen Jiongming has done in Guangdong. This kind of separatist provincial federation is a warlord provincial federation and not an autonomous provincial federation of the people. This kind of provincial federation is not beneficial to the people, only to individuals. We should clearly differentiate between the two." ("The Three People's Principles--Democracy," fourth lecture) To be patriotic, we must oppose any splitting up of the country and preserve its unity. How right he was! Sun Yat-sen specifically cited as an example the fact that in the 260-odd years of the Qing dynasty, the three northeastern provinces, Xinjiang, Rehe, Suiyuan, Qinghai, Monggol and Xizang were all ruled by the Qing government. The reason why he did not cite Taiwan was obviously because Taiwan at that time was subject to Japanese colonial rule.

For patriotism, there is the problem of making a distinction between the nature of the state power, and for unification, there is also a problem of around what class and under who's rule one should unify. The "Spring and Autumn Annals" upholds a "great and general unification," which is an ancient feudal unification. In his "Refutation of the Revolution," Kang Youwei attacked the revolutionaries for their calls for the independence of the various provinces at the revolution's very beginning and alleged that this would inevitably divide China, which had been a unified country for thousands of years, into 18 or even dozens of small countries. He called this an extremely foolish idea to follow the example of India and seek weakness and national subjugation. He expressed his desire to "love the great China and to love unification." What Kang Youwei wanted was to unite China as before under the traitorous rule of the Qing government. Both the "armed unification" advocated by Cao Kun and Wu Peifu and the realization of unification through an "aftermath meeting" advocated by Duan Qirui meant a unification of China under the rule of feudal warlords who were agents of imperialists. As Dr Sun Yat-sen sharply pointed out, "Any Chinese who advocates splitting up the country is certainly a careerist." The opposition to the division of China by the comprador class and the feudal warlords was not at all inconsistent with the opposition to the counterrevolutionary unification they longed for even in their dreams.

Sun Yat-sen resolutely opposed division and defended the unification of the motherland. The instructions he left us were very prescient. Up to now Taiwan and the mainland of the motherland are artificially divided. This situation does not conform with the tendency of the development of history or with the basic interests and demand of the people, and it also runs counter to Sun Yat-sen's repeated instructions. It is the glorious bounden duty of every patriot to support the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and realize the reunification of the country and the unity of the nation and to speed up our great motherland's advance toward the four modernizations. The trend of history can never be countered. Anyone who runs against it and refuses to mend his erroneous ways and change to a new course will inevitably be in danger of being reduced to be a man who has performed a criminal act against his nation. This is something one cannot overlook. "Patriotism is a kind of very profound feeling toward one's motherland that has been consolidated for thousands of years." (Lenin) This feeling constitutes the ideological and political foundation for the present unity and identity of China's people of all nationalities including the people of Taiwan. No force can finally destroy this foundation. The reunification of the motherland and the unity between the people on the mainland and the people in Taiwan will unquestionably be realized.

Sun Yat-sen summarized his theory as the "three people's principles." Patriotism was the ideological motive force for the birth of this theory. To love the country, one should not love the traitorous Qing government; to love the country, one must follow a revolutionary path, oppose division and persistently uphold the unification of the people's country. These are the implementation of the three people's principles in certain aspects of its practice. The campaigns led by Sun Yat-sen triggered a new upsurge in the Chinese people's patriotic struggle marked by the 1911 revolution. It was of great significance that part of the intellectuals and laboring masses roused themselves and overthrew the Qing dynasty which was a tool of the foreigners to rule over China. However, it failed to shake the imperialist forces, and the removal of a Qing emperor only led to the appearance of a number of big or small warlords and emperors such as Yuan Shikai. The Chinese national bourgeoisie was too weak and lacked the strength to win victory in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism. It could not achieve even a modest capitalist revolution like the one in Mexico in the West then or like the one in Turkey in the East later. History was ruthless in declaring this conclusion to the whole world.

The Chinese Communist Party, the pioneer of the Chinese proletariat, has held high the banner of patriotism, carried on and developed the cause of Sun Yat-sen and other patriotic revolutionary forerunners and led the people to carry on the struggle. Thirty-eight years after the 1911 revolution and 24 years after the death of Sun Yat-sen, the people finally removed imperialism and feudalism, the two mountains on their backs. Chinese history has resumed its course of independent development. The entry of China into the stage of socialism was the inevitable result of this independent development. Up to that time, the patriotic struggle at the stage of democratic revolution had completed its historical task.

(This article is part of an article originally published in issue No 3 of JINDAI SHI YANJIU [MODERN HISTORICAL STUDIES], entitled "Sun Yat-sen--a Great Patriot and Democrat." For republication, the wording was slightly changed and abridged.)

CSO: 4004/3

CORRECTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 p 18

[Text] Lines 22-23 on page 45 in issue No 16 of this year's RED FLAG, which read "in order to prevent the party and state from not changing political color," should read "in order to prevent the party and state from changing political color."

CSO: 4004/3

THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE ARE ADVANCING ALONG THE SOCIALIST ROAD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 19-24

[Article by Xiong Fu [4574 1788]]

[Text] Recently, we, a delegation from the RED FLAG journal, paid a friendly visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the invitation of the General Office of KOMUNIST, the weekly of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. During our short stay in Yugoslavia, we were enthusiastically and warmly received by Yugoslav comrades everywhere, and we saw with our own eyes the great achievements of the Yugoslav laboring people in their socialist construction and were deeply moved by the creative spirit of the Yugoslav party and people in their socialist practices. This deeply impressed us.

Constant Development of Autonomous Systems in Practice

When we landed at the airport in Belgrade, it was already 11 pm in Beijing but in Belgrade it was only 4 pm. When we drove into the city, what caught our eyes were the rows of tall buildings, the busy stream of various kinds of private cars and the magnificent commercial centers.... These gave us a real view of the prosperity of the modern "white city." It is said that in Yugoslavia the average housing allowance throughout the country is 14 square meters per person, and there is a private car for every 3 families and a television set for every 2 families. How have such miracles been brought about in an economically backward country which suffered prolonged foreign rule and subjugation by foreign powers? What is the cause of this profound mystery? The establishment of the socialist system and especially the autonomous systems, which have been gradually developed and set up through trial and error in socialist practice in Yugoslavia and which suit its national conditions, have played a critical role in its economic development.

The socialist system in Yugoslavia was established in 1945. The Yugoslav people flexibly applied under the historical conditions of Yugoslavia the Marxist principle of "replacing the economic conditions that enslave labor with the conditions of freely associated labor," and started to set up autonomous systems in 1950. In general, the autonomous systems in Yugoslavia have passed through three stages: The first stage was from 1950 to 1963, during which they were mainly restricted to workers' direct participation in management of the production of enterprises. This stage was called "workers' autonomy" for short. The second stage was from 1963 to 1970. During this period, autonomy exceeded the bounds of factories and enterprises and was applied to state organs and institutions of social undertakings. This stage was generally called the stage of "social autonomy." The third stage, from 1971 to the present, is the stage in which the different autonomous bodies carry out associated labor in accordance with what is required to develop their production. During this stage, a set of relatively integrated socialist autonomous systems that permeate all fields of social life in Yugoslavia have been established. The greatest feature of this set of systems lies in that it brings into play the initiative of localities, enterprises and individuals and coordinates activities. Thus, it has accelerated the development of socialist construction.

In the Republic of Slovenia, we visited the Novo Mesto district, one of the richest districts in Yugoslavia. It is the third largest district of the more than 60 districts in Slovenia. It has a history of over 3,000 years and is rich in glorious revolutionary traditions. During the war years, its population was only 7,000, which has now grown to 55,000. The autonomous system is almost perfect in this district, and it has more interprofessional, interdistrict or even international enterprises of "associated labor." The Kirka pharmaceutical factory, named after the Kirka River, is the second biggest pharmaceutical factory in Yugoslavia and also an almost perfect example of an "associated labor" enterprise. Two of its workshops are in a fraternal republic, and the part of it in this district consists of a number of "basic organizations of associated labor." This district pays great attention to carrying out joint ventures with foreign countries. Its motor works is a joint venture with France, and it also has a workshop in Belgium. Moreover, it has exploited the natural advantage of its rich resource of primeval forests, which cover two-thirds of its area, to set up timber enterprises of "associated labor," which mainly manufacture furniture for export. Along with the establishment of the autonomous systems characterized by "associated labor," the economy in this district has developed greatly.

The "Bekobei" agricultural and food processing enterprise of "associated labor," which we visited in Belgrade, is praised as the "great kitchen of Belgrade." The population of Belgrade is 1.3 million. This enterprise supplies more than 90 percent of the population's food, including processed meat, candy, pastry, jam and marmalade, wine, bread, vegetables and fruit. It was built on a stretch of moorland, and owing to the establishment of autonomous systems, it was built without any financial aid from the state and has been gradually developed solely by utilizing the funds it has accumulated. These funds have been raised from the profit it earned as an independent accounting entity through the hard labor of its staff and workers. Through over 30 years of hard struggle and industrious labor, its land has been expanded from over 4,000 acres to over 100,000 acres; in addition to agricultural production, it has set up dozens of factories for processing grains, meats and milk, refining sugar and brewing wine. It has become a modern enterprise with 240,000 workers and over 3,000 technicians and engineers, producing dozens of different products.

Owing to the establishment of autonomous systems, all socialist-owned enterprises assume sole responsibility for their profits or losses. In their distribution systems, the principle of "to each according to his labor" is put into effect. In addition to a basic rate fixed for each worker according to his labor ability, there is a flexible rate of remuneration according to the results of his labor. This rate is calculated as a "percentage." Thus, the personal income of a worker is determined not only by the quantity and quality of his labor but also by the level of the management of his enterprise. As a result, wherever we went, we saw people working hard and were impressed by the fact that, whether talking or walking they are constantly concerned about time. Many of them not only work hard in their normal work hours, but also take on part-time jobs in their spare time. Generally, a 5-day work week has been instituted in the organizations and enterprises in Yugoslavia and the work hours for each day are from 7 am to 2:30 pm (with a break of half an hour). This makes everybody's spare time relatively longer and more concentrated, and together with a good transportation system, creates favorable conditions for rural and urban workers to take part-time jobs in their spare time. For example, the staff and workers living in rural areas can be engaged in agricultural and sideline production at home after their work hours, and those who live in urban areas can sell small articles of daily use. Some go to the seacoast to catch fish or work for tour services. The personnel in organizations and the professors in colleges usually "cooperate" with outside units and, under contracts, render their "services" to society in their spare time and thereby obtain a certain remuneration.

Naturally, the autonomous systems in Yugoslavia are still being continuously perfected and developed. At the third congress of the representatives of autonomous systems, held not long ago, while confirming the tremendous achievements in various fields over the many years since the establishment of autonomous systems, the representatives publicly pointed out the difficulties and problems they had encountered in the course of implementing autonomous systems. At the congress, resolutions were unanimously passed on major economic and political issues, such as laborers directly controlling all income, expanding reproduction, perfecting distribution according to labor, expanding coordination between labor organizations, looking forward to the prospect of social development and stabilizing the economy. We are confident that under the guidance of the resolutions of the congress, the Yugoslav workers will surely overcome the difficulties facing them and will more firmly march on the road of healthy development.

Workers Have Become the Masters of Society

In Yugoslavia, workers have truly become the masters of society. The continuous development and perfection of its socialist autonomous systems has enhanced the power of the workers as masters. Yugoslav workers enjoy the right to participate not only in the management of the economy but also in the management of their society and country.

In the first place, the workers are the masters of their enterprises. In Yugoslavia, the highest institution of power in an enterprise is its workers' congress. The workers' congress elects by secret ballot a workers' committee to be the organ of management. In an enterprise of less than 30 workers, a workers' committee is not set up because its function is exercised by all the workers of the enterprise. Neither the chairman nor the members of the workers' committee can be cadres who are not engaged in production. Nor can they be in charge of social political organizations (including the Communist League, the Youth League or the trade union) in an enterprise. The appointment process for the manager and deputy manager of an associated labor organization begins with the personnel committee of the enterprise inviting all qualified applicants to submit applications. The committee then investigates the applicants and draws up a list of candidates and sends it to the workers' committee, which in turn selects the successful candidates. If a manager or other persons in charge of management prove to be incompetent or commit mistakes, the workers' committee has the right to dismiss them, according to regulations. Subject to the approval of the department concerned, the duties and power of a manager are to carry out the resolutions and decisions of the workers' congress, to coordinate and organize production, to suggest business policies and to implement measures. Decisions on all major issues in an enterprise will have no effect or be of a binding nature unless they are made by the workers' congress or its executive organ, the workers' committee. The social political organizations in an enterprise, including the Communist League, the Youth League and the trade union, might play an important role but they have no right to decide who will be a member of the workers' congress or workers' committee. Members of these two bodies are chosen by the workers themselves through elections. In Yugoslavia, this system is carried out not only in production but also in nonproductive departments. Thus the rights of workers as masters are guaranteed.

Workers are also the masters of society. Social and economic life is an integrated organism. The production sectors should not only set up labor-capital associations, but should also exchange labor with nonproductive sectors (such as science, technology, culture, education, public health, sanitation and other social undertakings). This means that the social sectors provide labor services and the production sectors provide funds to form a mutual relationship of labor exchange. Belgrade's Zgang Island, which we visited, is an example of an autonomous community of common interest formed in accordance with the principle of autonomy. It was there that we saw singing and dancing performances and a bicycle competition and visited a natural "swimming pool," stadium, amusement park and rowing club. The recreation facilities and cultural activities on this island obtained their operating funds from the industrial and mining enterprises located there, and the labor the island needs comes from the service departments concerned. Both the enterprises and the departments concerned appoint their representatives to form a joint management committee to discuss and make decisions on major issues. This kind of structure has been set up in various fields such as schools, hospitals, parks and recreation and sport facilities. This has enlarged the workers' right to autonomy, because they can decide not only how to distribute all the income within their own production sectors but also how to use that part of the funds transferred to society. At the same time, workers are also the masters of the state. In line with the development of autonomous systems in the economic field, political democracy in Yugoslavia has also developed greatly. Since 1974, its parliamentary system has been reformed from a representative system into a delegational one under which citizens in the basic organizations of associated labor and local communities elect their own delegations and the delegations elect a certain number of delegates to take part in the work of the parliaments at various levels. Thus they exercise their right to run the country. The greatest feature of this system of delegations and the feature that makes it different from the representative system is that it provides a better way to resolve the relationship between the representatives and their voters. The delegates live among the masses and can promptly report to their delegations the problems discussed in the parliaments, and the delegations can listen to the opinions of the workers and bring them to the parliaments for discussion. This system guarantees the people's right to independently decide and elect their delegates so that the delegates elected by the people really represent the interests of the people. It is also provided that no one can be reelected in succession to be a member of the same delegation. Thus, the delegational system is more democratic and has more of a mass nature than the representative system.

While developing socialist democracy, Yugoslavia emphasizes unity and centralism on the basis of socialist autonomy. All chief editors of the editorial departments of the newspapers and magazines we visited told us that the way to handle the relationships between democracy and centralism and between decentralization and unity is one of the problems that they always concern themselves with and discuss. Not long ago, in order to "stabilize the economy," the draft of the "expanded reproduction and past labor act," in which there were provisions opposing the tendencies of localism, decentralism and nationalism and provisions demanding the respect for unified interests and the realization of true unity was passed. Of course, intensification of unity does not mean a return to the old road of a high degree of centralism but rather a true unity on the basis of autonomy.

It Still Depends on the Predominance of Marxism

During our visit, the Yugoslav comrades told us that in the course of carrying out socialist autonomy at home and adhering to the policy of nonalignment, they have inevitably encountered pressures from various sides. Predominant among these has been ideological pressure. This has been aggravated by their early implementation of the open-door policy and the hundreds of thousands of their people employed abroad. As a result, diverse international ideological trends have inevitably continued to filter into the country. At home, there are also a few opposition factions and national groups who always seek opportunities to create trouble and sabotage social stability. Under such complicated conditions, the answer given by our Yugoslav comrades is: We depend not only on our socialist practices but also on the predominance of Marxism to resist the impact and pressure of bourgeois ideology.

Our hosts, the comrades in the General Office of the weekly KOMUNIST, gave us a special introduction to the activities of the Communist League of Yugoslavia in this respect. KOMUNIST is the official newspaper of the Communist League of Yugoslavia and most of its readers are the members of the league. They also publish two theoretical magazines: SOCIALISM (geared for internal consumption) and SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE (geared for external consumption). Great emphasis has been put on the predominance of Marxism in the propaganda of these journals. The predominance of Marxism means striving for the ascendancy of Marxism in the ideological field. The Communist League of Yugoslavia requires that, in carrying out ideological and political work among the masses, the "four pillars" of socialist practice must be adhered to, namely, national unity, social autonomy, defense by the whole people and the policy of nonalignment. In this respect, they are very strict in their requirements in the ideological and theoretical fields. A publishing committee for all major newspapers and journals has been set up in the Central Committee and in all the republican committees of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. Among the members of the committees are members of the Central Presidium, representatives of public groups and naturally the "collective editors," that is, the members of the editorial committees of the editorial departments. They play their roles as institutions of social autonomy and hold meetings at regular intervals to define policies and principles, criticize their work in the past and suggest tasks for the future. Thus they put public media under the supervision of the society and the league and prevent the ideological monopoly of any individual or group. Both newspapers and journals must carry out propaganda according to the policies of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. They are not allowed to propagate bourgeois ideology or to publish anything which deviates from the socialist road, violates the four pillars or opposes the Communist League of Yugoslavia.

Research in, and study of, Marxism is not only the task of members of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, but also an important part of the social activities of Yugoslav workers. We visited the "Socialist Research Center" of Yugoslavia, which was set up in 1969 in accordance with a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. At first, the main task of this "center" was to convene a meeting of the various research institutes and party schools to jointly make a list of research problems in accordance with the political tasks laid down by the Central Committee and then organize units and individuals to write on these problems. Later, "Marxism research centers" were set up in every republic and autonomous province and even in some districts and industrial and mining enterprises. These "centers" carry out three main types of activity: First, in accordance with the tasks laid down by the Central Committee of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, they make research plans which combine theory with practice, coordinate the theoretical research of various departments, and hold discussion meetings, report meetings and roundtable meetings (international discussion meetings) at regular or irregular intervals. Second, they help the organizations of the Communist League of Yugoslavia at all levels to develop their Marxist propaganda and education in close combination with practice, help the party schools to make plans, examine teaching programs and supply and publish textbooks. Third, besides publishing Marxist classics, they publish books on Marxist theory. The "research centers" of the central committees of the Communist League of Yugoslavia and its republics publish their own journals. For example, the "Socialist Research Center" of the Central Committee of Yugoslavia publishes two journals: SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD and MARXISM IN THE WORLD. This combines theoretical research with actual work and gives a mass nature to the propagation and study of Marxism.

The Central Committee of the Communist League of Yugoslavia attaches great importance to the Marxist education of its members, especially the party cadres and active elements, and often holds training courses at regular intervals for groups of party cadres and party activists. While in Yugoslavia, we also visited the Kumlovich Central Political School (the central party school) of the Communist League of Yugoslavia and the Central Political School of the Communist League of the Republic of Croatia. The length of their courses are the same: 1 year. They differ in that the students in the central party school attend their courses full time while those in the republic party school attend part time. Their educational policy is to proceed from the socialist practice in Yugoslavia and study

Marxism and the revolutionary experiences both at home and abroad so as to raise the consciousness of the league members in carrying out the policies of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Yugoslavia.

Moreover, the Communist League of Yugoslavia attaches great importance to the education of people on inheriting their historical and cultural legacy and on carrying forward their glorious revolutionary tradition. During our visit to Yugoslavia we were deeply impressed by the fact that it is a heroic country with a glorious history and revolutionary traditions. Wherever we went, in conference halls, in parks or in the streets there were statues of well-known historical figures and heroes for people to pay their respects to. In nearly every district, there was a building commemorating the local revolutionary struggle and heroic deeds. Especially popular with visitors are the former residence of Josip Broz Tito, historical exhibition halls, revolutionary museums and military museums, where there is always a steady flow of visitors. The Communist League of Yugoslavia also puts great emphasis on providing youngsters with a traditional and ideological education. It often organizes meetings at which veterans give talks to the youngsters and also organizes voluntary labor service camps and other activities for youngsters. These all play a great role in helping youngsters to grow up in a healthy way.

The Decisive Role of the Communist League in the Life of the State

The Communist League of Yugoslavia was originally called the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, but its name was changed in 1952. During the antifascist liberation war from 1941 to 1945, it made great sacrifices, and 9,000 of its 12,000 members gloriously gave their lives for the cause of the people's liberation. This is an historical contribution by the party that the Yugoslav people will never forget. The Communist League of Yugoslavia now has 2 million members, about 9 percent of the 22.15 million population of the whole country. This means that there is nearly 1 member for every 10 persons. The league has already become the mainstay of the socialist cause in Yugoslavia.

What role does the league play in the social, economic and political life of the state? The resolution of its sixth national congress in 1952 pointed out that the league "in doing its work, is not and cannot be the direct and practical leader and manager in organizing the life of the state and society, but it should rely on its own political and ideological activities and adopt, first of all, methods of persuasion to make its stand and line acceptable to all institutions and organizations." Later, in a series of programs and resolutions, it emphasized that the league is not in charge of actual management (separation of the party and the government), but that it is still the vanguard of the proletariat. It represents the interests of the working class and all workers and shoulders the main responsibility for, and plays the decisive role in, the development of society. In practical work, the league does not order the masses of people about, but persuades them by putting forth the correct line and correct policies. Through the force of its arguments and the example of its members' actions, it strives for implementation of its line.

During our talks with the Central Committee of the Communist League of the Republic of Slovenia, the Yugoslav comrades emphasized the guiding role of ideology and politics. They thought that the basic party organizations which have been set up in the basic organizations of associated labor should, if they wish to do their work successfully, be organized on the basis of autonomous organizations. What they meant by the guiding role of ideology and politics was a reliance on the party's correct line, the example of its members' actions and the force of its arguments to influence the masses instead of a reliance on the party's prestige to order the masses about. Major issues related to the organization of associated labor can only be decided by the workers' congress or their executive institution--the workers' committee. However, this in no way means that the league shoulders no responsibilities. The league represents the interests of the working class and all workers. Therefore, if the workers' congress of a labor organization makes a decision against the interests of the state and the majority of the masses of people, the league organization in that labor organization will be responsible for it and if it is a serious case, the league organization will receive disciplinary punishment or even be dissolved. Thus, in order to fulfill their tasks, the party organizations and their members should vigorously do their work among the masses and use the party's correct line to influence the masses so as to ensure that a correct decision will be made. Precisely for this reason the chairman of the Communist League in Novo Mesto said humorously, "Our power is very small, but our responsibility is very great."

In regard to the relations between the organizations of the league and other organizations, the resolutions of the league organizations are only binding on their members and they have no right to make decisions for other organizations. But the league should play a coordinating role between other organizations mainly through sending its representatives to visit and through the influence of its own members in these organizations. For instance, a district assembly in Yugoslavia consists of three chambers: the chamber of associated labor, the chamber of the local community, and the chamber of social and political organizations. The chamber of social and political organizations plays the most important role of the three, because the Communist League plays a decisive role in it. In other autonomous interest groups, such as those in the scientific, cultural, educational and public health circles, the league's correct line and policies are carried out solely through the role played by its own members in them, that is, by their exemplary actions and by persuasion. The secretary of a district league committee said to us, "We have more than 100 basic units, but everywhere we have our members working actively. Therefore, we need not worry that the party's line will not be carried out."

Here, the important point is the exemplary role of league members. When we were visiting the port of Rose and Postojna district, appraisals were being made of league members. During the appraisals, every member had to report how he had carried out the directives and resolutions of the league and he had to carry out criticism and self-criticism. If any member was found to have failed to take part in the work, committed mistakes or failed to pay league membership dues, he was punished. If his case was not serious, his mistakes were pointed out to him and he was not criticized; this was recorded in his file. If it was serious, he was either warned, discharged from his post or expelled from the league, and this was recorded in his file. If he later reformed, the punishment would be suspended and those who had been expelled could be readmitted. Thus, the organizations of the league rely on such criticism and appraisals to retain their vigor and revolutionary combat effectiveness.

During our stay in Yugoslavia, everywhere we heard people enthusiastically praise the league. This is because the league has led the people of all nationalities in seizing state power and uniting the country through armed struggle and made the workers the masters of their country. The league has also greatly improved the material and spiritual lives of the workers in a relatively short period. The Yugoslav comrades told us with full confidence that, although they are faced with quite a few difficulties and problems, some of which are relatively serious, they are certain that no difficulties can hinder their advance and the problems that have emerged can be solved. They are determined to march forward along their unique socialist road, which they are exploring themselves, to reach their final goal.

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THE LAST BREAKOUT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 25-31

[Article by Chen Pixian [7115 0012 7359]]

[Text] "Flames of battle raging everywhere, gunfire pounding loudly; deep was our emotion when we reluctantly parted from the Red capital. Breaking out of thousands of encirclements, we marched steadfastly toward Youshan."

It happened more than 40 years ago. Whenever I recall our last breakout from the central revolutionary base, this emotion-filled poem written that year by Comrade Cai Huiwen, commander of the south Jiangxi provincial military area, will ring in my ears, so that I cannot help thinking deeply of those revolutionaries of the older generation and those comrades-in-arms with whom I took part in the breakout.

I

Because of the erroneous leadership of leftist adventurism, the fifth campaign against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" was defeated. In October 1934, the main force of the Red Army was forced to withdraw from the central revolutionary base and embark on the Long March of over 25,000 li. Those Red Army forces and local troops who stayed behind continued to struggle tenaciously against the enemy forces which encircled the central revolutionary base. However, we were far inferior in strength to the enemy. Moreover, in their military orientation, our troops could not free themselves from the influence of erroneous leftist adventurism and continued to adhere to the policy of large-formation warfare without opportunely planning for and launching guerrilla warfare. Consequently, our front gradually diminished until we were pinned down in the small Renfeng area at the juncture of Ganzhou and Yudu.

In February 1935, various troops successively broke out of the encirclement under centralized direction. Finally, there were two units still staying behind in the Renfeng mountain area. One was the 70th Regiment of the Red Army's 24th Division, which was directly under the command of Comrade Xiang Ying, secretary of the central revolutionary base branch bureau and commander and political commissar of the central revolutionary base military area, and Comrade Chen Yi, committee member of the central revolutionary base branch bureau and head of the Central Government Office of the Soviet Republic of China. The other unit was our south Jiangxi provincial party, administrative and military bodies with the 6th

Independent Regiment. In addition, there were more than 2,000 seriously wounded armymen. At that time, the enemy encircled us on all sides with a force more than 30 times larger than ours, thus reinforcing its ring of encirclement. The situation became increasingly more critical.

Before the final breakout of the two units, we had to do a good job of evacuating the seriously wounded personnel. However, this work was very difficult. Because Comrade Chen Yi was also one of the wounded, Comrade Xiang Ying asked him to persuade them to be evacuated. Walking with a cane, Comrade Chen Yi went to the wounded personnel's quarters, and with a heavy heart he said to them: "The central revolutionary base is defeated, but the revolution will not be defeated. The sparks of revolution will not die out and the high tide of revolution will come. This is a dangerous moment, so, comrades, please go home or go to civilian families. You can work as a farmer or guerrilla and come back when the revolution has developed. However, comrades, you must by all means possible take good care of yourselves and remain heroes even in defeat. If by chance you fall into the enemy's hands and have to lay down your life, sacrifice your life and do not turn traitor. So long as some comrades are still living, they will certainly avenge us." The wounded men were deeply moved by his speech. Some said: "So long as the revolution is promising, we will stay behind with our hearts at ease." Others said: "If we can be informed of the real situation, we will surely find ways of dealing with the enemy." Only the strongest fighters could display such a heroic spirit at such a moment of grave danger.

Comrade Chen Yi then sent some men to ask the cadres and masses in the locality to come. Entrusting the wounded personnel to their care, he said: "We beg you to carry these comrades home, hide them and cure their wounds. You may adopt them as your sons or have them marry your daughters. Then your families will have one more man to work and also to take revenge!"

The masses were as close to the Red Army fighters as flesh is to blood. Having listened to Comrade Chen Yi's moving speech, they surged forward to carry the wounded men in their arms or on their backs, treating them as their relatives. In half a day, the more than 2,000 seriously wounded men were all satisfactorily accommodated. Aside from distributing several silver dollars and some medicine to each wounded man, Comrade Chen Yi also sent 5 jin of salt to each household among the masses which accommodated a wounded armyman. At that time, salt was very valuable because the enemy's blockade was very tight.

Some time after 1 pm on 3 March, the south Jiangxi provincial military area command sounded the bugle call for emergency muster. I hurriedly ran with others to the forest-covered slope facing the command headquarters to hear a report. Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi briefed the officers and men of our two units, the last to break out, on the situation that faced us and on the direction of breakthrough they had finally chosen after making repeated comparisons. We were to move to the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region with Youshan as the center. There, the enemy was strong but we enjoyed very strong mass support. In the past, the 22d Army had been established there. In November 1934, after the 22d Army had moved into the central revolutionary base, the CCP Jiangxi-Guangdong border region special commission and military subcommand were established there. Comrade Li Letian was the secretary of the special commission and the commanding officer of the military subcommand. Comrade Yang Shangkui was the deputy secretary of the special commission. They led the guerrilla forces in waging a persistent guerrilla war there. Comrade Chen Yi looked into our faces one by one with deep affection and said calmly: "All cadres and soldiers of the Red Army should be revolutionary heroes and should display even greater heroism in times of difficulty. Real heroes are those who have been tempered by difficulties. Now is the time for us to be tested."

II

On 4 March, our south Jiangxi provincial unit, comprising more than 1,800 men, left the Renfeng mountain area and began to break out. At that time, I was the secretary of the south Jiangxi provincial committee of young communists and also a member of this unit.

Before the breakout, Commander Cai Huiwen told us: "This breakout will be very arduous. The enemy troops along the route from Maling to Guanyingdu belong to the Guangdong army led by Yu Hanmou. Their numerical strength is 5 times ours and they are very well equipped. The places under the tight control of their blockhouses are precisely the places we must pass through. We must force our way through the three major strategic passes of Yunhe, Maling and Niuling. Our troops must pay a high price to get past enemy blockhouse No 3 in Niuling."

Commander Cai decided that some of the men in our unit would be an advance party and ordered the heavy machinegun company to seize a commanding height as soon as they reached Niuling in order to cover the seizure of enemy blockhouse No 3 by the advance party. The personnel of the military area command headquarters, the provincial administrative bodies and the guards company were incorporated into this force. Another group of men was responsible for rearguard action and taking the wounded to the rear.

That afternoon it rained heavily as soon as our unit set out. Having had supper at Libanqiao, our men continued to advance in the night. It was dark and the mountain trail was slippery and difficult to traverse. Some comrades slipped as soon as they had climbed a little way, but no one complained. It was after 3 am when our unit approached Maling. After taking a brief rest and eating some solid food, we prepared for combat.

The fighting started as soon as the light of early dawn appeared in the east. We charged the enemy's blockhouses with heavy fire. The chatter of machineguns and the explosions of grenades were deafening. Powerful as dragons and tigers, the advance party attacked and charged the enemy fiercely and rapidly got through the two strategic passes of Maling and Niuling. However, when that section of our unit which included the provincial party, administrative and army personnel, was passing through Niuling, right after the advance party, they were ambushed by enemy troops. By virtue of their superiority in strength and their many blockhouses, the enemy troops attacked us with a heavy crossfire. Bullets rained fiercely on our men. The enemy troops then swarmed out of the blockhouses and rushed toward our men like mad dogs, cutting our unit in half.

With the enemy troops greatly surpassing ours in numbers, many of our comrades were killed. Our young and handsome commander Cai directed the fighting calmly and resourcefully. He ordered the heavy machinegun company, which had already seized the high ground to the east of Niuling, to attack the enemy on the flank and rear with violent gunfire in order to cover the advance. He also ordered the sniper squad to fire into enemy blockhouse No 3 at an oblique angle from the west and resolutely destroy it.

The sniper squad crept forward and climbed up the slope. At a moment when the enemy was looking for targets, they rushed a dozen steps forward and quickly approached the blockhouse. A soldier named Tang Dapao thrust two grenades which were tied together into blockhouse No 3. When the thunder of the explosion died down, the blockhouse was completely silent. However, when the enemy fought back, he was killed by bullets. The enemy then began to be aware of the serious threat to his flank and fired fiercely at the gaps in the No 3 blockhouse with machineguns and rifles. Bullets landed like a swarm of locusts around us. We followed Commander Cai, sometimes hitting the ground and sometimes advancing. Suddenly, he raised his arm, waved to the west and gave this order: "Charge in this direction, charge quickly!" The soldiers followed the direction pointed out by Commander Cai, fought their way out by shedding their blood and risking their lives, and then used the concentrated fire of machineguns and rifles to help the oncoming troops break out.

At this juncture, Comrade Liu Bojian, director of the south Jiangxi provincial military area political department, was wounded. Being big and tall, he was a prominent target. Moreover, he was riding a horse, thus attracting greater attention from the enemy. His horse was wounded first. He quickly leaped from it, led the comrades to fire fiercely at the enemy, and dashed past the blockhouses Nos 1 and 3 in one vigorous effort. Unfortunately, when they had rushed past Maling and Niuling and reached Daduan, his left leg was hit by a stray bullet and he could not walk. His bodyguard was about to support him so that he could walk, but before he could place Comrade Liu Bojian's arms on his shoulders, he was hit by a bullet and fell. Comrade Liu Bojian shot at the enemy troops swarming toward him. Finally, his ammunition was exhausted and he fell into the clutches of the enemy.

At dusk the sounds of the guns gradually died down and became only sporadic. After a day of vigorous fighting and rapid march, Maling and Niuling were far behind us.

It was dark and rain was still falling. Judging from the direction of the wind and rain and reading the compass by its weak fluorescent light, Commander Cai determined the march route. I followed on his heels. Fortunately, he was tall and big and his figure was faintly visible. I followed him. When it was nearly dawn, the troops reached a dense forest and Commander Cai ordered the men to halt and take a rest. All our clothes were wet, our stomachs rumbled with hunger, and we felt chilled to the bone.

At daybreak, Comrade Yu Hu, the bodyguard of Comrade Yuan Xiaoxian, secretary of the south Jiangxi provincial party committee and political commissar of the south Jiangxi provincial military area command, came rushing up through the narrow mountain track. With tears in his eyes, he reported to Commander Cai that Comrade Yuan Xiaoxian had died a martyr in the Battle of Niuling. Commander Cai gazed into the distance with a somber countenance and said in a low voice: "A loyal man's bones are buried in a sacred place, and his noble spirit fills the universe as the rainbow spans the sky. Comrade Yuan Xiaoxian and the martyrs who died gloriously have parted with us forever. Let them stay in the land of the revolutionary base! They will live forever in our hearts."

Comrade Yuan Xiaoxian had joined the Communist Party in 1921. He was one of our party's oldest members. During the first move toward cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CCP, he was a teacher of politics at the Guangzhou Institute for Training in Peasant Movements. He participated in the leadership over the mighty peasant movements in Guangdong. He had been an alternate member of the CCP Central Committee, a member of the CCP Central Committee, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic of China, and a chairman of the Auditing Committee of the CCP Central Committee. Braving untold dangers, he had worked for the party without evading difficulties or dangers until he finally sacrificed his precious life.

After several days and nights of fighting, of the 1,800 and more members of our unit, only some 80 had survived. I said to Commander Cai: "You have changed from an area commander into a company commander." He stared at me with resolution in his eyes and grinned.

Having broken out of the enemy's numerous encirclements, we marched at night and slept during the day, proceeding along the mountain ranges near the bank of the Taojiang River. These were places where the White area and the guerrilla area met. Everywhere there were the blockhouses of reactionary landlords. "Organizations for defense and restoration of order" were blocking our way ahead, and the strong enemy was chasing and attacking us from behind. Commander Cai directed the troops to stay clear of the enemy's main force and strike at his weak points, to cross over mountain after mountain and march to the southwest.

Dawn was approaching. We heard the crowing of cocks in the distance. After descending from mountain tracks along steep slopes onto flat land, we felt much more comfortable. A scout returned with a report that the Taojiang River was not far away.

To prevent the Red Army from crossing the river, the Kuomintang reactionaries had tried to destroy all the ferries. Helped by some natives of the countryside, with great difficulty we found several ferries and smoothly crossed the Taojiang River, arriving in the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region. Commander Cai surveyed both banks of the Taojiang River and then looked up at the sky and read aloud a poem that had formed in his mind:

In March we cross the Tao River, its waters flowing onward forever; our men's hunger and our horses' fatigue are nothing to speak of, the will of our men strong as iron; passing barriers and slaughtering the enemy, we fill them with fear and wreck the thousands of encirclements set up by the rascals; pointing and gazing at Youshan, we hail the impending union, like that of winds and clouds!

Our troops stopped to rest at a small mountain cottage near the Ganxin highway. After several days of marching and fighting, the soldiers were thoroughly exhausted. Throwing themselves on the ground, they instantly slept so soundly that "as snoring began, they were carried to a dreamland far, far away."

When they awoke, the sun was already high in the sky. They raised their heads and found Commander Cai walking to and fro in the yard outside the house and looking around frequently. He was standing guard duty himself without caring about fatigue!

I silently approached him and said softly: "You should also take a rest!"

"Comrade Pi, we will be able to contact the Dalong area party committee. Yu Hu has gone out to establish contacts." His expression showed gladness. It seemed he had not heard what I said. He was only intent on telling me that piece of encouraging information.

After a while, Yu Hu came up with the comrade in charge of the Dalong area party committee. Commander Cai and I had a meeting with him. He pointed at the mountains and told us: "Those high mountains are Youshan, the base of our heroic guerrilla fighters! It takes only 2 days to get to the central region of Youshan." He also said cordially: "Here is the border of the guerrilla area and we have supporters among the masses here. They have already brought us some food."

It was true. Soon afterward, we were eating the rice, gruel and sweet potatoes supplied by the masses. We had been suffering from hunger for several days, and so the food seemed to be particularly delicious.

After a night's rest, the troops continued to march at dawn the next day. We crossed the Ganxin highway and entered Chang'an district. There were always traffic control personnel and members of the masses to show us the way. Scaling mountains, wading through water, marching at night and sleeping in the day, we advanced toward Youshan district in the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region. On the way, Commander Cai improvised the following poem entitled "Record of the Breakout and March":

The spring cold was intense as the strong enemy chased us. We marched in the night across valleys in dim moonlight. In dense woods and deep tunnels, the enemy was frightened and unable to tell west from east. The mountains were reddened with blood, yet our soldiers were exhilarated. With nothing to fill their stomachs except wind and dew, we still had a will that filled the heaven like a rainbow. Stones were our pillows as we slept amid cogon grass when tired, intoxicated by the spring wind!

One afternoon, we finally reached Youshan and met the comrades who had been fighting persistently there. Although all of us were covered with the stains of battle fire, our faces and eyes still shone with the radiance of resolution and victory. The comrades eagerly came forward to take our things and carry them for us. They enthusiastically asked questions as we walked along. Tears sparkled in the eyes of many comrades. The masses nearby stopped working and swarmed toward us to express their warm welcome.

In the deepening shade of dusk, our troops came to a dense forest. The offices of the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region special commission were in several houses under the shade of pines and bamboos. Comrades of the special commission, such as Secretary Li Letian, Deputy Secretary Yang Shangkui, Secretary of the Special Commission's Young Communists Liu Xinchao and so on, enthusiastically received us near the special commission offices. We were particularly delighted to see leading comrades such as Xiang Ying and Chen Yi in the special commission office and to see Comrade Zeng Jicai! We firmly grasped each other's hands and patted each other on the shoulders, with warmth surging in our hearts. In the days since we had left the Renfeng mountain area, I had always been worrying about the safety of the leading comrades such as Xiang Ying, Chen Yi and so on, but they had arrived before we did. The worry pressing on my heart like a huge stone was immediately gone. I had thousands of words to say to them. However, because I was too excited, I could not say them at that moment, as if there was a lump in my throat. Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi cordially extended their regards to us. Comrade Chen Yi also said with a heroic spirit: "The Kuomintang is bragging that they wiped us out in the Renfeng mountain area! Ha, we are here talking in Youshan!" All of us were infected by his revolutionary optimism and the house was filled with the joy of triumph.

III

It was then that we learned how Comrades Xiang Ying, Chen Yi and so on had managed to break out. They and Comrade He Chang with the personnel of the branch bureau of the CCP Central Committee, the office of the CCP Central Committee and the central revolutionary base military area command, as well as the 70th Regiment of the 24th Red Army, were the last group to leave the Renfeng mountain area after our south Jiangxi provincial unit had broken out.

Before their breakout, there were enemy troops on all sides and sounds of guns everywhere. The situation was very dangerous. However, Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi still decided, first of all, to send a telegram to the CCP Central Committee to report the situation in the central revolutionary base and the plan for the troops' breakout in groups.

At 1 pm on 4 March, the troops ready for the last breakout fell in. However, by 3 pm the radio still had not given the signal. The radio operator sweated with anxiety. Comrade He Chang was very impatient and set off first with two battalions. Shortly after their departure, they were ambushed by enemy troops and were dispersed. Later, Comrade He Chang moved to Shihan village in Huichang, assembled the scattered troops and bravely crossed the Huichang River. However, as soon as they landed on the opposite bank, they were encircled by enemy troops lying in ambush. They fought for a long time but could not break out. Comrade He Chang was seriously wounded. The enemy gradually drew near and yelled that they wanted to take prisoners alive. Comrade He Chang loudly shouted the slogan "Long live the Red Army," and shot himself with the last bullet in his gun. Comrade He Chang was a great proletarian fighter. He had been elected a member of the Central Committee at both the fifth and sixth national congresses of the party. He had also been the deputy director of the General Political Department of the Red Army, a member of the central revolutionary base branch bureau and the director of the political department of the central revolutionary base military area command. He was only 29 when he died a martyr.

The radio was chattering and time was running out. It began to get dark. Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi remained all the time at the radio. It was past 4 pm but the radio still did not give the signal. The troops were waiting anxiously and they could hear the enemy's shots at the foot of Renfeng mountain.

At 5 pm the radio suddenly gave a strong signal and radio communications were finally established! The radio signals were thick and fast. The plan for the breakout was reported to the CCP Central Committee, and the Central Committee's reply was received immediately. Unfortunately, because the code had been changed, the message could not be deciphered and the Central Committee's reply could not be understood. Therefore, Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi ordered the radio to be buried and the cipher code burned. From then on, their contact with the Central Committee was discontinued.

In the evening, Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi departed with a battalion. As soon as they started to move out, it began to rain heavily. It was dark and the trails were slippery. The men slipped frequently. After 2 hours of marching, they had covered only 5 li.

With great difficulty, they managed to get to the foot of the mountain. Just as they arrived at a hamlet, they encountered the enemy. Our men, 300 or more, were dispersed. Comrade Xiang Ying was also separated from Comrade Chen Yi. At dawn, the men, now 200 or more, came together again. They dashed in all directions, causing the enemy to go round and round. In the evening, they encountered the enemy and were scattered again. At that time, one man turned traitor. The enemy printed copies of his confession on leaflets and distributed them by plane. The leaflets said: Xiang Ying was shortsighted and could not travel at night, Chen Yi was heavily wounded in the leg and could not walk, and 50,000 silver dollars would be awarded to anyone who captured them.

It was resolved after some study that to lessen the troops' burden and to reduce the target of action under those circumstances, the troops were to be directed by several other comrades. Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi, with a small number of guards, were to break out by themselves.

Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi and others made repeated efforts to break out, but all of the attempts failed. They prepared to hide themselves temporarily at the foot of the mountain. Just then they met a man, who grasped Comrade Chen Yi when he saw him and said: "My leader, oh my leader!" He broke into tears and cried loudly.

The man was Comrade Zeng Jicai. In 1929, when Comrade Chen Yi was organizing the 22d Red Army in the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region, Zeng Jicai was the secretary of the party committee of the Niujing district in the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region. At that time, he responded to the party's call, took the lead to join the army and mobilized many young men to follow his example. After the 22d Red Army moved to the central revolutionary base, he was appointed secretary of the party committee of the newly formed Daiying County and transferred to that locality.

Comrade Chen Yi told Zeng Jicai not to cry and asked him why he had come to the Renfeng mountain area. He said: "When I was the secretary of Daiying County's party committee, people came to inspect my work and said that I was a right opportunist. After a protracted process of criticism and denunciation, it was said that everything was wrong with me. I was dismissed from my post and sent to carry stretchers in the Red Army as a form of punishment. After 2 or 3 months on my new job, it was said that my performance was rather satisfactory and I was promoted leader of the stretcher bearers' unit. When the main force of the Red Army withdrew from the central revolutionary base, I was told to escort a group of local tyrants and evil gentry to another locality. On the way, some Kuomintang planes bombed us and half of the group of local tyrants and evil gentry escaped. This was disastrous because it was used as further proof that I was a right opportunist. When the Red Army evacuated, the local authorities did not want me. My letter of reference says I am a right opportunist of a serious nature, and so no one is willing to accommodate me. I have been rejected everywhere and soon I will be expelled from the revolutionary ranks."

Comrade Chen Yi asked him why he did not go home. He said: "What can I do if I go home with that letter of reference? The local tyrants and evil gentry in my native county are filled with deep hatred for me. My whole family was killed by the reactionaries and my house was burned down by them. Where can I go if I leave the party and the revolutionary ranks?" He continued: "I heard that after the main force of the Red Army evacuated, you stayed behind. I thought that if I could find you, my veteran leader, I might be able to get you to accommodate me. I went all the way to Ruijin to find you, but the county town of Ruijin had been occupied by the enemy. I heard that my veteran leader had withdrawn to the Renfeng mountain area, and so I have come here with much difficulty. Now at last I have found my veteran leader. If I am to die, I will die in the revolutionary ranks."

Comrade Chen Yi comforted him, saying: "The central revolutionary base has been defeated. We will sum up the lessons of our experiences in the future. Now that we are in this situation, you should not mind what has happened to you. Let us fight together as guerrillas from now on."

Comrade Zeng Jicai's eyes shone with honesty and zeal. He said affectionately: "We must not blame others for mistakes in the revolution. How can the special commission and the county party committee be absolutely correct? The central revolutionary base is lost and this is a bitter experience. I should not come to get the wrongs done to me redressed. We must remedy our defeat. I hope that we will sum up the experience in the future."

Comrade Chen Yi tenderly touched and looked at this good comrade who, for the revolution's sake, had worked hard, had not been upset by criticism and was ready to brave untold dangers. He said lovingly: "Of course. I cannot speak on behalf of our party's Central Committee. However, I will tell the Central Committee that you are not a right opportunist."

Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi briefed him on their plan for the breakout and asked him whether he knew the local region well. He replied that he did. It would be dangerous to cross the river directly. He was sure that they could safely make a detour to the upper reaches of the river and cross it there in secret.

That night Comrade Zeng Jicai led Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi and other men along the route from the Renfeng mountain area to Youshan.

At that time, the enemy was all over Renfeng mountain area. For safety Xiang Ying and Chen Yi hid in the mountain for a day until the enemy troops began to withdraw. Then they descended the mountain, mixed with a group of common people who were going carrying goods on shoulder poles to a market, crossed the Taojiang River secretly and arrived at the ferry crossing point of Wangmudu. Comrade Zeng Jicai's home county was near Wangmudu and he wanted to go home and see how things were. Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi asked him whether his family had been slaughtered by the Kuomintang. He said that his mother-in-law was still alive. They all agreed that he should go to see her and were willing to accompany him. That evening the men started out, walked in the dark over more than 10 li and arrived at her house. Zeng Jicai knocked at the door and said he had just come from the eastern side of the river. However, she did not answer even though he knocked for a long time. He could do nothing but ask her to see him the next morning at a secret place, out of consideration for her martyred daughter.

At dawn on the next day, Zeng Jicai's mother-in-law, carrying a bamboo basket and glancing to her right and left, gingerly came at the secret rendezvous. Seeing that no one had followed her, Zeng Jicai came out to greet her. When she met her son-in-law, she wept and told him that since the main force of the Red Army had evacuated, Kuomintang soldiers often came knocking on ordinary people's doors at night, pretending they were Red Army soldiers who had returned. If anyone opened the door, the whole family would be killed. She said that although she had recognized his voice the night before, she was afraid of a trick and did not open the door although several times had she wanted to. Then Zeng Jicai let her see Xiang Ying and Chen Yi. She told them not to come out in the daytime and that they could sleep in her house at night. Then she left them the basket of food and silently went home.

That night they went to her house in the dark and had a full meal. They knew from her that there was a carpenter in the Chang'an market who was a secret party member and was fairly trustworthy. They walked 80 li at one stretch and found the carpenter. Through him they established contact with the underground party organization, which arranged their journey to Youshan. Experiencing numerous difficulties and going in a roundabout way, they finally triumphantly reached Youshan, the center of the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region base. From then on, during the 3-year period of guerrilla war waged in the south, Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi exercised direct leadership over the guerrilla war in the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region base. Youshan became the center of the 14 guerrilla war areas in the eight southern provinces.

IV

When we triumphantly met Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi and other comrades in Youshan, victory cheers were interwoven with a deep grief in our hearts. No one would forget that when our south Jiangxi provincial breakout unit set out, it consisted of more than 1,800 men. By the time we had reached Dalong, only some 80 men were left. Later, when other men arrived in succession at Youshan, the total number of survivors was only a little over 300. The majority of our comrades had been scattered in the fighting or had heroically sacrificed their lives. All of us expressed deep grief over the martyrdom of our comrades. In particular, the death of Comrades Yuan Xiaoxian and He Chang was a great loss to our party and army. With deep affection for his comrades-in-arms, Comrade Chen Yi wrote the following poem entitled "Lamentation Over the Death of Comrades Yuan Xiaoxian and He Chang":

Of our many comrades, Yuan and He were noted for their capability, the fame of Yuan extending over Guangdong and He's name being known by all in Hebei. One did painstaking auditing work and the other was noted for his management of political affairs. Alas! They fought with me to break out, and now I alone survive.

Shortly after we arrived in Youshan, we heard the sad news that Comrade Liu Bojian had sacrificed his life. After he was wounded and captured in the breakout campaign, he rejected the enemy's inducement to capitulate, speaking with the force of justice. The Kuomintang sent him under escort to Dayu. He was sent to the headquarters of the 1st Army of Guangdong and locked up in the Dayu County prison. Later, he was transferred to a room for persons awaiting trial in the enemy's government office for the restoration of peace and order. While he was being transferred from one place of custody to another, he remained calm and dignified as, wearing heavy foot shackles, he went through the main streets. He left behind the following poem entitled "Walking With Shackles," which displayed a heroic spirit that overshadows mountains and rivers:

Walking in the long street with shackles, I stagger step by step. People along the street eagerly fix their eyes on me, but my conscience is free from guilt or shame. I walk in the long street with shackles, the shackles ringing sonorously. People along the street are frightened and surprised, but my heart is peaceful. I walk in the long street with shackles, my dignity continuing to grow. I defy the danger and suffering of imprisonment in the hope that all workers and peasants will be liberated.

The main ingredient of this poem is life. The poem gushed from the author's heart. It is a communist's vehement song of beautiful and magnificent struggle. It is an oath of iron and steel which no force can shake. Now when we read it, we feel as if we see the author himself. His resolute dedication to the cause of communism will forever encourage us to advance!

On 24 March, Comrade Liu Bojian died a martyr at Jinlian Shan in Dayu at the age of 35. He was buried at Meishan in Guangdong. He had joined the CCP in 1922 while he was participating in the work-study program in France. After his return to China, the party appointed him to be the director of the General Political Department of the Northwest Army led by Mr Feng Yuxiang, and he contributed to the victory of the northern expedition. During the second revolutionary civil war, he was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic of China and the director of the Political Department of the 5th Army Group of the Red Army.

An enormous price was paid for this last breakout. However, it was finally successful. From then on, new pages were opened up one after another in the history of the 3 years of extremely arduous guerrilla war in the south.

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ON THE QUESTION OF OUR COUNTRY'S TRANSITION FROM NEW DEMOCRACY TO SOCIALISM

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[Article by Wen Yanmao [5113 1693 5399]]

[Text] The period from the founding of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 to the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production in 1956, was an historical period for the transition from new democracy to socialism in China's society. The "Resolution on Several Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, made an adequate affirmation and scientific appraisal of this transition. A conscientious study of the exposition on this question by the "resolution" will make us understand why our country had to undergo the transition from new democracy to socialism and will make us know the glorious victory achieved in this historical transition led and carried out by our party.

I

With the founding of the PRC, our country ended its history of being a semicolonial and semifeudal society and entered the period of new democracy. We built a state power of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class with the worker-peasant alliance as its foundation. We confiscated bureaucrat capital and formed a state sector of the socialist economy which occupied the leading position. We unfolded the three great movements of resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea, of carrying out land reform, and of suppressing counterrevolutionaries, and won great victories. We rehabilitated the national economy and then engaged in planned economic construction. All this provided the political and economic conditions and the fundamental guarantee for our country's transition from new democracy to socialism.

Our country's transition from new democracy to socialism was not determined by some individual or some one's will. It was an inevitable trend in our country's historical development and it had deep socioeconomic causes.

After the victory of the new democratic revolution in China, there were five economic sectors. The main sectors were the state sector of the economy, individual economy and private capitalist economy. Between these economic sectors, there were complicated contradictions and struggles. In the final analysis, they were contradictions and struggles between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. They were the main contradictions in China's society in this period. The existence, development and correct resolution of these contradictions determined that China's society would inevitably undergo the transition from new democracy to socialism. The general line during the transitional period put forward by the party Central Committee in 1952 according to Comrade Mao Zedong's proposition reflected this historical inevitability. The essence of the general line is to basically transform the private ownership of the means of production into socialist public ownership during industrialization.

The private capitalist economy in our country has always played an active role in developing production, causing the market to flourish and rehabilitating the national economy. But, owing to the role played by the basic laws governing a capitalist economy, there were sharp contradictions and struggles between its production goal of seeking profits and the production goal of the socialist economy of meeting social demands, between its anarchic production and the socialist planned economy, and between its economic activities and the state policies. The capitalist economy always tried to contend with the state sector of the economy for markets and leadership. It developed blindly in an attempt to break away from the leadership of the state sector of the economy and the management of the government. Thus, the struggle between restrictions and counter-restrictions became the main form of class struggle in the new democratic period. Since 1949, such struggles have continued, of which three are the most important.

The first struggle, which centered on controlling markets and stabilizing prices, took place before and after the founding of the PRC. At that time, the capitalists engaged in cornering and speculation, drove up prices, and disrupted the market and the financial and monetary systems. From April 1949 to February 1950, prices soared on four different occasions. The state quickly stabilized prices by adopting the method of combining economic measures with administrative intervention. The history of galloping inflation, which lasted for 12 long years under the Kuomintang reactionary rule, came to an end and the leading position of the state sector of the economy in the markets was established. The state began to place orders with capitalist enterprises for processing materials, and to have the state monopolize purchasing and marketing and bring them into the orbit of state capitalism.

The second struggle was against the "five evils." Since the second half of 1950, following the improvement of the state sector of the economy and the large-scale increase of goods ordered by the state during the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, capitalist industry and commerce were rehabilitated and developed rapidly. At that time, some capitalists, blinded by a lust for profit, adopted the illegal means of bribery, tax evasion, stealing state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing state economic information. They disrupted the national economy in their quest for exorbitant profits. In order to repel the attacks of the bourgeoisie, shortly after the movement against the "three evils" at the beginning of 1952, the party Central Committee launched a struggle against the "five evils" and won a complete victory. The socialist position and the leading position of the state sector of the economy were further consolidated through this struggle. Workers' supervision was established in capitalist enterprises, and the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was greatly promoted.

The third struggle was carried out in the first half of 1953, when the urban capitalists combined with the spontaneous capitalist forces in the rural areas in cornering the market and hoarding agricultural products such as grain. Once again they contended with the socialist economy for markets. Our party adopted a series of policies and measures, which included state monopoly of the purchasing and marketing of grain, and severed the relations between private capitalism and the spontaneous capitalism in the rural areas. Thus the bourgeoisie was further isolated.

This struggle between restrictions and counter-restrictions once again proved that, following the development of the national economy, the negative role of the capitalist economy, which was detrimental to the national economy and the people's livelihood, was more and more exposed and that the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism were more and more marked. The capitalist economy gradually became an obstacle to the further development of social productive forces. Under the new situation of large-scale and planned economic construction carried out by the state, tightening the grip on the work of socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce became an urgent requirement. Starting in 1953, China, under the guidance of the general line, began to carry out a systematic and all-round transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

The transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was gradually completed, from lower to higher forms, through state capitalism. This was a process for opening up the road for further developing the productive forces according to the need for the development of the productive forces and the relevant change in production relations.

Through a lower form of state capitalism, the state had control over capitalist enterprises in raw materials and marketing and to a certain extent brought their production under the state plan. In addition, the state guaranteed the rational profits of capitalists. But this did not change the capitalist nature of the enterprises, which was still detrimental to promoting productive forces. To expand production, the launching of large-scale economic construction required state investment in some private enterprises which produced important and urgently needed products. Therefore, capitalist industry and commerce had to undergo the transformation from a lower form of state capitalism to a higher form of state capitalism such as joint state-private ownership.

After the implementation of joint state-private ownership, the state's leadership and restrictions on capitalist enterprises proceeded from the process of external circulation to the process of internal production so as to change them into semi-socialist enterprises. In general, the production of joint state-private enterprises developed rapidly. This showed their superiority. The profits of the capitalists increased along with the development of production. Thus, more and more capitalists accepted joint state-private ownership.

Following the development of joint state-private enterprises, some new problems emerged. The industrial enterprises that had adopted joint state-private ownership were all large factories, and the rest were mainly medium-sized and small factories, which had poor production conditions and were confronted with great difficulties. Some could hardly continue their production. It was necessary to make overall arrangements and to reorganize production in the entire undertaking. It was necessary to exercise joint state-private ownership over all undertakings. After joint state-private ownership was effected in all undertakings, the ownership of enterprises, the management right and the right to allocate personnel were turned over to the state. Such enterprises actually became socialist enterprises, except for the fixed interest paid to the capitalists.

In early 1956, pushed forward by the high tide of the agricultural cooperative movement, a high tide of joint state-private ownership of all undertakings emerged throughout the country. Referring to this situation, Comrade Mao Zedong said at the sixth session of the Supreme State Conference in January 1956: "It is beyond expectation that joint state-private ownership in all undertakings could have come so fast. By the end of October 1955, when Mr Li Zhuchen suggested a high tide in joint state-private ownership, I poured cold water on it, saying that we must not be in such a hurry and that things must be done step by step and in an orderly way, for fear that we might make a mess of it. But in less than 2 months, joint state-private ownership was realized throughout almost the entire country." These remarks of Comrade Mao Zedong's show that joint state-private ownership was indeed the general trend and popular feeling. It was like the saying "a melon falls off its stem when it is ripe," and "where water flows, a channel is formed."

In the transition from new democracy to socialism and in the struggle between socialism and capitalism, the socialist transformation of individual farming was of decisive significance.

Individual peasants have dual characteristics. On the basis of private ownership of the land and under the conditions of the capitalist economy, if the peasants were not gradually guided onto the socialist road, they would inevitably go to two extremes. A very small number of peasants would become well off through exploitation, while the great majority would once again fall into straitened circumstances from being exploited. After the land reform, this situation began to emerge in the rural areas of our country. In order to prevent the peasantry from going to two extremes, socialist transformation had to be carried out in the rural areas so as to transform the private ownership of the means of production, especially the private ownership of the land, into public ownership. Land is the principal means of production for the peasants. Transforming the private ownership of land into the public ownership of land and prohibiting the buying, selling and renting out of land would uproot land annexation, which had existed in our country for thousands of years. This would prevent the land from being used as a means of exploitation. The transfer of land to public ownership had great significance in the socialist transformation of agriculture.

Individual farming based on small-plot ownership with each household as a production unit was very weak economically. Its production was unstable. Therefore, its labor productivity and commodity rates were very low. There were serious contradictions between the limitations of individual farming and the state's industrialization, between the limitations of individual farming and the people's increasing need for agricultural products, and between the limitations of individual farming and the peasants' desire to further develop production and improve their livelihood. These contradictions had to be resolved through the socialist transformation of agriculture.

China's peasants have a long tradition of mutual aid. As early as the agrarian revolution, there were various forms of mutual-aid teams in the revolutionary base areas. After the founding of the PRC, the mutual aid and cooperation movement developed extensively. In the winter of 1951, presided over by Comrade Mao Zedong, the party Central Committee adopted the "Resolution on Mutual Aid and Cooperation in Agricultural Production (Draft)." It was decided that the peasants should be guided in a timely manner onto the road of mutual aid and cooperation after the completion of land reform. The resolution correctly analyzed the two initiatives brought into play by the peasants on the basis of the land reform, viz, the initiative in individual farming and the initiative in mutual aid and cooperation. According to this scientific analysis, the resolution worked out the policies and tactics the party used to guide the socialist transformation of agriculture. The resolution pointed out that there were two wrong tendencies in the question of mutual aid and cooperation. One was the passive attitude adopted toward mutual aid and cooperation. With this attitude people failed to see that this was the only road for our party to take in guiding the peasants in the transformation from individual economy to collective economy. The other was an overanxious attitude. Some people thought that socialism could quickly be completely realized in the rural areas regardless of the peasants' willingness and the state of economic preparation. The party's correct principle was to carefully and actively guide the peasants in their gradual transition to agricultural collectivization. Under the guidance of the resolution, the mutual aid and cooperation movement developed healthily and rapidly in our country.

China's agriculture went through some transitional forms in its conversion from individual economy to collective economy. One of the major links was the elementary agricultural producers' cooperative, which was semisocialist and had the characteristics of land contribution and unified management. The elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives not only paid attention to the individuality of the peasants but also helped the peasants to cultivate the habit of collective management and of division of labor and cooperation, so as to make it easy for them to accept socialist transformation. Before collectivization, the Soviet Union also had organizations similar to China's elementary cooperatives. But not enough attention was paid to them. The case was different in China. In the socialist transformation of agriculture, our party, by means of its main strength and on the basis of leading the peasants to develop mutual aid teams, tried to run elementary cooperatives and expand them. Elementary cooperatives remarkably promoted the development of production and played an exemplary role. They attracted more and more peasants. Starting in 1953, agricultural cooperatives began to develop extensively throughout the country after the propagation and implementation of the general line. The building and the consolidation of elementary cooperatives in large numbers were beginning to show the superiority of the collective economy. This laid the foundation for the large-scale building of advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives of a completely socialist nature and for the realization of agricultural cooperative transformation throughout the country in 1956.

We say that the collective economy is superior to the small-scale peasant economy and that it will inevitably replace the small-scale peasant economy and become the basic form of China's agricultural economy, because the collective economy has provided extensive possibilities for the development of productivity. First, it can rationally make use of land and break through the limitations of the small-scale peasant economy in land use. Second, it can rationally make use of the labor force and effect a specialized division of labor. It is beneficial to the carrying out of a diversified economy and to the organizing of specialized production. Third, it concentrates manpower and funds to carry out capital construction projects such as irrigation and water conservancy, to carry out undertakings beyond the capacity of individual households, and to overcome the difficulties that the small-scale peasant economy might be confronted with in resisting natural calamities and carrying out enlarged reproduction. Fourth, it is beneficial for using new farm tools and agricultural machinery and for popularizing new techniques. Therefore, realizing cooperative transformation of agriculture was the only correct road for developing agricultural production and the only correct road for the peasants to get rid of poverty and to become well off as a whole.

Like individual farming, the individual handicraft industry is a small commodity economy. The socialist transformation of the handicraft industry had, in the main, undergone the same process as the socialist transformation of agriculture. It was also basically completed in 1956.

The successful completion of the three great transformations enabled China to realize the transition from new democracy to socialism and enter socialism.

The party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly pointed out that, after the nationwide victory of the new democratic revolution, there would be a new democratic society, a society for the transition to socialism. It was predicted that this transition would cover a fairly long historical period, in which we should strive to develop the socialist state-owned economy and the cooperative economy and allow capitalism, which was beneficial to the national economy and the people's livelihood, to develop appropriately (of course we should not allow it to spread unchecked as in capitalist countries, but should limit various aspects of it) until it has been converted into the socialist stage when conditions are ripe.

Subsequently, according to the practical conditions and experiences for carrying out social reform in the first several years after the founding of the PRC, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong changed the original assumptions about the question of time and steps for the transition to socialism. They also made a new theoretical summary. In 1952, when the rehabilitation of the national economy was coming to an end, Comrade Mao Zedong timely put forward the question of the transition to socialism. In 1953, he pointed out more clearly: "From the founding of the PRC to the basic completion of socialist transformation is a transitional period. The general tasks of our party in the transitional period are the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce along with the realization of industrialization."

The transitional period mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong was the transitional period from new democracy to socialism, viz, the new democratic period. Owing to the existence of the five economic sectors, this period was full of contradictions and struggles and it was undergoing constant changes and development. The basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production was the end of the new democratic period.

Marxist theory always develops with practice. This shows that Marxism is full of vitality. We should not negate the correct road we have traversed because of some propositions which were later changed according to practical experience and which were mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong. The ideas of allowing the five economic sectors to coexist for a long time and of allowing capitalism to develop for a long time after the victory of the new democratic revolution were wrong and not in accord with China's actual conditions. If these two propositions had been carried out, the development of production would not have been so fast and the transition to socialism would not have been as easy as some people imagined. On the contrary, they would not only have obstructed the development of all social productive forces but also have made the transition to socialism much more difficult. Practice has proved that the general line of the party during the transitional period formulated by the party Central Committee is correct and that it was absolutely necessary to carry out the transition from new democracy to socialism without delay.

II

With the basic completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce, the exploiting system was abolished and the exploiting society, which had lasted for thousands of years, was put to an end. This was the most profound and the greatest social reform in China's history. This victory enabled the worker-peasant alliance and the united front to be established on a new foundation and it consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship. This victory changed the economic structure of the five coexisting economic sectors and made the public ownership of the means of production the fundamental economic system in our country. This victory further emancipated the productive forces and promoted the completion of China's first 5-year plan ahead of schedule. The people's livelihood improved remarkably along with the development of production. This victory gave impetus to the change in the people's mental attitude and to the progress of social morality and habits.

In such a large country as China with its complicated conditions, a backward economy and small-scale production predominated. Our party achieved victory in socialist transformation and completed the "painful and arduous transition" described by Lenin. Things were done so well and so successfully that there were not many upheavals in society. Production went up every year instead of down. This fully shows that the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong had a high degree of skill in leadership. Our party combined the general principles of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, found a road to socialist transformation suited to China's conditions, worked out a set of correct and flexible policies, tactics, measures and methods, and enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific socialism.

The socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in China was carried out by means of peaceful redemption. The policy of redemption toward the bourgeoisie was first put forward by Marx and Engels. But at that time it was only a tentative idea. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin tried to put it into effect. But, owing to the historical conditions in Russia at that time, he failed to get the expected results. However, our party turned this tentative idea into reality, thus providing a successful example for the international communist movement of the peaceful redemption of the bourgeoisie. Our party has created a unique experience in this respect.

First, it handled the contradictions between the working class and the national bourgeoisie as contradictions among the people. During the democratic revolution, an alliance was established between China's working class and the national bourgeoisie. This alliance was maintained after the founding of the PRC. Owing to this historical condition and to the correct policy adopted by our party, the antagonistic class contradictions between the working class and the national bourgeoisie were transformed into nonantagonistic contradictions. This greatly reduced the obstruction from the bourgeoisie and made it possible to eliminate the bourgeoisie by peaceful means.

Second, it adopted the method of gradual transition. According to the concrete conditions in different periods and in different undertakings, our party adopted flexible and various forms and measures to transform step by step capitalist private ownership into socialist public ownership. At every step during this transformation, the economic interests of the bourgeoisie were taken into account. Therefore, the capitalists could accept this transformation. The implementation of this policy was beneficial not only to the bourgeoisie, but, what was more important, to the working people and the whole nation. This softened its impact on society, guaranteed normal production and prevented the destruction of the means of production.

Third, it carried out the principle of combining the remolding of capitalists with the transformation of enterprises. The transformation of capitalist industry and commerce had two aspects. One was remolding man by educational means and the other was changing the system by peaceful means. Peaceful transformation did not mean that there was no struggle, but it was a special form of class struggle. The elimination of the capitalist exploiting system inevitably meets with varying degrees of resistance and opposition from capitalists. It was quite important to do a good job of remolding them. The capitalists had to be reformed according to different conditions. Sometimes the form of acute class struggle was adopted (such as the movement against the "five evils"). Sometimes the method of education and guidance was adopted to make them understand the situation well and take their destiny into their own hands. In addition, attention was also paid to fostering some enlightened capitalists who were willing to get close to the Communist Party and the people's government, so they would convince the great majority of intellectuals.

In the socialist transformation of agriculture, our party smoothly guided several hundred million peasants onto the socialist road. There was no large-scale slaughter of draft animals as happened during collectivization in the Soviet Union. Grain output did not drop but instead rose in successive years. This was also a great victory in the history of the international communist movement.

In a country in which individual peasants are the great majority of the population, the question of how to make the peasants take the socialist road after the proletariat seizes political power has always been a difficult problem for socialists to solve. To solve this problem, Engels proposed for the first time the transformation of the private production and ownership of the peasants into the production and ownership of cooperatives by means of giving examples and providing social aid. Lenin developed Engels' theory, further clarified a series of fundamental questions on the cooperative system and proposed the absorption of the peasants into socialist construction through the cooperative movement.

Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong applied Engels' and Lenin's theory to the practice in China and scored achievements never scored by Marxists of the older generation in leading the socialist transformation of agriculture. They provided new additions to Marxism-Leninism.

First, they fully considered the strategic position of the worker-peasant alliance in the transition from new democracy to socialism. On the eve of the founding of the worker-peasant alliance in the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The overthrow of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries mainly depended on the strength of these two classes. The transition from new democracy to socialism was completed mainly by relying on the alliance of these two classes." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, pp 1415-1416) The question of the worker-peasant alliance was one of the basic questions in the new democratic revolution. It was also the basic starting point for the party's strategy and tactics in the long period after the victory of the revolution. The status of peasants has a very important bearing on the situation of the whole country. Whether China is stable depends mainly on whether the peasants' life is stable. Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong always paid keen attention to relationships with the peasants. In the long period of revolutionary struggle, our party established relationships as close as fish to water with the peasants and formed a consolidated worker-peasant alliance. After the completion of land reform, our party guided the peasants onto the socialist road in a timely manner and put the worker-peasant alliance on a new foundation. The peasants did not follow the bourgeoisie but rather the Communist Party and the working class. This thoroughly isolated the bourgeoisie economically and politically. Socialist transformation was realized smoothly.

Second, there was the problem of scientifically analyzing and dealing with the dual nature of the peasants. Comrade Mao Zedong attached great importance to the analysis of the dual nature of the peasants. He pointed out that the dual nature of the peasants was not immutable and that it would change under the influence of various conditions. China's peasants had long been under the leadership of the Communist Party and under the influence of the proletariat. The constant development of the socialist economy and the thriving of the socialist cause could not but arouse the peasants' enthusiasm for taking the socialist road. In addition, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the dual nature varied with different strata of peasants. The poor and lower middle peasants, who make up the great majority of the peasants, were the ones who were most exploited in the old society. They lived the most bitter life and did not become well off after land reform. They had great enthusiasm for socialism after having been educated by the party. The party first had to organize them into cooperatives, then absorb other middle peasants and finally other elements of the agricultural population. Comrade Mao Zedong's special and meticulous analysis of the various strata of the peasants and his class line formulated on the basis of cooperative transformation of agriculture in the period of socialist transformation have been proved correct in practice.

Third, they implemented the party's mass line in the movement for socialist transformation of agriculture. Changing the peasants' private ownership concerned the personal interests of several hundred million peasants. This great revolutionary movement would not have been successful without the conscientious action of the masses. If this revolutionary movement had not been carried out well, the productive forces would have been destroyed. Our party did not lead this movement by simply issuing administrative orders or adopting administrative methods. Our party, by paying attention to providing typical examples and to persuading and educating, absorbed the peasants into cooperatives in a planned way, by stages and in groups, on a voluntary basis and under the principle of mutual benefit (special attention was paid to preventing infringements on the interests of the middle peasants) and according to the different economic positions and degrees of consciousness of the peasants.

Fourth, starting from China's concrete conditions, cooperative transformation must come before mechanization. Many revolutionary historical experiences have proved that the transformation of the old production relations do not come after the full development of the productive forces. Historically, capitalism did not start on the basis of heavy machinery industry. Instead it underwent the development process from the period of handicraft workshops to the period of heavy machinery industry. Under the condition that the proletariat had seized political power, we could, according to the need for developing production, change production relations, first, by organizing agricultural cooperatives in the rural areas, with manual labor as their main form, and then by gradually realizing mechanization and further developing the productive forces. The completion of the cooperative transformation of agriculture in turn created the condition for realization of agricultural mechanization and modernization.

It is inevitable that a revolutionary movement will manifest shortcomings and mistakes in one way or another. In the transition from new democracy to socialism in our country, there were also shortcomings and deviations. These shortcomings and deviations mainly emerged in the latter period of socialist transformation, i.e., from the second half of 1955 to the first half of 1956, during which we were overanxious about the cooperative transformation of agriculture. The cooperative transformation of agriculture was carried out too fast without regard for actual conditions. Smaller cooperatives were merged into larger cooperatives. Our work was not done by fully considering the peasants' willingness to combine or in accordance with the different levels of production. It was done according to one pattern and in one style, without considering local conditions and without building a collective economy which had various forms and varying degrees of socialization. In the relationships between the collective and the state, the autonomy of the cooperatives was not fully respected. Especially in the management of cooperatives, we did not conscientiously study or establish various forms of the production responsibility system, nor did we bring the initiative of the peasants into play. In the transformation of individual handicrafts, we also had similar shortcomings. In the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, we did not differentiate some individual handicrafts and commerce from capitalist industry and commerce, nor did we use and make arrangements for some of the original industrialists and businessmen. But these shortcomings were after all secondary compared to the great successes achieved in the socialist transformation. Some shortcomings and mistakes cannot be prevented in an extensive social movement which involves several hundreds of millions of people and under conditions in which experience is lacking. We cannot negate the achievements in socialist transformation because there were some problems in it, and still less take a skeptical and negative attitude toward the transition from new democracy to socialism and toward the party's general line in the transitional period because socialism failed to bring its superiority into play owing to leftist mistakes later. The basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production laid an excellent foundation for the development of production, the prosperity of the country and the progress of society, and created a position for forging ahead. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee has formulated some principles and policies and implemented some readjustment measures. This shows that it is from this position that the party has continued its advance. China's socialist system has become more perfected and more developed. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" pointed out: "Comparatively speaking, we have smoothly realized such a complicated, difficult and profound social reform in a large country with a population of several hundred million people and promoted the development of agriculture and industry and of the whole national economy. This is really a great victory of historic significance." This is the victory of Marxism-Leninism in China, the victory of Mao Zedong Thought!

CSO: 4004/3

WHY WERE 'ERRORS OF LINE' AND 'TWO-LINE STRUGGLE' NOT MENTIONED IN THE 'RESOLUTION'?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 39-41

[Article in "Questions and Answers" column by Jin Chunming [6855 2504 2494]]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee did not describe the CCP's errors committed since the founding of the PRC and particularly the CCP's serious errors committed during the "Great Cultural Revolution" as "errors of line," nor did it discuss the so-called "two-line struggle," namely, the struggle between correct and erroneous lines. How are we to correctly understand this?

"Errors of line" and the "two-line struggle" are two concepts used to express the nature of inner-party errors and the state of the development of contradictions within the party. These two concepts have been used in our party for many years. Our past practice, and particularly our practice during the decade of the "Great Cultural Revolution," proved that these two concepts contain two problems: first, the nature of some so-called errors of line was inaccurately determined and misunderstood; and second, the meanings of "errors of line" and the "two-line struggle" were not clearly defined, thus magnifying them.

The following statement was prevalent for a while: Our party has experienced 11 struggles between the 2 lines. After examining this statement, we found that this is an incorrect generalization. Of the so-called "two-line struggles" in the past, some were mistakenly determined and some have already been repudiated. For example, the original eighth two-line struggle against the so-called rightist opportunism promoted by Comrade Peng Dehuai and other comrades has been proved to have been an improper struggle. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee announced the rehabilitation of Comrade Peng Dehuai and other comrades. The original ninth two-line struggle against the so-called revisionist line promoted by Comrade Liu Shaoqi has also been proved to have been a completely improper struggle. The 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee formally adopted a resolution to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Therefore, arguments describing these two struggles as two-line struggles are absolutely untenable.

After reexamining some facts which were previously described as errors of line, we see that they cannot epitomize the nature of problems accurately and scientifically. For example, the struggle against the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were previously described as the 10th and the 11th two-line struggles. However, they were two hidden counterrevolutionary conspiratorial cliques in our party. Their counterrevolutionary conspiratorial sabotage activities simply cannot be described as inner-party contradictions. The term "errors of line" not only cannot manifest their counterrevolutionary nature but are liable to obscure the nature of the problem. Let us cite another example: The struggle against Gao Gang and Rao Shushi was previously described as the seventh two-line struggle. Although Gao and Rao carried out counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities to oppose the party and usurp power, they did not clearly put forth any political programs or propositions. Therefore, we should not describe them as targets of a two-line struggle but should follow the "resolution's" appropriate formulation: "It was a major struggle to counter the plots of the careerists Gao Gang and Rao Shushi to split the party and usurp supreme power in the party and the state."

Errors committed by Comrade Qu Qiubai and Comrade Li Lisan were all previously described as errors of line. Both of them had clear programs and theories, proceeded according to their programs and theories and caused heavy losses to the revolutionary cause. Because their errors were committed within a brief span of time--in a few months' time or in less than half a year--because they committed errors under the influence of the Communist International (Comintern), and because they all made self-criticisms later on, there is no need to label their errors as "errors of line."

Under the guidance of the leftist erroneous ideology, "errors of line" and "two-line struggle" were the two concepts which had been used indiscriminately and magnified on a rather wide scale over the past 20 years and more, and particularly during the "Great Cultural Revolution." There was once a very popular slogan: "Everything is integrated with the key link and the line." The key link referred to was "taking class struggle as the key link." At that time, the line either referred to the "proletarian revolutionary line" or to the "bourgeois reactionary line"; the line was either the "Marxist line" or the "counterrevolutionary revisionist line." Either one or the other; there was no room for compromise or neutrality. Moreover, at that time, everything, large or small, had to be "raised to the higher plane of principle and the two-line struggle," regardless of its nature and regardless of its degree of seriousness. As a result, for a long time in the past, there was this common practice: if line was not mentioned in handling a thing, it would seem that this thing was not handled from a properly high plane and that this could be regarded as not taking a clear-cut stand and not being holding fast to principle.

Furthermore, "errors of line" were regarded as more serious than errors of any other kind. Because of the formulation then that "line decides everything," people came to the conclusion that "if the line was wrong, everything was wrong." It seemed that committing errors of line was the most serious thing one could do. It seemed that a person who committed errors of line must keep on making self-criticisms and must admit his errors and ask for repeated punishment. During the 10 years of internal disorder, some cadres and peasants in an area were heard to say during their self-criticisms: "I was a Kuomintang soldier for several years." When I first heard them saying this, I was perplexed despite much thought. I achieved a full understanding of this later on. I found that what they said was the result of a quotation: the "Great Cultural Revolution" is a continuation of the protracted struggle between the CCP and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Since the "Great Cultural Revolution" was a struggle between the CCP and the Kuomintang, people taking an erroneous stand were described as "Kuomintang soldiers." Under this erroneous influence, normal differences of opinion and disputes among comrades within the party were also regarded as two-line struggles and our comrades were easily and frequently labeled revisionists. As a result, inner-party relations became very abnormal.

Is it true that if we do not mention "errors of line" and the "two-line struggle," we cannot elucidate the nature and the state of inner-party contradictions? It is not true. If we review the history of the international communist movement, we can see that our revolutionary teachers Marx and Engels did not have this concept. Although compared with Marx and Engels, "no one has fought harder all his life against self-styled socialists than against anyone else." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 434) Marx and Engels did not sweepingly label opponents in struggles as persons committing "errors of line." Marx and Engels just made concrete analyses of their opponents' errors. They also did not describe this kind of struggle as a "two-line struggle." "Leninism grew and became strong in clashes with the opportunism of the Second International." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 6, p 64) However, Lenin also seldom used the term "two-line struggle." Lenin used the terms "ideological line" and "political line." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 43) Lenin always made concrete analyses of the historical basis, conditions, significance and power of the social chauvinist trend of thought of the Second International; and made concrete analyses of the false steps taken by Bernstein and Kautsky. During his struggle against his opponents within the party, on many occasions Stalin applied the formulations of "two-line struggle" and "errors of line." However, history has proved that Stalin committed the error of magnifying class struggle and that he did not succeed in handling inner-party contradictions.

Our party started using the term "errors of line" with its criticism of Chen Duxiu. However, the concepts of "errors of line" and "two-line struggle" were not used on numerous occasions and on a wide scale until Wang Ming's return to China in 1930. We continued to use the two formulations during the exposure and criticism of Wang Ming's errors of promoting leftist adventurism. The "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions" adopted in 1945 by the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee also used these two concepts. However, these two concepts were used conditionally at that time, thus producing relatively good effects. With the development of leftist errors later on, fewer and fewer necessary conditions and controls were attached to the use of these two concepts. As a result, these two concepts ran wild and had very bad consequences.

Judging from the above brief review of the historical course, we can see that the concept of "errors of line" and the concept of "two-line struggle" did not exist when Marxism was created. The two concepts emerged during the development of inner-party contradictions and struggles later on.

Making a concrete analysis of concrete things is the living soul of Marxism. Since the contents, forms and conditions of inner-party errors are different from one another, it is necessary to make concrete analyses and determine the nature of each case appropriately and in accordance with the concrete circumstances of each case. We should not sweepingly label these errors as "errors of line." Of course, if a given line, a correct line and an erroneous line are quite properly defined and are also easy to understand, then it is not absolutely forbidden to use the concept of "errors of line." There is really no need to give a serial number to every two-line struggle. We had better point out the characteristics of a struggle in accordance with its concrete contents. For example, we now describe Chen Duxiu's errors committed during the later stage of the great revolution [in China, 1924-1927] as rightist capitulationism; we now describe Wang Ming's errors committed during the 10-year civil war as leftist adventurism. These formulations are more accurate and precise than the previous ones.

At present, the pernicious influence of leftist errors in our party has not yet been completely eliminated, and metaphysics and one-sidedness are still exerting a deep and great influence. Therefore, we must carry out the following top priority tasks: encourage seeking truth from facts, make concrete analyses, prevent the recurrence of the old practice of having unlimited escalation of accusations and the practice of waging struggles rashly; change the party style and restore and perfect the democratic life within the party. The "resolution's" cessation of the use of the two concepts of "errors of line" and "two-line struggle" will certainly produce good effects.

CSO: 4004/3

WHY WERE THE CLASS ROOTS OF THE 'GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION' NOT ANALYZED IN THE 'RESOLUTION'?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 41-43

[Article by Yang Fengchun [2254 6646 2504]]

[Text] In the process of studying the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," some comrades have asked why the resolution did not point out the class roots of the causes which gave rise to such an error as the "Great Cultural Revolution," an error comprehensive in magnitude and protracted in duration. After repeated study, we have further realized that the analysis of the "Great Cultural Revolution" made by the resolution is correct and realistic, and it fully shows that as a proletarian party, the Chinese Communist Party has adopted a strict and scientific attitude toward its own mistakes.

Such an important historical incident as the "Great Cultural Revolution" requires thorough and concrete analysis. However, simply looking for class roots without studying the new situation of historical development and attributive causes giving rise to the incident as a certain nonproletarian influence cannot explain the problem, and what is more, cannot enable the whole party to obtain a profound lesson. Some people may ask here, had not the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of the Party" passed at the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee pointed out the class roots of leftist and rightist mistakes?

Yes, the other resolution had indeed pointed out the petit bourgeois class roots of past leftist mistakes in the party. This was completely understandable at that time. It clearly pointed out that Wang Ming was not a proletarian revolutionary. When summing up the experiences and lessons of historical problems and dealing with the problem of inner-party struggle at that time, our party led by Comrade Mao Zedong completely rejected Wang Ming's set of policies and principles and dealt with differing views and even with correct opposing views as those of class dissidents with ulterior motives, laid emphasis on analyzing the contents of the mistakes and the social, historical and ideological roots giving rise to them, explained that these mistakes were caused by petit bourgeois ideas and their influence, and limited the problems within this framework. This was extremely useful, for it not only clarified thinking but also united the comrades. This was a victory for the Yanan rectification campaign as well as a hallmark of the flourishing development of our party. The advantage of carrying out this kind of struggle, it also reminded the comrades in the party, was to pay attention to the fact that we were surrounded by petite bourgeoisie with peasants as the main body, and that we must always be on guard against the influence of petit bourgeois ideas and must actively develop proletarian ideas and struggle against nonproletarian ones. This played an important role in strengthening the ideological construction of the party. However, viewed in the light of today, this kind of analysis was also still not complete. For, apart from domestic causes, there was also a powerful international influence giving rise to dogmatism in history. At that time, the Chinese Communist Party was a branch of the Communist International. Before the Zunyi conference, certain passive factors in the history of the international communist movement had a powerful influence in our party. The fact that a German by the Chinese name of Li De (Otto Braun) who had no knowledge whatsoever of China's national condition, in his capacity as military adviser and representative of the Communist International, took complete command of the Red Army during the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" was an example.

In the last 20 years, class conditions in China have become vastly different. According to the analysis of the CCP Central Committee, since the land reform and the collectivization of agriculture, landlords and rich peasants have already been eliminated as a class. Since the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie also no longer exists as a class. Most of them have become self-supporting workers. The peasants, who formerly stood against the landlords, have now become socialist peasants and are no longer the former type of individual peasants. Since the establishment of the socialist system, former "professionals," or various types of intellectuals, have become a part of the working force in the service of socialism. The arbitrary connection of such an important historical phenomenon as the "Great Cultural Revolution" to a nonproletariat is obviously inconsistent with China's actual condition. Naturally, this does not mean that we no longer have class enemies in China. At present there are still: unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, various kinds of criminals seriously disrupting social order, embezzlers and thieves, speculators and manipulators and new exploiters. These people are hostile to socialism and they may gang together to attack socialism and attack the party and state when the time is suitable. However, it is also very obvious that this cannot be regarded as the class roots of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Furthermore, when organizing and leading the masses in carrying out revolution and construction, will a Marxist, and that includes a great Marxist, make mistakes which might result in setbacks and defeats for the cause of the revolution? Although we have acknowledged for a very long time that people will make mistakes and the party will also make mistakes, we have actually developed a mentality which seems to hold that a Marxist is consistently correct and will never make mistakes. To say that he has made certain mistakes will be regarded as blasphemy and a questionable attitude toward the cause of the proletarian revolution. Consequently, the mistakes become worse and more serious, and in the end, enormous efforts must be made and hard work must be carried out to correct them. Such methods as not admitting that Marxists can make mistakes, looking for the cause in other classes but not in one's own and saying that those who agree are a hundred percent proletariat and those who disagree are out-and-out bourgeoisie are metaphysical standpoints. This is an important reason why we cannot effectively correct mistakes but keep on repeating the same mistakes. The resolution pointed out: "Chief responsibility for the great leftist error of the 'Cultural Revolution,' an error comprehensive in magnitude and protracted in duration, does indeed lie with Comrade Mao Zedong. But after all it was the error of a great proletarian revolutionary." This realistic analysis is precisely for the practical correction of this tendency.

Why did the "Great Cultural Revolution" occur and what was the actual reason for it dragging on for as long as a decade? As pointed out by the resolution, apart from the immediate cause of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistake in leadership, the other complex social and historical causes are: some of the laws governing the development of socialist society are "relatively clear to us, but many more remain to be explored"; we are not fully prepared, "either ideologically or in terms of scientific study," for the swift advent of the socialist society and for socialist construction on a national scale; for various reasons in leadership thinking, we continue to regard issues unrelated to class struggle as manifestations of class struggle in handling the new situations and problems which have cropped up after the basic completion of socialist reform, fall back on the familiar methods and experiences of the struggle of the past and broaden the scope of class struggle; we have "misunderstood or dogmatically interpreted" certain ideas and arguments set forth in the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and used them as the "theoretical basis" for our subjective methods. At the same time, because feudalism has had a very long history in China, the influence of feudal ideas cannot be easily eliminated. The style of work in the party has become more and more subjective and arbitrary and resulted in a steady weakening and even undermining of the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the party and the country. In short, for all these reasons, it was difficult for the party and the state to prevent the beginning of the "Great Cultural Revolution" or to check its development. This is a serious lesson for the international communist movement.

In understanding problems this way, we do not for a moment negate the idea of class analysis. Class analysis is a fundamental Marxist principle. It is the concrete application of dialectical materialism in class society. Since the disintegration of primitive communist society, the existence of the classes in society is an objective fact. All political ideas are related to the interests of a specific class. The social and political ideas, words and actions of the people as well as their habits and style of work are branded with the mark of their own class. Therefore, in class society, if we become divorced from class analysis, we will easily lose our orientation when confronted with the complex phenomena of society, and will not be able to distinguish the essence of things. However, the method of class analysis also definitely cannot be simplified into merely looking for the class roots of problems. Take ideological problems for example. Some have class influence and some have nothing to do with class influence. Ideological problems can only be solved by correct ideological work. If we simply adopt the method of class struggle, it will not only be of no avail but will also magnify the contradiction instead. This is where we have come to grief in the past. We hold that the concrete application of the method of class analysis is still to carry out concrete analysis of concrete problems. We must have the correct attitude of conscientiously holding ourselves responsible to the party and the people, carry out thorough investigation and study, find out the real causes and connections and affirm those problems which are of a class nature.

However, we absolutely must not insist on calling those problems which are not of a class nature, class problems. Moreover, we must also study the conditions which give rise to various problems and mistakes and where they have slipped onto the wrong road.

We may say that the analysis of the "Great Cultural Revolution" made by the resolution passed at the sixth plenary session not only conforms to Marxism-Leninism but also conforms to China's actual conditions, because it has withstood the test of history. Only if we have a thorough knowledge of these concrete conditions can we have a definite object in view in adopting measures and in drawing up and perfecting various systems for the party and the state so as to do our work better in the future, avoid repeating the same mistakes and smoothly carry out the great undertaking of the four modernizations.

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NEW SITUATIONS, NEW DEMANDS, NEW METHODS--AN INVESTIGATION OF CULTURE FOR THE MASSES IN ZHEJIANG AND JIANGSU

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 44-48

[Investigation report by He Wangxian [0149 2598 6343] and Lu Rongchun [7120 2837 2797]]

[Text] Some time ago, we visited certain parts of Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provinces to investigate cultural work for the masses in rural and urban areas. Although we spent only 20 days on the trip and could only make cursory observations, our views were broadened and our understanding was heightened. We deeply feel that strengthening cultural work for the masses and enlivening their cultural life in the rural and urban areas is an important factor in current developments and a big factor in helping the 800 million peasants solve their problem of educating the younger generation. We were happy to note that many of the party committees and government departments in these two provinces had already done much work and reaped fruitful results and experience in this connection.

Demands That Must Be Met

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the country has been enjoying political stability and the national economy is gradually returning to normal in the course of economic readjustment, and the living standard, in material terms, of the masses in the rural and urban areas has been improved to varying degrees. In particular, notable changes were seen in the countryside. The localities we visited in Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provinces are prosperous localities south of the Changjiang River. In recent years, both agricultural development and the living standard of peasants have risen rapidly. The peasants there urgently demand a more enriched cultural life. At a group discussion meeting in Shaoxing, we came across some reference materials on the cultural work of the people of the Paogu people's commune. It can be described as follows: This commune, located in the suburbs of Shaoxing municipality, has a population of over 16,500. The average annual income of commune members is about 177 yuan. Following the steady improvement in the living standard of the commune members, their desire for a better cultural life is increasing daily. "Whenever they come across news of one of the villages showing a movie or staging a theatrical production, they do their utmost to see it, traveling as far as 10 to 20 li if necessary. If there is news about a good show or a good movie in a certain town, all means of transportation to the town are mobilized and crowded with passengers." A responsible comrade of the

Hangzhou Municipal Office of Literature and Art of the Masses told us: Whenever a movie is scheduled to be shown in the Longmen people's commune of Fuyang County in the suburbs of the municipality, the commune sends people, 3 days in advance, to where the movie is to be shown in order to mark out with lime or poles, or with chairs as a barricade, the seating areas for their commune members. People keep watch there in turn until the film is shown. During the Spring Festival in 1980, a theatrical troupe staged several shows there. More than 10,000 people attended and at the end a movie was also shown for their entertainment. In Hangzhou, we held a group discussion meeting at which we were informed of the following: Cultural life is especially drab in the mountains and fishing villages. Frequently, people living in the hilly regions climb hills and mountain slopes, and fishermen in fishing villages sail their fishing boats, to travel scores of li just to attend a threatrical show or to see a movie. Describing the situation in the words of the masses, it can be said that at present they have enough food and enough clothing but their cultural life is surely wanting.

The party Central Committee is deeply concerned about this problem. On the instructions of leadership cadres of the Central Committee, in January of last year the Propaganda Department and the Department of Culture of the Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Youth League issued a report entitled "Certain Views on Enlivening Cultural Life in Rural Areas." The report emphasized that, concurrently with guiding the peasants to concentrate fully on developing agricultural production and pursuing agricultural modernization, correct policies and measures should be taken to fully support and help the peasants to gradually enliven and enrich their cultural life in the rural villages. It proposed a guideline calling for "strengthening leadership, developing actively, adjusting measures to local conditions and progressing steadily." It also laid down basic principles requiring that this work be done on a spare-time, voluntary, small-scale, multiple-form and economic basis. The important role played by this report in promoting the development of mass cultural work and enlivening cultural life in the rural areas was not only welcomed by the extensive masses of people and by the basic-level cadres in the rural areas but also greatly attracted the attention of party committees at various levels and the government departments concerned.

Upon receipt of the report, the Bureau of Culture of Zhejiang Province convened a group discussion meeting to discuss and study cultural work for the masses. The great majority of the prefectures, municipalities and counties in this province have already set up one or two trial cultural centers in the rural areas. In the province as a whole, more than 40 percent of the people's communes have already set up cultural stations and more will be set up. In Jiangsu Province, this work was taken up much earlier. A comrade of the Bureau of Culture of Jiangsu Province told us: Cultural offices have now been set up in each and every municipality or county in the province; most people's communes have set up cultural stations; work has also begun on establishing trial cultural centers in the rural areas; over 100 such cultural centers of a fairly well-developed status can be found in the province, while those in the Suzhou area have developed especially rapidly. In general, in recent years mass cultural work in these two provinces has basically been carried out well. Nevertheless, in the new situation, there is still a large and difficult task in carrying out mass cultural work.

A Promising Cause

The establishment of trial cultural centers in the rural areas and market towns has a deep significance in the building of new modernized socialist rural areas. They enjoy the extensive support of the masses and have bright prospects and great possibilities. This scheme is being actively tested in both Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provinces.

In Xiaoshan County in Hanzhou's suburbs, Zhejiang Province, we visited the rural village cultural center of the Puyan people's commune, which is considered one of the better communes in the province. The commune, located along the banks of the Qiantang River, has a population of 29,000, who are engaged in agriculture and are doing quite well in agricultural and sideline production. In the last 2 years, its per-mu grain output was over 2,000 jin; its per-mu yield of raw cotton was 135 jin; the gross value of the annual output of the commune enterprises amounted to over 13 million yuan and the average annual income of a commune member was 194 yuan. In order to meet the demands of the commune members for theatrical performances, movie showings, and other cultural and recreational activities and entertainment, this commune, complying with the spirit of the relevant directives from the central authorities and relying principally on the financial strength of the collectives, has set up a fairly large rural village cultural center. Work on the center was started at the end of 1979 and was completed in just over a year.

When we approached this new cultural center, the first thing which caught our eyes was a new motion picture theater. It was indeed a spacious theater, seating over 1,500 people. The folding chairs were of one color. The ceiling was adorned with white plastic tiles which were sound-insulated and of various designs. The stage was quite spacious and the lighting facilities were excellent. In addition, there were dressing rooms and a reception building with living quarters for visiting artists. In addition to the motion picture theater, this cultural center has 2 film projection groups equipped with 16-mm film projectors, 1 television room with a color television set, 1 reading room, 1 tea and story-telling room, 1 photography society, 1 amateur art and literary propaganda group, 1 skating rink and other cultural facilities. Since establishment of this cultural center, the cultural life of the masses has been greatly enriched. In just over a year, 14 special theatrical troupes from the provinces, municipalities and other counties in the country have visited it, giving some 165 performances, while some 126 films have been shown, attracting over 270,000 viewers. During the Spring Festival this year, the center organized 16 cultural and recreational activities including stage performances, movie showings, exhibitions, ball games, skating and so forth. As a result, the town was bustling with people every day. In one day alone, over 10,000 people took part in the activities. In this way, in their after-work hours, the broad masses of commune members and town residents did not have to travel far or spend much money, but could still enjoy seeing a movie or a stage show. This brought to an end the daily routine of peasants toiling in the fields in the daytime and sleeping in the night--a tasteless life style made up of only the three simple elements of eating, working and sleeping. Furthermore, the establishment of this cultural center in the Puyan people's commune widened the socialist ideological operation front. It changed the social atmosphere, prevented and reduced the proliferation of such phenomena as feudal superstition, gambling and other evil habits. It promoted stability and unity and helped to spread scientific and cultural knowledge.

There are many small market towns in our rural areas. They have people's communes, and a production brigade is usually found not more than 10 li away. By the establishment and use of commune cultural centers in these small towns to guide and control the recreational clubs of production brigades, we will set up a relatively complete and systematic cultural network. This network will achieve the basic purpose of having three types of cultural centers in operation, each with an assigned role, viz, one leadership center to organize and manage the commune's cultural activities, one center to provide the broad masses with multiple forms of cultural activities and entertainment, and one center to guide and train backbone elements and literary and artistic work in rural areas. If all the rural areas and small market towns can set up such cultural centers, then cultural life in the rural areas will be greatly enriched.

At present, cultural centers in rural areas are still in the initial stage of development. Providing them with various cultural facilities must begin realistically and be improved gradually. We should not rush headlong into mass action without regard for actual conditions or search vainly for more centers and ignore quality requirements. But precisely what should a cultural center in a town in a rural area be like? Is there a prescribed standard? This is a problem worth studying. A responsible comrade of the cultural bureau of Suzhou Prefecture told us that, in order to avoid having useless and standard centers, we must prescribe a definite standard for cultural centers in rural areas. Based on the actual conditions in Suzhou Prefecture, the following requirements can be mentioned: 1) a backbone staff of cultural workers including a propaganda team engaged in sparetime cultural and artistic activities; 2) a motion picture theater which meets the requirements of building safety, approved hygienic standards and so forth; 3) a definite number of cultural facilities of prescribed standard such as a library, an exhibition hall, a television room, a recreation hall, grounds for ball games, a story-telling room, a gallery and so on; 4) a number of basic-level recreational clubs or cultural rooms with the production brigade as the basic unit; and 5) a well-managed control organization. Suzhou Prefecture has comparatively good economic and cultural conditions. Hence, in its opinion, its demands should be of a higher standard. We feel that these demands are valuable reference materials on how to build cultural centers in rural areas. Naturally, conditions differ in different localities, but in setting up a cultural center, we should take note of actual conditions and adjust measures to local conditions.

Letting the Masses Handle Mass Cultural Work Is a Good Measure

Whether we are actually doing mass cultural work or testing the establishment of peasant village cultural centers, even though we plan to do things simply and economically, we must still spend some money. At present, the state can provide very little subsidies for the development of mass cultural work in rural areas. The principal source of income must come from the collective economy of the communes and the production brigades. At the moment, with the exception of a small number of commune-run enterprises which have fared well and which have a large income and therefore can afford to give a little subsidy in support of mass culture, the great majority of commune-run enterprises cannot afford to give any support to mass cultural activities. Under such conditions, certain localities adopted methods of either "supporting culture with industry" (i.e., the sparetime art and literary propaganda teams themselves organize their own small industrial plants) or "supporting culture with culture" (i.e., relying on income from the cultural facilities and activities of the communes themselves). This was a good measure for the maintenance and development of mass cultural undertakings.

According to what we have seen and heard in certain localities, the great majority of communes where mass cultural work has achieved commendable results and where they have been able to speedily set up cultural centers, have adopted one of the above-mentioned methods. Some comrades said that, from their experience, "only through taking the road of 'supporting culture with industry' or 'supporting culture with culture' can we strengthen and develop the peasant village cultural teams; otherwise, enormous efforts might be wasted on their establishment, only to result in their subsequent dissolution." In Jiangsu Province, Shazhou County adopted rather early the method of "supporting culture with industry" and achieved fairly good results. An artistic and literary propaganda team in this county set up its own industrial plants. The profit from these plants amounted to 260,000 yuan in 1979 and increased to 380,000 yuan in 1980. Funds were thus provided for the various commune-run cultural activities, including the building and provision of various relevant facilities for cultural activities and the purchase of television sets, cassette recorders, books and sports goods. The Puyan people's commune of Xiaoshan County in Zhejiang Province, mentioned above, adopted the method of "supporting culture with culture" and reported an income of 20,000 yuan last year. Facts have amply shown that failure to adopt either the method of "supporting culture with industry" or "supporting culture with culture" will deprive mass cultural work in rural areas of a necessary source of income. This will invariably adversely affect its consolidation and development.

For artistic and literary propaganda teams of people's communes to operate industrial plants in order to "support culture with industry" is a new road pursued by the masses acting on the basis of "masses handling their own cultural activities." According to reference materials on hand, these types of brigade-run or team-run industrial plants represent a new organizational form which embodies the dual function of making culture prosper and developing production. They are different in nature from the usual type of sparetime theatrical troupes and are also different from the commune-run industrial plants intended purely for production. For example, the cultural station of the Xiufeng people's commune of Shazhou County in Jiangsu Province set up a small plant run entirely by members of the propaganda team. Its purpose was to raise funds to subsidize members of the sparetime artistic and literary propaganda team who had lost work time and also to subsidize the cost of meals and other expenses. At the beginning, the plant manufactured metal fittings, which the market sorely needed. Last year, it turned to the production of sofas and pillows and made a net profit of 110,000 yuan. This not only helped to solve the problem of finding funds to finance the activities of the propaganda team itself but also made it possible to spend some of the plant's accumulated funds on the mass cultural activities of the commune. Summing up the experiences gained over the past few years, the concrete way for artistic and literary propaganda teams to run industrial plants should be as follows: "The team runs the plant, plant and team being one united body; the commune gives the plant its backing and puts it under control of the cultural station, with the dual purpose of serving both industry and art; production is then developed and the accumulation of funds increased; independent business accounting is enforced and industry supports culture." Only in this manner can team-run plants progress smoothly without the possibility of forsaking mass cultural propaganda work during the busy farm season or neglecting production because of the heavy pressure of mass cultural propaganda tasks. In general, the experiences gained by the localities have been roughly the same. Their methodology might be different but all of them have emphasized the following points: a clear-cut direction of development, strengthened leadership, capable working personnel, suitability of arrangements, a stable organizational structure, and strict and rigid management and control. To sum up, in running industrial plants, the propaganda team should bear in mind that the purpose of their team is propaganda work and the purpose of setting up the plant is to support cultural activities. The principles of hard work and self-support and of serving both industry and art must be insisted upon. Whatever profits earned should be devoted to increasing mass cultural activities and to developing culture for the masses. Hence, the measure of "industry supporting culture" offers the best solution to the problem of raising funds for mass cultural enterprises. It is precisely for this reason that it has the support of various quarters.

Strengthening Leadership and Continually Pressing Forward

It is generally admitted that party committees at various levels and departments concerned have paid careful attention to the development of mass cultural work. Unfortunately, some comrades, owing to their failure to understand the important relationship between developing production and enriching cultural life, generally believe that their duties consist mainly in offering guidance in production, increasing grain output, and improving the living conditions of the masses and that cultural life is not a matter which concerns them. Some go so far as to condemn mass cultural activities as an impediment to normal production work. Naturally, under the influence of such ideas, they are not concerned with the cultural life of the masses and far less with strengthening their leadership or support of it. The principal fault in this attitude is the failure to correctly understand that the purpose of developing agricultural production should not only be the improvement of the material living standard of the peasant masses but also the meeting of their urgent demand for cultural life and entertainment. Our party's supreme task in this new era is to build our country into a strong socialist country which is modernized, highly democratic and highly civilized. But an important indication of a high degree of civilization is that the masses of people can enjoy a cultural life which is rich and colorful, noble and healthy, and inspiring to mind and spirit. By means of various cultural activities, we can heighten the socialist consciousness of the masses, foster communist ideology, moral standards and values, and build a generation of new people. We must also stress the recreational side of mass culture, which helps to get rid of fatigue, recover physical power, mold temperaments and refresh the spirit. When the task of mass culture is done well, production is not only not impeded but is, in fact, promoted. Naturally, there is a correct way of handling the relationship between the two facets of cultural activities. In mass culture work, we must insist on mass culture work being a sparetime activity. Activities must be arranged so as to conform with the busy or slack farming seasons. But this is also a problem of reinforcing the party's leadership. Surely, we cannot completely put aside mass culture work just because of the fear of impeding production. A responsible comrade of the Puyan people's commune in Xiaoshan County said it well: "When production is at a low ebb and the commune members are having difficulties in their material livelihood, to engage in cultural activities in excess of what is appropriate will only divorce us from the masses; yet, following improvement in the living standard of the masses, not creating the necessary conditions to satisfy the demands of the masses in cultural life will also divorce us from the masses."

Developing mass cultural work requires a team of backbone workers. At present, in regard to the full-time cadres in cultural offices or stations the major problems are the following: 1) temporary staff shortages; 2) levels of work capability below the demands of current mass cultural work; and 3) levels of wages and treatment too low and cadres badly off, resulting in some comrades losing interest in their jobs. These problems need to be solved gradually and well by the relevant departments, which must also take account of actual current conditions. As for mass cultural and artistic teams, we must strengthen control over them. In particular, artists and voluntarily organized theatrical troupes should not be allowed to freely go their own way. Once control over them is loosened, there will be a reaction. In Lianshui County in Jiangsu Province, when there was no control over the artists, there was great confusion. The lure of money induced some people to stage shows that were on the banned list. Some people privately accepted pupils for tutoring. One artist accepted 15 pupils, each of whom had to pay a deposit of 200 yuan. It was only after the cultural department of the county had tightened its control that this situation was changed. Ningbo municipality in Zhejiang Province, when organized theatrical troupes once made their appearance, their members were mostly former actors and actresses who had been drifting along without employment and workers and employees not satisfied with their jobs. The shows that were staged had no scripts, being mostly "roadside shows" ad-libbed by old artists. Some of them were of very poor taste. Subsequently, the cultural bureau of the municipality took the necessary measures of requiring the registration and testing of would-be artists. They were duly organized and their performances were arranged according to schedule. This enabled them to play an active role in mass cultural work.

In promoting mass cultural work, providing the necessary sites or locations is a matter of prime importance. In particular, in cities and towns, in order to strengthen the education of the younger generation and to attract people from the sidewalk to the cultural activities, we must provide suitable sites or locations for the purposes. When in Nanjing we had occasion to study how the Qinhuai cultural hall (on the Nanjing recreational grounds) and the Yijiang Men cultural station handled this problem of providing sites for cultural activities. Historically, Nanjing's Fuzi Temple has been a center for cultural activities. The cultural hall and recreational ground of this temple currently encompass 5 story-telling rooms, 1 open-air theater, some 20 recreational rooms, 1 exhibition hall, 1 discussion room, 1 reading room, and 1 training ground. The center daily attracts 4,000 to 5,000 visitors and an even larger number on festival days and holidays. The Yijiang Men station is located in a more secluded section of the city. It has no theater, no motion picture house, and no public park. Though supported by the party committee, this local cultural station still has to tackle by itself the problem of finding sites for cultural activities. Abiding by the principle of doing things simply and economically, it divided the 12 residential committees subordinate to it into 4 divisions, each of which was allocated a culture room. This attracted many young people. At the same time, several artistic and literary teams, which presented regular performances, were formed. This greatly enriched the cultural life of the masses. From our visits, we became deeply aware of the need to provide suitable sites for cultural activities. Unfortunately, we understand that at present many of the cultural offices or stations are facing the acute problem of a shortage of sites for their operations. Relevant party and government leaders should pay close attention to this matter.

In the promotion of mass cultural work, we must also properly handle the relationship between popularization and improvement. Over the past few years, following the development and the increasing popularity of films and television shows, the populace has correspondingly demanded the raising of the standard of what they see. Not only have the peasant masses and the residents in cities and towns urgently demanded cultural entertainment but also increased quality. Some comrades commented that if the kind of mass cultural activities now in vogue were of the same kind as those in the 1950's, then they could hardly meet the situation and demands of the 1980's. Therefore, while mass cultural activities must be popularized, their quality must also be improved. At the Yanan artistic and literary group discussion meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "If popularization work stayed forever at the same quality level, be it for 1, 2 or 3 months or 1, 2 or 3 years, if it had nothing new to offer, only the same theme, same characters and the same supporting cast and props, then would not both the educator and the educated eventually become alike? What meaning does this type of popularization work have? People demand popularization but they follow this with the demand for continual quality improvement." Those words of Comrade Mao Zedong's still have a realistic and far-sighted significance. In the current mass cultural work, we must thoroughly carry out the guidelines of effecting improvement in the direction of popularization and effecting popularization in the direction of improvement. For example, the artistic and literary propaganda teams of the rural areas (spare-time theatrical troupes) should principally offer performances on current topics or current themes. It is also necessary to supplement them with some propaganda on the current tasks of the state. But, all in all, great efforts must be made to improve the quality of performances and make the peasants really enjoy seeing or hearing them.

Recently the party Central Committee issued a directive "On Showing Concern for the Cultural Life of the People." The directive called on party committees at various levels and the relevant departments to pay great attention to the cultural life of the people, to put it on an important footing in the work of party committees, to grasp it in earnest and well and eventually to solve all existing difficult problems which can be solved. The directive further urged that the people be led onto a richer and more colorful and healthier road in mass cultural and recreational activities. This is a further step we must take in order to do a good job of handling mass cultural work. Let us hope that under the party's leadership, mass cultural work will continue to progress along the road of, first, serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and, second, serving socialism.

CSO: 4004/3

PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE POPULARIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 inside back cover

[Article by Kang Ye [1660 0369]]

[Text] In developing agriculture, we rely first on policies and second on science. By relying on science we mean arming agriculture with modern science and technology to continuously improve labor productivity and create more material wealth.

The work of popularizing agricultural science and technology is a bridge for applying the results of agricultural scientific research to the practice of production and is an integral part of scientific and technical agricultural research. It is an important task in current agricultural work to adapt oneself to the new situation in agricultural production, do a good job in the work of popularizing agricultural science and technology, and improve the level of scientific farming.

If we fail to popularize science and technology, the results of scientific research will merely remain in books and in laboratories. According to relevant materials, of more than 200 items of scientific and technical research findings in Shaanxi Province, only 52 percent have been applied in practice to varying degrees and almost half of them have simply not been adopted. Take Liquan for example. There are lots of cases in this county in which the per-mu yield of wheat was 800 jin, of corn more than 1,000 jin, of rapeseed 300 jin and of ginned cotton over 150 jin. But the yields of the whole county failed to reach the targets set. Of course, this involved the question of material conditions, but the failure to popularize new findings, new technology and new experience was also a very important reason. Interplanting corn between wheat rows is a very effective measure to solve the problem of delayed planting of corn and also to strive for good summer and autumn harvests. Interplanting 100,000 mu of corn will increase the corn output by 10 to 24 million jin but will not affect the wheat output. According to a soil survey report, in Liquan, 84.2 percent of the soil lacks phosphorus, and carbon and phosphorus are comparatively imbalanced in 55 percent of the soil. Applying phosphate fertilizer to soil that lacks phosphorus can increase the yields by a big margin. But the vast numbers of cadres and masses have not had a good understanding of the role of phosphate fertilizer, resulting in its limited use. Close and short planting are measures which require little cost but yield enormous returns, in producing stable and high yields of cotton. Experiments of various sizes in this work began in 1973. Almost 10 years have elapsed since the popularization of close and short planting in 1974, but the area planted with corn in this way amounts to no more than 20 percent of the area under cotton. There are many such measures which can increase production but they have not been popularized well.

To do a proper job in the popularization of agricultural science and technology, first and foremost it is necessary to firmly grasp the key point and correct the orientation. The four-level agricultural scientific networks below the county level should concentrate their time and energy on the popularization of agricultural science and technology. The scientific research units above the prefecture level and institutions of higher learning should release certain personnel to do the work of popularizing agricultural science and technology. This will be conducive not only to production but also to scientific research and will have the benefit of killing two birds with one stone. To accomplish this, it is imperative to formulate necessary policies and effectively overcome the tendency in which scientific research is given one-sided stress while the popularization of its results does not receive the attention it deserves.

Second, to popularize science and technology, it is necessary to proceed from actual local conditions in production. Agricultural production has strong regional features. A certain variety might be appropriate in a certain place, but it will not necessarily produce high yields in another place. Advanced technology in one place will not necessarily be suitable for another place. Therefore, it is necessary to determine the items to be popularized in accordance with the local conditions of soil, weather, production level and materials. Only through the confirmation of the adaptability of a certain product or technology by conducting experiments and demonstrations and through a thorough investigation of manpower, materials and finances and the degree of eagerness of the masses, can we determine whether or not to popularize something.

Third, it is necessary to do well in strengthening organization, training a technical force and implementing the system of job responsibility. The key to doing a proper job in the work of popularizing agricultural science and technology lies in building a mammoth force to carry it out. At present, it is essential to stress the work of building four-level agricultural scientific networks. Apart from firmly grasping the strengthening of organization, it is necessary to adopt various measures such as running agricultural schools and training courses, sponsoring on-the-spot meetings and meetings for exchanging technological experiences and visiting exhibitions, commence technical training in a widespread and profound way, make use of broadcasting, television, films, printed materials and publish reading matter. These measures will enable us to disseminate and popularize agricultural scientific and technical know-how and improve the scientific and technical level of the peasants. In order to fully arouse the enthusiasm of the scientific and technical personnel at various levels and to do the popularization well, it is imperative to gradually introduce the various forms of technical responsibility systems, such as the contract system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration with output and the system of job responsibility.

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SPEECH AT THE MASS MEETING TO HONOR THE CENTENARY OF LU XUN'S BIRTH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 81 pp 2-6

[Speech by Hu Yaobang]

[Text] Comrades and friends:

Lu Xun was a great hero in China's modern revolutionary history, a great fighter on the cultural and ideological fronts. His revolutionary spirit and the rich ideological legacy he left to us have won growing respect from our people in the 45 years since his death. At this meeting today to commemorate the centenary of his birth, we must learn from his revolutionary spirit and commemorate his immortal achievements.

Lu Xun lived during a dark period of acute national crisis, when China was controlled by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, and the people were cruelly enslaved and oppressed. On the eve of the 1911 revolution, he took up writing and ideological work with the aim of reforming China. The failure of that revolution bewildered and distressed him, but did not stop him from pressing forward. As a revolutionary democrat he took an active part in the May 4th new cultural movement of 1919. When some bourgeois intellectuals of the right wing of the May 4th movement grew apathetic and retrogressive, he continued to use his brilliant creative writing and acute ideological criticism to fight resolutely and unremittingly against all the old forces impeding China's progress. He showed immense enthusiasm for the 1925-1927 revolution in which the Chinese Communist Party took part and which it led. After the defeat of this revolution he made fresh headway in his thinking. Our country has had many intellectuals who started out as petty bourgeois or bourgeois revolutionary democrats, then became proletarian communist fighters. Lu Xun was the most outstanding. In the last 8 or 9 years of his life, he integrated his profound knowledge of Chinese history and rich experience of combating the old forces with the proletarian revolutionary stand and scientific Marxist thinking. The militancy of his work and its educational value were unprecedented in the history of Chinese culture. When the military and cultural contingents led by the party were engaged in a struggle to the death with the KMT reactionaries, Lu Xun took the lead in breaking through the counterrevolutionary cultural "encirclement and mopping up" campaign. All his life he was a fighter. In his eager search for the truth he never ceased pressing ahead, and always stood in the forefront of his age.

Lu Xun embraced the communist world outlook after many years of active struggle and independent thinking; hence his faith in it was unwavering. Under the fascist reign of terror he publicly proclaimed, "The future belongs only to the rising proletariat." He saw that the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army of workers and peasants led by it were the hope of China. Before the outbreak of the war to resist Japan in the thirties, our party underwent great difficulties because of the weakness of the people's revolutionary force and the serious setbacks caused by its leaders' mistaken leftist line. Even so, Lu Xun firmly believed in the party, and sided with it till his dying day. This showed his splendid revolutionary spirit and his far-sightedness. Short-sighted people who lose heart over the least setback cannot compare with his revolutionary spirit; neither can those who have illusions about revolution, so that unless it produces a paradise overnight they jeer at it or curse it. Lu Xun was well aware that the revolutionary road could not be smooth or straight; it was bound to be thorny and tortuous. Acutely grasping the requirements of the age, regardless of personal danger he unhesitatingly threw in his lot with the people's revolutionary cause. Lu Xun never joined the party, but he was a true Marxist and communist.

Lu Xun spearheaded his attacks against imperialism, feudalism and their henchmen. Completely staunch, he showed extraordinary steadfastness and courage in this fight. In the revolutionary camp and in progressive literary and art circles, he was all for uniting against the enemy. He opposed rightist capitulationism, as well as the mistaken policies of leftist empty talk and adventurism. His public spirit made him point out and condemn the shortcomings and mistakes of his comrades-in-arms, never glossing over them; and though his strictures may sometimes have been too severe, they were always well-meant, profound and enlightening, helping to straighten out his comrades' thinking. Lu Xun was very strict with himself. He said, "It is true that I constantly dissect other people, but I dissect myself more often and more ruthlessly." And this was no empty claim. Lu Xun expended much time and energy on training young people. He encouraged and taught them by his own example, giving them the strength and knowledge to advance.

Lu Xun's main weapon was literature. Regarding the relationship between literature and society, he forcefully debunked such theories as that which considered literature and art as an outburst of individual "inspiration." He pointed out that it was a delusion to want to leave the battlefield during a battle, to be independent. He stressed that revolutionary literature and art belonged to the masses and was created for them. It was a tool to reform society, a reflex action, a means of attack and defense. Literature and art must describe society accurately and forcefully, and in turn influence society, to deepen and broaden the revolution and impel society forward. Lu Xun's whole literary career makes it clear that he paid great attention to the social effect of writing. The works he gave the people were as perfect as he could make them in regard to both content and form. He pointed out that writers without a firm revolutionary stand often distorted the revolution, and might use so-called revolutionary writing to peddle their own mistaken views to the detriment of the revolution. He believed that revolutionary writers and artists must be responsible to the people, especially to the youth. It was criminal to lead young people astray with their own mistaken views. The main thing for a revolutionary writer, he said, was first to become a "revolutionary." He should be "one of the people" and throw in his lot with the revolution, keeping his finger on its pulse, sharing the grief, anger and joy of ordinary people. This was the only way to produce revolutionary literature and art. Lu Xun emphasized the importance of literary criticism, saying we must have "criticism of literature"; the task of such criticism was to "root up the weeds and water the flowers." Without criticism, literature and art can make no progress. Critics should have a clear sense of right and wrong, affirming what is right and pointing out what is wrong, to benefit writers and artists. Lu Xun worked tirelessly, with amazing industry. He urged young people to work unremittingly, and warned them not to think that publishing a few essays or magazines for a year or so was a great, unprecedented feat. Lu Xun died only 18 years after the May 4th movement, yet in this relatively short period, although his conditions were extremely hard his creative writing totaled 4 million characters and his translations 3 million--all work of a high standard. Nearly all these works still retain their tremendous appeal and power to enlighten readers, their right to be passed down to posterity.

Lu Xun was a great patriot and a great internationalist. He attached the highest importance to cultural exchanges between China and other countries, and devoted much energy to introducing progressive literature from foreign countries. He showed concern for and supported the liberation struggles of the world's oppressed nations and peoples. In the international antifascist struggle in the thirties, he was a brave and resolute internationalist fighter.

Comrades and friends!

Unfortunately Lu Xun died too early to see the epoch-making changes brought about in this great country in the east by all China's nationalities, led by the Communist Party. However, Lu Xun's prophecy 2 years before his death that a new socialist society would certainly emerge has already come true.

Owing to many past mistakes, our party has inherited a host of problems which have not yet been properly resolved; but despite the difficulties in our way which must still be overcome, our whole party, army and people of all nationalities are increasingly confident. In the last few years our party Central Committee, in the light of historical experience and the people's wishes, has laid down a line and policies and taken basic measures which have proved incorrect and highly effective. We shall undoubtedly reach our goal, which is to build up China into a powerful modern, highly democratic and cultured socialist country.

Our work is making headway from year to year; as everyone can see, things are better this year than last. After studying and discussing the resolution of the party's sixth plenary session, the political unity of our whole party, our army and the multinational people of the whole country is stronger than ever before. Our decisions on readjustment and reforms are being carried out, so that the national economy has begun to advance steadily along the road of healthy development. Although a number of provinces and regions have been hard hit by flood or drought, we can state confidently that this year will see an overall, fairly large increase in agricultural output.

In the past few years, our party has affirmed and continues to affirm, most comrades on the literary and art front, just as on other fronts, have been taking a correct stand, have worked hard and well. This is one of the fields with many achievements to its credit. However, while fully affirming the main trends of our literature and art, we must point out that it still has certain unhealthy, negative features which harm the people. You all remember the series of talks which our party had about this in the winter of 1979 and in the spring of last year. In our cordial discussions with writers and artists, many new proposals were made for enriching our literature and art. Unfortunately, writers and artists have not paid sufficient attention to these proposals.

To promote the healthy development of literature and art, it is absolutely necessary to practice criticism and self-criticism correctly. At present, many good works do not receive the praise they deserve, nor do certain pernicious works receive forceful criticism and condemnation. In both cases, there is a lack of Marxist scientific analysis and appraisal. Many comrades and friends understand the importance of literary and art criticism. But some of them are unduly apprehensive, afraid of destroying the renewed flourishing of literature and art. They fail to take an overall view, firstly because they are weak dialecticians. If we allow weeds and flowers to grow together, without the requisite struggle, there is bound to be chaos in our literature and art. Secondly, they have not made a full assessment of our party's correct summary of the positive and negative experience in developing literary and art criticism, which should enable us to obviate interference from any side.

Our party Central Committee has carefully instructed the whole party, and will continue to do so, to adopt an analytical approach to writers, artists, theoreticians, publishers or those working in the mass media who publish seriously mistaken views. They must differentiate between different cases and treat them all correctly.

Some comrades have done well and written many good works, then owing to a temporary aberration have published harmful writings. We cannot because of this negate their achievements, but neither can we condone pernicious writing because of their past contributions. Certain comrades unjustly treated in the past feel somewhat resentful. This is understandable. But if they nurse resentment against the party and the socialist system when observing society and writing new works, this is entirely wrong. By means of persuasion and criticism we should help them to revise such harmful works or to scrap them. Our party has rescinded or scrapped directives which practice has proved to be mistaken. Cannot our writers and artists do the same and promote this style, which far from making anyone lose face redounds greatly to his credit?

Some writers persist in their erroneous writing because they lack a correct understanding of our people and of the great cause undertaken by our nation. The situation in this case is rather more complex. Some put themselves in a wrong relationship to the people. In Lu Xun's words, they have opted out of the people's actual struggle, and use fantasies they have dreamed up to write a few stories making private capital out of the revolution. Others are unable to analyze our new society's development and the mistakes and setbacks which are hard to avoid in the course of revolution. They do not understand Lu Xun's saying that fighters with faults are still fighters, while beautiful flies are still flies. Their works are what Lu Xun described as the literature of complaints and discontent. Lu Xun, living in dark old China, declared incisively that if a nation had only a literature of complaints and discontent there was no hope for it. Not to say that our writers are living in a new socialist age. Yet others lack faith in the socialist system. Lu Xun said that people who had no faith in their country, nation or people would put their faith in foreign or capitalist countries. And this would lead ultimately to self-deception, which could deceive the people and cause them suffering themselves. How can the people of our country tolerate the wrong trends and approaches to writing just described? We should all come forward to criticize and resist works of this kind as well as those who thrust them on the public, especially on young readers with little experience of life. In this way we can educate and unite our people, and at the same time educate and help the writers who have committed these mistakes.

There is something else I would like to discuss with you, that is, the people of another type who have an ingrained hatred for new China, socialism and our party. There are such people in our new society. As Lu Xun said: Even a lion has pests preying on it. He also spoke of people who disguised themselves to stab others in the back. I am definitely not implying that there are many people like this in China, still less that they have the power to turn back the wheel of history. I am simply telling you that our party believes we must remain on our guard against such people, however few and exceptional they are. It is dangerous to underestimate them. We must punish them by law for their counterrevolutionary activities.

I have told you our party's views regarding the present wrong trends in literature and art and other ideological fields, and the chief ways to deal with them. I believe that the majority of our writers and artists and the masses will approve of them, but this is also found to give rise to some talk at home and abroad. Some people may raise a hubbub or even swear at us--that does not matter. As Lu Xun rightly said, no one in ancient or modern times has been overthrown by curses. It was not because of curses that people were overthrown, but because their masks had been torn off. Our party has been cursed for scores of years without being overthrown. Those who spread rumors to deceive the masses will ultimately be exposed and have not a leg to stand on.

Some comrades wonder why only ideological circles, and not other fighting fronts, are called on to undertake criticism and self-criticism. Is the ideological field the only one with negative aspects?

This is a misunderstanding. Our party has always believed that much has been achieved on every front, but at the same time many problems remain. All our work has its bright side, and that is its main aspect. It also has its dark side, which must not be overlooked.

At present in our work, among our cadres, party members and government workers, apart from the wrong trend of bourgeois liberalism of certain people on the ideological front, there are various negative elements on other fronts too. For example, certain leading cadres in leading party organizations are cut off from reality and the masses. They neither study problems nor solve them. They stick to old rules, show no interest in necessary reforms; they are highly irresponsible bureaucrats, not carrying out the tasks given them by the party and the people. Some comrades in certain departments, primarily certain departments dealing with the economy, lack a comprehensive view. They dispute or refuse to carry out tasks which do not benefit their departmental interests or are not to their liking. This is the mistake of selfish departmentalism which injures the whole country's interests. Some cadres in certain factories and enterprises or rural communes go counter to the party and government's long-term policy of giving consideration to the interests of the country, the collective and the individual. While claiming to represent the interests of the masses, they actually represent the backward ideas of certain workers and peasants, seizing every chance to take advantage of the state or ask for high prices. This is against the interests of the country. Certain cadres flagrantly ignore party discipline and the laws of the country, using the power entrusted to them by the party and the people to feather their own nests, sometimes going so far as to ask for gifts or accept bribes from foreigners. This disgraceful conduct disgraces the country too. All such negative elements must be dealt with seriously. We must use correct methods to overcome them resolutely.

There are various dark phenomena in our present socialist society, and there will continue to be some for a long time. This is quite understandable. But socialist society cannot tolerate these abuses left over from the old society. Our party has always proposed mobilizing and relying on the people to struggle against these evils. This struggle will take not just a few days or a couple of years, but must be a continuous one, a long-term, unrelenting struggle of the kind advocated by Lu Xun.

What is the most effective method of fighting? Neither a confused, hectic struggle nor laissez-faire. Decades of experience have taught us that the only effective method, among the ranks of the people, is to restore and develop our party's tried and tested fine tradition of criticism and self-criticism. We must do this step by step, first in the party, then outside the party, first among the cadres, then among the masses, to enable our people after a period of time to learn to use this weapon correctly.

Some comrades say, if good use is made of this weapon, comrades with serious mistakes will become good comrades, while good comrades will become even better. Of course this is right, but it is still not enough. Our party believes this is an excellent way for our whole party, whole army and the different nationalities of our whole country to educate themselves, to consolidate and develop the political situation characterized by stability, unity and liveliness throughout the country, to raise the consciousness of all our nationalities, to promote the fine moral qualities of the new society, and to build up a socialist civilization. In other words it is a treasure.

Our party believes that comrades in literary and art circles and on the whole ideological front have an extremely important role to play in learning how to use this treasure correctly. If you on the cultural front are good troops with good weapons, you can be of great assistance to the party in carrying out the historic task of building up a splendid socialist culture. The reason why our party is so eager for all of you first to overcome the negative factors in your own ranks, and promote the positive factors, is entirely because of this positive goal. Our party believes that after steeling and tempering, the revolutionary army, on the ideological front, which has made such great contributions in the past, can certainly take up this glorious task!

Comrades and friends!

In February last year, at a forum on drama I said that our socialist culture needed to reach three new pinnacles in ideology and theory, science and technology, and literature and art. We are toiling up a rough, winding mountain track. Overhead tempests rage, below are sheer precipices, and we are weighed down with many burdens, to say nothing of all our wounds. Can we scale the heights of ideology and theory, science and technology, literature and art? Will some of us fall out of the ranks or desert? That I cannot say. All I can say is that our party has learned from the past and will never abandon comrades loyal to the party, the people and our great cause, nor will our party abandon those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them. In short, our way is long and dangerous; we must advance hand in hand, closely united. We also must strengthen friendly relations with progressive writers, artists and other intellectuals of all countries, absorb all their good achievements, and together with them advance hand in hand for the peace of the world and human progress.

Today as we celebrate the centenary of the birth of Lu Xun, a great revolutionary and great standard-bearer on the ideological and cultural front, let us develop his revolutionary spirit, and do our utmost to enrich and foster the healthy development of our socialist culture.

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THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1911 REVOLUTION

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[Article by Hu Sheng [5170 4939]]

[Text] The 1911 revolution overthrew the rule of the Qing dynasty and for the first time in the history of China it raised the banner of a democratic republic. This was the result of the revolutionary movements that were gradually launched by the bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie since the end of the 19th century.

Since the Opium War in 1840, China had been subjected to aggression and oppression by foreign capitalism and imperialism and had gradually turned into a semi-colonialist and semifeudal country. The Chinese people continuously carried out struggles against foreign aggression and the reactionary ruling force in China. With the emergence of the revolutionary movements launched by the bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie, the Chinese people became more aware of the necessity of carrying out a revolution against imperialism and feudalism for an independent and democratic country. Although the 1911 revolution failed to accomplish this revolutionary task, it was of great significance in the history of the struggles waged by the Chinese people for liberation, and this significance is irrevocable.

The direct target of the 1911 revolution was the rule of the Qing dynasty under the imperial family of the Man [Manchu] nationality. In order to oppose such rule, the revolutionaries at that time naturally inspired the masses by making use of the contradictions between the Han [Chinese] and the Man nationalities. Because of the privileges enjoyed by the Man nationality politically and economically, such contradictions did exist to some extent. But we can in no way regard the reason for the emergence of the 1911 revolution and the problem it was intended to solve as, or mainly as, national contradictions. Dr Sun Yat-sen said that although he had advocated revolution as early as before 1900, only a few people responded. He said: "Of the people at home it was only party members who did not think it strange to hear of launching revolution against the Man nationality." ("The Principles of National Reconstruction," Chapter 8 "Psychological Reconstruction") But why did the anti-Man slogan put forth by the revolutionaries after 1900 enjoy wide support from the masses? It was not because the contradictions between the Han and the Man nationalities had suddenly become acute but because the struggle that was being launched under the slogan had already overshadowed national contradictions.

First, the revolution to overthrow the Qing government was in fact against foreign imperialism. Under the historical conditions after 1900, the Chinese people's struggles against imperialism could not but concertedly oppose the reactionary and feudal rule headed by the imperial family of the Man nationality.

It was true that during the several decades before 1900, the feudal rulers had gradually knuckled under to foreign capitalist and imperialist oppression and had become the prop for imperialist big powers in dominating China, but it was only following a series of events after 1900 that the Qing government completely exposed itself as a willing tool supported and used by imperialism. This was because, following the occupation of Beijing by the eight-power allied forces, the Qing government fled to the imperial court at Xi'an but later returned to the capital and publicly proclaimed its disgraceful motto of "courting foreign countries with China's material resources." On the other hand, the big imperialist powers were then entangled in serious international contradictions and they wanted to avoid struggles by the Chinese people such as the Yihetuan [Boxer] movement; as a result, they temporarily put aside all their plans to divide China and resorted to the policies of the so-called "open door," "protecting China" and "sharing interests equally." After inflicting an enormous amount of "indemnities" (the indemnities for the Boxer Uprising) on China, which in no way could be paid, the big powers jointly defended the Qing government that was totally under their control in order to firmly lock it up in semi-independent and semicolonialist shackles.

The bourgeoisie that initially developed in the early period of the second half of the 19th century gradually divided into two political factions--reformists and revolutionaries--(the former advocated constitutional monarchy and hence were called constitutionalists). These two factions had a common starting point, namely, that of saving China from imperialist aggression and oppression. The reformists launched the reform and modernization movement in 1898. But they had no intention of overthrowing the rule of the Qing dynasty; they just demanded that the emperor launch a "political reform" and carry out certain political measures along the lines wanted by the bourgeoisie. They thought that with such measures they would be able to save the country from extinction. Following the failure of the reform and modernization movement and particularly after the events of 1900, a number of reformists joined the ranks of the revolutionaries. Take Chen Tienhua for example. He was a bourgeois revolutionary and popular propagandist of the early period. He wrote: "This government exists in name only! It is just an official looking after the country on behalf of foreigners." Therefore, he called the Qing government "the government that belongs to foreigners," and said: "Since this government cannot be offended, cannot a government that belongs to foreigners be offended?" ("Quickly Repent," 1903) As the revolutionaries wanted to overthrow the reactionary and feudal government that was protected by imperialism, they were in fact opposing imperialism.

Liang Qichao, who still followed the reformist stand even after 1903, became a leading figure in sharp debates against the revolutionaries. He opposed the revolution which intended to overthrow the Qing dynasty and consequently he spared no efforts in explaining the action by the Man nationality in entering Shanhaiguan [at the eastern end of the Great Wall] to impose their own emperor on China, and he said that this act by the Man nationality did not mean that the country had been extinguished. (XINMIN CONGBAO No 86, "China Cannot Perish") He held that the danger of the extinction of the country came from foreign imperialism and this had the same implication for both the Han and the Man nationalities. He said: "If China perishes, there will neither be the Han not the Man nationality, and neither of them will have anything." "If the Han and the Man nationalities contradict each other, the result will be the extinction of the country." (XINMIN CONGBAO No 85, "Answers to Certain Newspapers," section 4) These words of Liang Qichao's were by no means groundless, but he failed to get the upper hand in debates because he avoided the basic fact that, under the rule of the Qing dynasty, China was increasingly facing the danger of being extinguished. It was true that some revolutionaries displayed a narrow national sentiment when they talked about the relations between the Han and the Man nationalities, but they opposed the Qing government and did not want to see "the Han and the Man nationalities contradict each other." The revolutionaries headed by Dr Sun Yat-sen held that in order to save the country from extinction, get rid of imperialist rule and gain independence, it was imperative for the revolution to overthrow the Qing dynasty, which had become a tool of imperialism. Such an advocacy was in line with reality and thus won support from the broad masses of people.

Second, the revolution to overthrow the Qing dynasty was also significant in putting an end to the politics of feudal autocracy. A young revolutionary, Zou Rong, wrote in his book "Revolutionary Army" in 1903 that, following the downfall of the rule of the Qing dynasty by revolution, it was necessary to follow Western bourgeois constitutions and establish a Chinese republic. He said: "The Chinese republic is a free and independent country." Dr Sun Yat-sen pointed out in 1906 that it was a "political revolution for us" to overthrow the "Qing government" while the purpose of this revolution was to "overthrow autocratic government" and "establish a democratic and constitutional government." (Speech at the meeting marking the anniversary of MINBAO [PEOPLE'S PAPER])

The autocratic politics of feudal land ownership on the basis of the small peasant economy lasted for 2,000 years in China. In the last period of the feudal society there emerged an idea that was doubtful about such politics, but people failed to find a particular political system to replace the autocratic politics. Even the peasants who rose up to oppose the feudal rule were not in a position to establish the democratic system that gets rid of an emperor. The Chinese people began to acquaint themselves with the system of the democratic republics of the Western bourgeoisie in the second half of the 19th century. The protectors of feudalism regarded this system as an evil system of "foreign devils." But for the newly arising bourgeois politics and many intellectuals, such a system was the loftiest political ideal.

Although both bourgeois reformists and revolutionaries lauded the democratic republic state system, they still held a different attitude. The reformists regarded such a state system as only an ideal that could not be realized in China, which they thought could only have a so-called "autocratic republic." Consequently, they demanded the rulers of the Qing dynasty to implement an autocratic constitution, or the so-called "civilized autocracy." They held that for the revolution to realize a democratic republic would give rise to great turmoil and push the country deeper toward extinction. The revolutionaries headed by Dr Sun

Yat-sen denied such beliefs by the reformists. They regarded a democratic republic as the direct aim of the revolution. Thus they injected the idea of democratic revolution into the revolution that aimed at overthrowing the Qing dynasty and expounded that it was necessary to carry out the revolution in order to realize their expectation of establishing a democratic republic.

The 1911 revolution did not result in a true democratic republic of the bourgeoisie. Under the signboard of the Republic of China, China remained a semicolonial and semifeudal country characterized by poverty, backwardness, splits and chaos. Kang Youwen and Liang Qichao held that the situation during the several years following the revolution demonstrated that their prediction had been correct. It was true that the revolution was not completely successful, but it could not be proven that the revolution was neither successful nor acceptable. Like their struggles against imperialism, the Chinese people's struggles against feudalism had to take a protracted and arduous road. Although the bourgeois revolution was not in a position either to put forth a complete antifeudal program or to touch the economic foundation of the feudal society, it dealt blows to autocratic politics, which were the superstructure of the feudal society, as well as to various old ideologies inherent in autocratic politics. The 1911 revolution put an end to the autocratic politics that had existed for 2,000 years in China and enabled the Chinese people to take a big stride forward in their struggle against feudalism. Therefore, the 1911 revolution must be lauded as a great historical event.

Third, the purpose of overthrowing the rule of the Qing dynasty and establishing a bourgeois democratic republic was to realize capitalist industrialization. In the "Declaration of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang of China" in 1924, Dr Sun Yat-sen, recalling the 1911 revolution, said: "The purpose of the revolution is not only to overthrow the Qing dynasty but also to reform China following the downfall of this dynasty"; that is to say, "politically, to make the transition from the autocratic system to the system of people's rights, and economically, to make the transition from handicraft production to production under the capitalist system."

A new atmosphere of learning from Western countries and developing modern industry began to emerge in the 1860's. From the 1860's to the early 1870's, there were few foreign capitalists operating industrial and mining enterprises in China, but in the second half of this period, private investments in modern industry gradually increased. It was a good opportunity for Chinese national capital to develop, but industry during this period was under the control and monopoly of the feudal government and feudal bureaucracy. The enterprises run by the bureaucratic advocates of Westernization (Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang, Zhang Zhitong and Sheng Xuanhuai) bore the nature of capitalism, but they did not promote the development of national capital; instead, they hindered this development. The demand to let private capital run modern enterprises freely was directed against the control and monopoly of the feudal government and feudal bureaucracy. The reform and modernization movement that failed also strongly demonstrated such a demand. Following the events in 1900, the Qing dynasty formally carried out the policy of encouraging private capital, but in fact it was only conferring various official titles on the businessmen who invested. Because of the squeeze of foreign capital and the bondage of feudalism, it remained very difficult for private enterprises to develop. At that time, foreign capital had already penetrated Chinese industrial, mining and transportation departments. It was unrealistic to hope that the Qing government, which had already become an imperialist tool and which persisted in a system of feudal rule, would conscientiously and effectively encourage and protect private industry and commerce.

During the 1911 revolution, there was a demand for social progress to develop capitalism. But how to develop capitalism? In this regard, bourgeois reformists pinned their hope on encouragement by the feudal state. On the other hand, the revolution held that the "handicraft industry could make the transition to production under a capitalist system" only through democratic revolution. The 1911 revolution failed to gain democratic victory and therefore it failed to realize capitalist industrialization. But it must be acknowledged that such a view of the revolution is basically correct, because it represents a conclusion reached by summing up experiences in the development of Chinese industry in the previous period, and this conclusion has been proven correct by the facts in the years following the 1911 revolution.

In the 1930's, some people from bourgeois academic circles wrote articles to reverse verdicts, and they held that China's industrialization and social progress could be realized in the hands of the bureaucratic advocates of Westernization and that it was a pity that such a cause was interrupted. Such a view is totally wrong. It is not only retrogression of the view held by bourgeois reformists during the 1911 revolution, but is even more backward than that. According to this view, the 1911 revolution was unnecessary, nor was it the people's revolution that followed the 1911 revolution.

Fourth, when the revolutionaries were launching the revolution for capitalist industrialization in a bid to establish a bourgeois democratic republic, the class contradictions in Western capitalist countries were becoming increasingly acute, while the socialist movement and various socialist theories for criticizing and denying the capitalist system were rising. Under such conditions, ideological contradictions appeared among the Chinese bourgeois revolutionaries. Such contradictions were reflected in the principle of people's livelihood put forth by Dr Sun Yat-sen, who, together with his comrades, regarded the principle as synonymous with socialism. He said: "Civilization brings good and bad results and therefore we must strive to achieve the good ones and avoid the bad ones. The good results in European and American countries are enjoyed by the rich while the poor are suffering from bad results. The happiness created by civilization is always enjoyed by few people and therefore the world is not equal. The purpose of our revolution is not only to create a state of the people but also a state of society, and such state cannot be matched by Europe and America." (Speech at the meeting marking the anniversary of MINBAO) That is to say, China must follow Western countries to develop "civilized progress" and must also avoid the scourge of capitalism and prevent the next socialist revolution.

The principle of people's livelihood referred to by Dr Sun Yat-sen at that time had the implication of "equalization of land ownership" and "land nationalization." According to his explanation, the state purchased the land from landlords at low prices so that the landlords would not be able to reap staggering profits from the development of capitalist industry and commerce and from soaring land prices. In fact, such an advocation could only result in reducing to the minimum or abolishing the part of the surplus value attained by the landlords from capitalists and therefore such advocation is in the interest of developing capitalism. The so-called equalization of land ownership mainly involves the land in urban areas; even if it involves the land in the countryside, its nature belongs to the sphere of bourgeois democratic reform, it is not socialism and it cannot prevent socialist revolution.

The revolutionaries in fact wanted to develop capitalism, but subjectively they considered that the broad masses of the laboring people would not suffer from the development of capitalism. This idea was an idle dream that departed from historical reality. It was because of this idea that they felt they were fully reasonable in fighting for the development of capitalism and as a result, they vaguely demonstrated the idea that China should not totally follow the old road of the capitalist countries. They could not tell how to take a new road, but their idea was an encouragement for the masses who demanded revolution at that time. Following the establishment of the Tong Meng Hui revolutionary league, uprisings occurred in the border between Hunan and Jiangxi Provinces with the forces of party organizations as the vanguard. In their official call to arms, these organizations declared that their purpose was not only to overthrow the Qing government "but also to abolish the autocratic government that had lasted several thousands of years, ...set up a democratic republic and enjoy the right of equality and happiness of freedom together with 400 million compatriots. With regard to social problems, it is imperative to study new laws so that people will have the right over land ownership and the rich will not become richer to cause an unequal society. Such happiness has never been dreamed of by those under the rule of the Tartar nationality. Even the people in Europe and America are not able to completely enjoy such happiness." The members of the Tong Meng Hui who took part in leading the uprisings brought the thinking of Dr Sun Yat-sen into their own organizations to add more splendor to the uprisings.

In order to explain the historical position of the 1911 revolution, it is necessary to understand the relationship between the revolution and peasant revolution and the relationship between bourgeois revolutionaries and bourgeois reformists.

During the long feudal era in China, there were repeated peasant uprisings and wars. The peasants were not able to eliminate the feudal system and replace it with a more advanced social system, but they were the main and--in fact the only--revolutionary force in feudal society. When China entered modern times with semicolonial and semifeudal society, it was also mainly peasants who first launched revolutionary struggles. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and Yihetuan movement represented the peasants' strongest force against feudalism and imperialism.

The revolutionary ideal and program of the bourgeois revolutionaries and their organizations showed the influence of the Western bourgeoisie. All these never existed in China before but they were in line with the needs of the development of Chinese society. We must also understand that the bourgeois revolutionaries inherited the tradition of the Chinese peasant revolution in many respects.

Tong Meng Hui, a revolutionary organization formed in 1905, and other revolutionary organizations that were formed earlier, all started with the idea of launching armed uprisings and they began to contact itinerant organizations. No democratic political movement was allowed under the rule of feudal autocracy and, therefore, since the revolutionaries wanted to wage revolution, they could not but accept the influence of the tradition of the peasant revolution. For example, when a revolutionary organization called Hua Xing Hui, headed by Huang Xing, was formed in Hunan Province in 1903, Huang Xing said that a Chinese revolution could not follow the "French revolution that was launched in Paris and the English revolution [as published] that was launched in London" because they all started in the capital cities. He said: "Our revolution must start from occupying a province and must then spread to other provinces." Huang Xing and his colleagues soon cooperated with the Ge Lao Hui in Hunan and planned an uprising.

Dr Sun Yat-sen and other bourgeois and petit bourgeois revolutionaries paid very much attention to the history in the struggles of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, felt deep sorrow for the failure of this organization and acknowledged that they themselves were the successors to the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Although revolutionaries in general denied the Yihetuan, there were people who praised the spirit of the struggle of this organization. Chen Tienhua criticized the Yihetuan as having blind faith in evil practice and indiscriminately opposing foreigners and "therefore it caused a disastrous scourge." Yet he held that "Yihetuan cherishes a good intention." Accordingly, he suggested changing the phrase "barbarously anti-foreigner" to "opposing foreigners in civilized way." ("Quickly Repent" and "Alarm Bell" by Chen Tienhua) The revolutionaries held that in order to launch a revolution it was imperative to mobilize the strength of the "low-stratum society" and to educate and promote such a society through the "medium-stratum society" in order to avoid following the same old disastrous road of the failure of peasant wars in history. It cannot be considered wrong that the bourgeois revolutionaries tried to lead the masses of peasants in their bid to put the spontaneous peasant struggles onto the road of the bourgeois democratic revolution; the question is why they failed to truly display such a leading role.

Leaders of peasant revolution such as Hong Xiuquan and Feng Yunshan lived among peasants and struggled side by side with them when they were waging revolution. But the bourgeois and petit bourgeois revolutionaries did not have direct relations with the broad masses of peasants and therefore they could only try to contact leaders of itinerant organizations in their attempt to mobilize the strength of the "low-stratum society" through such leaders. Some of the itinerant organizations that were mainly composed of wanderers were revolutionary, but they were easy to sway and their organizations were too loose. It was beyond the reach of the bourgeois revolutionaries to reform such organizations according to bourgeois revolution and to widely mobilize the broad masses of peasants as the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom did.

Although the bourgeois revolutionaries had these weaknesses, it must be acknowledged that the bourgeois revolution inherited the tradition of peasant revolution characterized by the struggles against imperialism and feudalism and armed struggles and raised such struggles to the level of conscious bourgeois democratic struggles.

Let us talk some more about the relations between the revolutionaries and the reformists.

Bourgeois reformists emerged earlier than revolutionaries. The reformists were the earliest to introduce the political ideology of the democracy of the Western bourgeoisie to China. The bureaucrat who advocated Westernization came to the fore earlier than the reformists, and accepted foreign rifles, guns and machinery but refused to adopt the bourgeois political system and social ideology. They defended the feudal system and in fact they were satisfied in maintaining the semicolonialist position. The reform and modernization movement in 1898 was the climax of the political movement waged by the reformists. Although this movement failed, it inspired intellectuals, businessmen, bourgeois landlords and gentry to love and save their country and to seek knowledge, and such a situation was in fact a preparation for the bourgeois revolutionary movement. The reformists still maintained very great influence in society in the several years following the reform and modernization movement. In particular, Liang Qichao indulged himself by publishing magazines and writing articles in the common language to introduce Western bourgeois ideology and the theory of social politics, praise the bourgeois national movements in Western countries and historical figures of revolutionary movements and advocated various social ideologies and morality, and all these things deeply influenced young people. Through his efforts, many people leaned toward the revolution which was then rising.

Many revolutionaries originally had reformist ideas (it has been mentioned above that a number of reformists turned to revolution through lessons in practice). The revolution headed by Dr Sun Yat-sen tried to cooperate with Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao who were living in exile but failed, and the two factions at last split. It was a natural result in the development of social political situations that the ideology of the bourgeois revolutionaries replaced that of the reformists to become the leading ideology among advanced intellectuals.

The reason for the split between the reformists and revolutionaries was that the former opposed the overthrow of the Qing government through revolution and they opposed the revolution, because basically they were afraid that the revolution would give rise to the strength of the lower levels of society. During the reform and modernization movement, the reformists declared that they opposed peasant revolution. They were particularly dissatisfied with the principle of people's livelihood put forth by Dr Sun Yat-sen. Liang Qichao said: "I know that if the principle of people's livelihood is implemented, the members of parliament will all be the poor and illiterate." "It is a way to seek sympathy from the lower levels of society and make use of and incite gamblers, ruffians, robbers, thieves, beggars, hooligans and prisoners for fear that the red eyebrows movement and yellow scarves movement will not spread...." ("On Civilized Autocracy") The main social foundation at home for reformists included high-level bourgeoisie and bourgeois landlords and gentry that had deep relations with feudal landlords. The attack waged by Liang Qichao against the principle of people's livelihood represented the will of part of these people.

Following the Nanchang revolution in 1911, the leaders of the reformists or constitutionalists in various provinces at once changed their attitude and joined the revolution. They did so not because they really stood for the revolution, but because they feared it. They understood that under the attack of the revolution, the Qing dynasty would inevitably collapse. Therefore, in order to put the revolution to an end as soon as possible and prevent it from really becoming uncontrollable because of the participation of the masses from the lower levels, they consequently joined the revolution. But we cannot say it is wrong for the revolutionaries to agree to cooperate with the reformists and other old forces. The question is that the revolutionaries did not really mobilize the broad masses of the people and as a result they found themselves in a weak position. It was also impossible for them to uphold this revolutionary stand in their cooperation in an unreliable alliance and maintain their leading position. It is because of these weak points that the revolution ended by coming to terms with Yuan Shikai, who was representing all old forces and who was backed by imperialism.

What conclusion can be arrived at from the above?

First, a number of Western "China" scholars have always held that the 1911 revolution did not reflect the demands of the Chinese people and that it was in fact brought about by some intellectuals who had intoxicated themselves with Western civilization and imposed upon China the democratic republic that was out of tune with the Chinese society. Such a view is completely wrong. The anti-imperialist and antifeudal slogan advocated by the 1911 revolution was the demand of the Chinese people. Such a demand had a certain relation to the revolutionary movements waged by peasants while the slogan of a democratic republic won wide support from the masses. And all these things served to refute the above view. According to such a view, it seemed that the theory of the autocratic constitution put forth by reformists was suitable for China. But the reformists failed, their leading position was taken over by the revolutionaries and following the 1911 revolution they were becoming politically degenerate. All this showed that it was groundless to praise the reformists and belittle the revolutionaries.

Second, over the past few years there existed a view which held that the current of progress in modern Chinese history prior to the May 4th movement started from the "Westernization movement" (referring to feudal bureaucrats who were running industry) and went up to the reform and modernization movement and then to the 1911 revolution. This view neglected the role played by peasants in modern Chinese history. Facts proved that even though the bourgeois revolutionaries developed from bourgeois reformists, they differed with the reformists and they accepted the tradition of the peasant revolution. Putting aside their reactionary political nature, the advocates of the Westernization movement actually blocked the development of national capital. The feudal bureaucrat who ran Westernization industries were not the predecessors of the reform and modernization movement and revolutionary movements that played their role in the development of history.

Following the 1911 revolution, Dr Sun Yat-sen and his comrades continued their struggles under difficult conditions to find a way out and finally they saw a new revolutionary light from the Russian October Socialist Revolution and found a new road for the Chinese revolution in their cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party.

Generally speaking, the revolutionary struggles fought by semicolonial and semifeudal China for independence, democracy and progress was carried out in three stages. The first stage was the revolution with peasants as the main force; the second stage was the revolution led by the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie and the third stage was the revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party after the proletariat entered the historical arena. History cannot be studied in a vacuum. The antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggles waged by peasants without the leadership of an advanced class was spontaneous, low in standard and even backward. Judging from this stage, it can be seen that these struggles were aimless and had an ineffective destructive force. But without such a stage, the revolution would not be able to develop to the revolution that was led by bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie. Although the 1911 revolution was able to overthrow the emperor, it did not change the position of China as a semicolonial and semifeudal country; nor was it able to turn China into an independent and free country and realize modernization. Judging from this stage, we would feel that the bourgeois revolution brought no results. But without this stage, the revolution would not be able to develop into the people's revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

The new democratic revolution won a great victory in 1949 under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. This is the victory of the revolution under the leadership of the proletariat and which was based on the alliance of workers and peasants and which united the national bourgeoisie and all patriots in their fight against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is not only the victory of the war of liberation and people's revolution under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party for 28 years, but also the victory of the revolutionary struggles that were constantly waged and improved by the Chinese people in the 100 years after 1840, and these struggles included the 1911 revolution.

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HEIGHTEN OUR SPIRIT, GRASP ECONOMIC WORK WELL

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[Article by Commentator]

[Text] Good results have been achieved in economic work this year. Grain output rose this summer. Production in the light and textile industries continues to increase rapidly. The market is thriving and prices are basically stable. What is less ideal is that the increase in industrial production was slow in the first half of the year and the economic return was inadequate. Industrial production rose in August and the total output value increased by 1.8 percent over that of July and by 2.2 percent over that of the corresponding period of last year. Profits turned over to the state rose by 2.1 percent and profits of local industry rose by 4.2 percent. But there are only 3 months left in the year. The task of fulfilling the industrial production plans for the whole year is still very arduous and we should make greater efforts in this respect.

There were many reasons why the increase in industrial production in the first half of the year was so slow. But the main reason was that some cadres and especially some leading cadres regarded difficulties too seriously. They did not exert themselves and lacked the spirit of advancing with irresistible force, of being enthusiastic, and of daring to take responsibilities and blazing new trails. Their spirit must be changed. Leading comrades at all levels should exert themselves, have a good grasp of their work and attach great importance to efficiency.

During the readjustment, in order to suit capital construction to national strength and to change the irrational proportional relations among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, it is absolutely necessary to reduce the investment in capital construction, to close, suspend, merge or shift some enterprises which are short of raw materials, have unmarketable products and which have high consumption and low efficiency and to slow the development of some heavy industrial projects. In addition, we should do our best to maintain the development of industry at an appropriate speed. To think that lower indices are better and slower speed is better because we have criticized impractical high indices and speed, is to misunderstand the readjustment principle.

With respect to the question of the speed in developing the economy, we are of the opinion that we should advance in an orderly way and at a "normal temperature." We must not run "cold" one moment and "hot" the next. We must not set indices which are beyond our capacity even if we make great efforts. Impractical high indices have inflicted great losses on the national economy. From now on we must stop setting impractical high indices. But it is not good not to fulfill the indices which are within our reach and to just be satisfied with low indices and low speed. During the readjustment of the national economy, if we do not maintain an appropriate speed of growth, this will be detrimental to meeting the daily increasing needs of the whole society, to continuously changing the financial status and to improving the management of enterprises. It will also be detrimental to accumulating strength for the future development of the national economy. Our general requirements are: we must not only exert ourselves, but also be practical and realistic. Neither of these two elements can be dispensed with.

Besides energetically maintaining the development of light industry, we must pay special attention to the correct handling of the capital construction projects which have been stopped and of the enterprises which have been closed, suspended, merged or shifted and do our best to rationally use their production capacity. We must further readjust the service orientation and product structure of the machine building and metallurgical industries, so that they will serve the needs of rural areas, the needs of light industry and the needs of export, and to enable them to shoulder the task of effecting a technological restructuring of the whole national economy. The party Central Committee recently called for technological restructuring of existing enterprises and for equipment renewal. This is a very important decision of strategic significance. In this way, we can change the stagnation in heavy industrial production, especially in the production of the machine building industry, and maintain a constant growth of light industry. We can also change the situation in which equipment is outmoded and techniques are backward in most of our country's enterprises. We should accumulate strength for the large-scale development of the economy in the future. In addition, we should also increase our investment, carry out some capital construction projects, mainly in the energy industry such as coal, petroleum and power stations, and carry out communications and transportation projects in order to change the backward status of the energy industry and of communications and transportation undertakings.

Funds are needed for technologically restructuring and renewing equipment in existing enterprises and for developing energy and communications undertakings. Where will the funds come from? This mainly relies on tapping the potential of enterprises and on increasing the economic return. It is true that there are various difficulties in China's industry, but its potential is very large. We must tap this potential by every means of expand reproduction by "intension." In many industrial enterprises, consumption is high and waste is astonishing. According to statistics for 1980, the consumption indices of products in 56 percent of the key industrial enterprises throughout the country were not up to the best standards of history. With regard to how funds were used, we know that in 1980, the profit realized for every 100 yuan of output value in state-run industrial enterprises under the state budget was 16.7 yuan, 11.4 yuan less than in 1955; the circulating fund for every 100 yuan was 31.2 yuan, 9.9 yuan more than in 1955. Viewed from the technological levels of products, the operational quality of the industrial products of our country are bad and their renewal and replacement are very slow. According to a preliminary analysis, of the present 20,000 kinds of mechanical and electrical products, those similar to the level of the 1970's constitute less than 5 percent, those similar to the level of the

1960's constitute more than 30 percent, and more than 60 percent is similar to the level of the 1940's or 1950's. This shows that there is still great potential for increasing economic results and that there are bright prospects.

Increasing economic results is an important method for increasing revenue and funds. For several years in the future, energy production, communications and transportation, and the production of some important raw materials will be limited, so the speed of industrial growth cannot be high. We must take the road of obtaining a better economic return and higher national income at an appropriately low speed. Viewed from the great potential that enterprises have, this road is completely feasible. The proportionate relationship between the rate of growth in industry and the increase in revenue is: with every 1 percent increase in industrial output value, there is a 1 billion yuan increase in revenue. If the industrial output value increases by 4 to 5 percent a year, there will only be an increase of 4 to 5 billion yuan in revenue. But if we pay sufficient attention to economic results, there will be a greater increase in revenue. Therefore, we must increase production and increase economic results simultaneously and lay stress on tapping the potential so as to increase economic results. We must try to obtain funds by improving enterprise management level, tapping potential, and carrying out innovations and reforms. We must also try to obtain funds by comprehensively using our resources. This is an important method for opening all avenues for financial resources.

In order to increase the economic results, it is necessary to rely on the masses and bring into play the initiative, sense of responsibility and creative spirit of staff and workers and of technicians. However, the egalitarianism of "eating out of one big pot" in our present system and the departmental system have prevented this initiative from being brought into play. If this situation is not changed, it will be difficult for us to advance.

If we want to free the initiative of staff and workers from the distribution form of egalitarianism, we must implement the economic responsibility system in industry and combine this system with the economic interests of the enterprises and of staff and workers. The various economic responsibility systems recently implemented in industry have led to remarkable results. This must be continued with a firm attitude, stable steps and in various forms. We must timely sum up our experience so as to perfect our measures. At present, we must pay attention to the following: We must hold on to the system of even, advanced quotas; we must maintain product quality; and we must not raise production costs. We should also prevent some enterprises from arranging their production solely on the basis of profit, as this will divorce the state plans from the needs of the market. We must understand that no matter how good a system is, defects will occur and targets will not be fulfilled if we do not seriously analyze specific situations, consider concrete conditions and foresee new problems that might emerge, or if we do not have a set of practical methods. We have had so many lessons in this respect that we must never forget them when implementing economic responsibility systems.

Departmental separation and regional separation have seriously hindered the organic relationship of economic activities throughout the country and the development of specialization and coordination. Many valuable resources cannot be comprehensively utilized. In addition, this fosters the bureaucratic style of work and decentralism, so that conditions at the basic level might not be known by the higher authorities, and important decisions made by the higher authorities might not be implemented. There are endless squabbles and disputes over trifles between the basic level and the higher authorities. This is one of the important reasons why the economic result of our country's industrial production is low. For many years we have suffered because of endless disputes over trifles. We must be determined to restructure malpractices that do not conform to the large-scale production of socialization and that cannot suit the development of the commodity economy. In this respect, we have done something beneficial and have made a useful attempt and accumulated preliminary experience in reorganizing industry and combining enterprises. By starting with key cities and industrial bases, we have broken through the demarcation lines between regions and departments; by concentrating on various products, we have begun to energetically carry out reorganization and integration in industry and to explore an economic management system suited to our national conditions. But there are many obstacles and difficulties. Our comrades must attach great importance to the overall situation of the four modernizations and to the overall situation of developing the Chinese nation vigorously, free themselves from the conventions of departmental separation and regional separation, and take the road of large-scale socialized production. In this way, we will certainly be able to improve our country's economic results and utilize our resources more rationally.

There are many similarities as well as dissimilarities between the readjustment we are now carrying out and the readjustment we carried out in 1962. The situation in agriculture now is better than it was in 1962. Since the readjustment and implementation of the party's policies in the rural areas, the great majority of the peasants have enough food and their income has increased. They can provide more grain and raw materials for the development of industry, and they also demand from industry more means of production and consumer goods in the rural areas. The actual strength of industry is more solid than it was in 1962, and internally there is more room for maneuver. Although the state has a financial deficit, the localities and enterprises have money and the people have money. This makes it possible to concentrate scattered funds by means of bank credits for the necessary construction undertakings. Besides, we have changed our economic foreign policy that "closed the country to the outside world," so that foreign investments can be utilized and some of our products can enter the international market. In addition, over the past 2 years, we have achieved a preliminary success in readjustment and reform. Therefore, the internal part of industry is beginning to develop in a rational and coordinated direction. A certain success has been achieved in the trial-point expansion of enterprise autonomy and in industrial reorganization and integration. According to the principle of less closing and suspending but more merging and shifting, we have changed the enterprises that have large consumption and waste but low economic results. Under the guidance of state planning, we have readjusted the market and invigorated production and the market. All these are advantageous factors for promoting the economy's rate of growth and improving the economic return. We must not only see our difficulties and forget our favorable conditions.

We must work hard to advance the national economy. Everyone, from the party Central Committee to the localities, and from the cadres and technicians to workers, must go all out and work hard. We must keep trying and not relax. Leaders at all levels must have the courage to shoulder responsibility and be responsible. They must have the courage to grasp political and ideological work and to develop healthy trends and take strong measures against unhealthy ones. They must set a good example, lead the masses in overcoming difficulties and grasp economic work well. We must lose no time in readjusting the leading groups that lack ability and are lazy and undisciplined.

Political work is the lifeblood of all economic work. We must intensify political and ideological education for staff and workers. We must propagate the superiority of socialism and the great ideals of communism. We must propagate with perfect assurance education on communist morals, on socialist spiritual civilization, and on discipline and law, and raise the political and ideological consciousness of staff and workers. We must not repeat the mistake of ignoring the material interests of enterprises and individuals. We must combine spiritual encouragement with material encouragement, adopt various forms, and commend those who have created new work quotas and made outstanding contributions in technical innovations and scientific research, and those who dare to fight against the habit of harming the public to benefit oneself, against the evil tendency of carrying out speculation and profiteering, and against illegal activities. We must protect and foster advanced and model persons, and resolutely change the abnormal phenomena in some factories and enterprises in which advanced persons are isolated. Without large numbers of pioneers and men of action and without large numbers of persons who are utterly devoted to others without a thought for themselves, and who fear neither hardship nor death, it will be impossible to realize the four modernizations. We must also be good at regularly using the Marxist ideological weapon of criticism and self-criticism to cleanse us. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Our duties are to be responsible to the people. Every word, every action and every policy must conform to the interests of the people. If we make mistakes, we must correct them. This is being responsible to the people." To do economic work well, we must first raise our sense of responsibility. How can Communist Party members and the proletariat not have a sense of responsibility toward the socialist cause? Everyone in enterprises, from factory head to engineer and worker, must have a sense of responsibility toward their work. They must take pride in fulfilling or overfulfilling their tasks and in performing their duties. We must combine a high sense of responsibility with a stringent responsibility system.

Comrade Mao Zedong was right in saying that we must rely on the working class heart and soul. We must not underestimate the consciousness of China's working class. So long as cadres at all levels set a good example, our party is sure that it can lead the working class in carrying on the socialist cause well. The important problem now is for our party to intensify its ideological work. Especially when implementing the economic responsibility system, ideological work must be able to keep abreast. Everyone must be made to understand how to be concerned for the state, to have the sense of responsibility of being the master of the country, and to combine well the interests of the state, the enterprise and the individuals. The superiority of our socialist system lies in the fact that the masses of people are the masters of the country, the society and the enterprises. In an enterprise, workers must really be able to take part in management and allocation and in policy making; they must really be able to carry out the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work";

they must really be able to become a contingent of staff and workers who are advanced in ideology, skillful and strictly disciplined. In this way, our party's ideological work can easily lead to results.

Going deep into the thick of life to do real work and breaking with old conventions to traverse a new road are a good method for buoying spirits and improving work style. To arouse our enthusiasm to a pitch and to combine high revolutionary enthusiasm with a strictly scientific approach, we must go among the masses and absorb strength, and we must go to factories, the countryside, shops and the production front and carry out investigations and studies. If we are not clear about a situation, it will be hard for us to make a decision, and if we force ourselves to make a decision anyway, we will mess things up by giving wrong orders. Men's correct ideas stem only from practice. If you do not go out of Beijing for investigations and studies, good ideas will not come to you by themselves. Comrade Mao Zedong said that having the power of initiative is like sweeping down irresistibly from a commanding height. It comes from seeking truth from facts, from the real reflection of objective facts in people's minds, that is, the process of understanding the objective world in a dialectical way. By going deep into the thick of life and carrying out investigations and studies, we will be able to stand higher and see farther, take the initiative in developing things and find solutions to our problems.

Conditions continually change. New conditions and new problems emerge one after another. It will not do to look at our problems with old conventions. We must adapt ourselves to new conditions, study new problems and explore new paths. In agriculture, if we had not broken with old conventions and taken the new path of various responsibility systems, how could we enjoy such an excellent situation as we enjoy today? In economic reform, if we still get bogged down in the question of division of power between the party Central Committee and the localities, instead of focusing our attention on enlarging the enterprise autonomy, on combining power, responsibility and profit, and on developing specialization and cooperation, we will not be able to obtain new successes. There are no prospects in handling new problems with old methods. We must encourage the people to create new things, to compete on the great road of socialist construction and to constantly establish new records. Taking a road which has never been traversed by our predecessors entails certain risks, but it is for the needs of the people and the demand of our times. So long as it is beneficial to the people, to socialist construction, to the state, the collective and the individual, we must go full steam ahead and spare no effort.

In short, we must exert ourselves and be practical and realistic. We must concentrate our main efforts on studying situations, making decisions and taking measures. We must go deep into the thick of life and do a solid job instead of indulging in empty talk. In this way, we can certainly fulfill this year's plans for the national economy and obtain a practical and comparatively fast speed in developing industry and agriculture. We must strive to build our country into a modern, strong socialist country with ample democracy and a high degree of civilization.

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THE AGRICULTURAL RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM AND THE REFORM OF THE RURAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM

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[Article by Dun Runsheng [2629 3387 3932]]

[Text]

I

Over the past 2 years, the various rural policies worked out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee have been carried out throughout the country. The current rural situation is developing better than expected. Wherever there is no exceptionally serious famine owing to crop failure, production has developed and there are not only increases in grain output but also an all-round development in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery. Not only has the collective economy developed, but the household economy has been revived and developed as well. Changes have taken place in regions which have economic difficulties. For instance, improvements have been made in the life of the peasants of Dingxi Prefecture in Gansu Province, of the Yunnan-Guizhou plateau, of the Huangfan areas of Shandong and Henan Provinces, and of the Heilonggang area of Hebei Province. Some regions no longer depend on grain resold to them by the state after they introduced the system of fixing output quotas for each individual household.

What merits attention is that the implementation of document No 75 of the CCP Central Committee and the introduction of agricultural production responsibility systems is gradually becoming an all-round reform of the rural economic system. It mainly aims at establishing the decisionmaking power of the collective economy and giving consideration to the material interests of the peasants so as to arouse the enthusiasm of the peasants for production. This reform is just a beginning. It will deepen and spread. At present, first of all it is necessary to grasp well the work to perfect the production responsibility systems and at the same time to begin to solve the problems of exchange between the urban and rural areas and the relations between agriculture and commerce, that is, the circulation links of farm products, and then to go on solving the problems of the whole rural economic structure and the perfection of its superstructure.

The establishment of sound production responsibility systems has helped enhance the enthusiasm of the peasants and their concern for production. The peasants say that things have changed a lot today: We are now tilling the land for ourselves. This remark has a profound meaning. In Baoding I was told that an old man had planted 1 mu to sweet potatoes. Lacking six sweet potato seedlings, he traveled for scores of li just to obtain the seedlings. With the favorable turn in the economic situation, the relations between the party and the masses and the relations between industry and agriculture have improved.

There are differences in people's understanding of these changes. What are these differences? They lie in treating the system of fixing output quotas for individual households and the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion. Some comrades say that the present agricultural situation is really fine, but are we not paying too high a price by practicing the system of fixing output quotas for individual households and the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion? Are we not moving back to the small peasant economy in exchange for the development of production? Some comrades feel particularly anxious about the situation at the sight of the spreading tendency and some negative phenomena of the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion. These matters should be thrashed out ideologically and theoretically. I will now present you comrades with some problems that I came across as reference for further study.

II

Let us review the historical experience. Our party put forward the general line for the transitional period in 1952, thereby beginning the socialist transformation of agriculture. At present, we have to reconsider the question of whether, with such a vast territory, only a single economic form can be practiced throughout the country. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this economic form as it has developed to this day? Is there any necessity to reform it? How do we carry out reforms, if any? These are the rudimentary ideas for our proposing production responsibility systems. Today some comrades worry that by introducing the system of fixing output quotas for individual households, we will slip back into the old rut of the small peasant economy. This worry is understandable and it is good for people to put it on the table. The system of fixing output quotas for individual households and the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion will be unable to completely avoid spontaneity and it is bound to cause us some problems. But the more important and also the primary consideration is whether it is necessary to reform the existing economic form. This is a prerequisite. Since we have already affirmed that reforms should be carried out, then we must not maintain that it is best to do things in old ways instead of carrying out reforms when some problems crop up in the reforms. Reforms involve various aspects, including the establishment of production responsibility system, but this system is neither confined to nor equals the implementation of the system of fixing output quotas for individual households. The general aim is to chart a relatively perfect socialist economic form and an economic management system that suit China's rural areas through exploration in various fields.

Marx and Engels did not go into much detail about the rural socialist economic form. What they predicted was the situation after the relations of production had been highly developed. They said that in underdeveloped countries it was possible to lead small farmers to socialism without entering the stage of capitalist society by adopting the method of cooperation but not the method of expropriation. What was meant by the certain conditions at that time refers internally to a certain base of industrialization of a country and externally to the support rendered by developed socialist countries. The historical development is that no socialist revolution has ever broken out in economically developed countries, but only in such economically backward countries as first Russia, next the East European countries and then China. The Soviet Union made progress in practicing socialism through exploration. At first it practiced military communism for a period of time and put the system of collecting surplus grain and the system of unified distribution into effect. Later Lenin pointed out that we should not look forward to a direct transition to communism and should base ourselves on the peasants' concern for their personal interests. At that time some people said that allowing the peasants to concern themselves with personal interests would mean restoring the system of private ownership. Rebutting that argument, Lenin said that we had never intended to abolish the system of private ownership of consumer goods and tools by the peasants, that we had abolished the system of private ownership of land, that we formerly thought that we could carry out production and distribution by means of communist orders, but that we should change this practice now, that we had once intended to adopt the so-called method of launching a frontal attack to solve this task, but in vain, and that we had to adopt an outflanking method. After that a new economic policy was carried out. Later Lenin again pointed out that to solve the problem of peasants making the transition to socialism, we should adopt a cooperative system. What was meant by his cooperative system was a cooperative system similar to that of supply and marketing cooperatives. He said: "Under the system of public ownership of the means of production and in the situation whereby the proletariat has won victory over the bourgeoisie as a class, the system of the civilized cooperative workers must be the socialist system." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 426) From 1925 on, there was a great debate inside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, resulting in the confirmation and adoption of the policy of collective farms proposed by Stalin, a policy of basing agriculture on the collective economy. After that, model regulations for collective farms were promulgated and they were put into effect throughout the country as a single model.

The advantages and disadvantages of Soviet collective farms remain to be further studied, but it must be affirmed that this system displayed a certain strength. It ensured industrialization. If it had not been for this industrialization, it would have been very difficult for the Soviet Union to deal with the attacks launched by Hitler. However, its drawback was also striking in terms of poor economic returns. Some East European countries which indiscriminately copied the Soviet Union's model of agricultural collectivization are now carrying out reforms in this respect. Yugoslavia, which abandoned the model after a certain period of practice, has taken another road to establish an agricultural cooperative economy. It seems that the principle of organizing the peasants into a cooperative economy is of universal significance, but one should not indiscriminately borrow and mechanically copy in a simplified way steps, measures and forms in organizing the cooperative economy. We can now draw this conclusion.

Although China's advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives in the 1950's were basically similar to Soviet-type collective farms, they were realized by adopting the measures of gradual transition proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong. We advanced from mutual aid teams to elementary cooperatives. These two organizations did not touch the system of private ownership by the peasants, and the peasants were integrated on the basis of the system of private ownership, and then made the transition to advanced cooperatives. The original time schedule for this transition was 15 to 20 years. This was a fairly good tentative plan. But it took only 3 years to complete the whole transition and furthermore a single model was practiced throughout the country. The advanced cooperatives which were established just for a year and were unable to be consolidated were advanced to the people's communes, thus leading to the emergence of the "communist wind." The CCP Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong firmly led the peasants in moving back to the system of three-level ownership with the production team as the basic accounting unit. At that time in the system of three-level ownership, the ownership by the communes and production brigades was nominal and that of the production teams was real.

In reviewing the 30 years of experience, people will see the following facts:

First, viewed from the overall situation, it is correct and successful for China to take the socialist road in agriculture, to exercise public ownership of the land and to carry out cooperative production. We must never doubt and waver in this respect. We have basically solved the problem of feeding a population of nearly 1 billion people, have ensured the necessity of industrialization and, what is more important, we have avoided the annexation of land that had been going on for several thousands of years and have eliminated the system of exploitation. These points alone are enough to prove that the road we are taking is correct.

Second, today over one-third of the collective economy is run fairly well, and the average per capita income of the peasants (including income from household sideline production) is over 120 yuan on average. What is the idea behind this? According to calculations, in the light of China's present price level, by and large it will require every peasant to make an average of 120 yuan annually for the peasants to maintain the reproduction of the labor forces. The income of some regions has surpassed 120 yuan, some reaching 400 to 500 yuan and even 1,000 yuan. The annual income of commune members of the Liuzhuang production brigade of Qiliying in Henan Province from collective production was 470 yuan, with 10 items free of charge such as melons and popsicles and movie tickets, totaling 67 yuan for every person; along with the subsidy of 50 yuan for every person, every peasant really had a total of 587 yuan. They pay no house rent. Every commune member on average has a large room with a tile roof and every family has a spacious courtyard. Some families have household appliances like television sets and electric fans. Regions such as these have generally realized intensive farming: more investment, more income. They already have farm machinery, chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals and water conservancy facilities. Collective fixed assets, such as agricultural large-scale advanced machinery and facilities, throughout the country have reached 10 billion yuan, of which the greater part is concentrated in prosperous teams which have a high income. Apart from engaging in agriculture, these communes, brigades and teams run sideline occupations and industry. Thus, a new structure of comprehensive management has been taking shape gradually, and it has the ability to continuously expand reproduction. They have become guides in marching toward the modernization of agriculture. The results of this collective economy cannot be replaced by those of the individual economy.

These regions have comparatively good leading bodies and a number of qualified personnel who are good at running the collective economy. These are the conditions for ensuring greater consolidation of the collective economy.

Third, about a third of our teams are poorer than the above-mentioned teams. They can catch up with them provided they are managed well. These teams are underdeveloped in the diversified economy, but they have a certain amount of fixed assets, modern farm machinery, conditions for irrigation and some industrial goods, which are their material foundation for the modernization of agriculture.

Fourth, about a third of our teams have an average income of below 60 yuan per person, not enough to make up the labor consumption of the commune members. How do they get along? They depend on supplementary income from their household sideline production, on governmental relief and subsidies, and on economizing on food and clothing. That is to say, these regions have been freed from exploitation but not from poverty. These teams have made insufficient investment in the land, the fertility of which is declining. They cultivate the land almost in a predatory way, thus leading to the deterioration of the ecological environment. The motivation to develop production of the small private owners has been lost, while the superiority of the collective economy has not been brought into play. No improvement has been made in the productive forces. Thus the teams have become the "three-dependent teams," that is, they depend on grain resold to them by the state, loans for production and relief in the form of subsidies. With little income and grain, they have to practice egalitarian distribution. Everybody has to muddle along with work points since egalitarianism and "eating out of one big pot" are practiced, and it is the same whether one works hard or not and whether one does one's job well or not. The more they muddle along the poorer they become, the poorer they become the more they practice egalitarianism, the more they do so the poorer they become, thus landing themselves in a vicious circle. Besides, although their income is small, they have to bear various burdens. Their accounts are not in order and there is waste in expenditures. All this adds to the poverty. This indicates that the superiority of the collective has not been brought into play.

Fifth, even in those regions in which the collective economy is advanced and agricultural output is high, the economic return is still poor. Take Jiangsu Province for example. The profit rate on every 1 yuan (the return on an investment of 1 yuan) was 3.37 yuan in 1957, 3.08 yuan in 1965, 2.72 yuan in 1971 and 2.32 yuan in 1980. In 1980 there was a decrease of 31.2 percent as compared with that of 1957. An increase in investment but a relative decrease in return means an increase in production but not in income. Commune members in these regions have a bigger income than those in other regions. What do they depend on to make up for this gap? They depend mainly on the diversified economy and the enterprises run by their communes and brigades, and on the latter in particular. There is a saying spreading among the peasants: "If you want to be rich, go in for agriculture, industry and sideline occupations; if you want to be comparatively well-off, go in for agriculture, industry and commerce." The poor economic return in agricultural production demands that we make a serious study. China has 200 million horsepower or more of farm machinery and a labor force of 300 million. But the improvement of labor productivity is not commensurate with the input of labor. This also shows that the economic return is very poor.

Sixth, over the past few years, the peasants have cultivated their private plots well with high and quick economic returns. According to an investigation, the average per mu income of some private plots is 1,000 to 1,500 yuan and the cost is no more than 20 percent, resulting in low cost and high income. There are six harvests annually on some private plots in Guangdong Province. This economic return there is many times higher than that of farmland cultivated by the collective. Some localities in the southern part of the country have given each peasant a private plot of 2 mu. One peasant dug a pond on his plot to breed fish and managed to earn more than 1,000 yuan from it. This enlightens us: Can we arouse the peasants to concern themselves with collective production as much as they concern themselves with the management of their private plots? Of course, this does not mean that we must take the investment and yield of private plots as targets for all cultivated farmland. This would not be realistic. But it is feasible to ask peasants to be as enthusiastic in collective production as they are in the management of private plots. The on-going system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output can accomplish this to a certain extent.

Since the introduction of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output, the peasants have shown great enthusiasm for collective production. They say: "The policies of the CCP Central Committee have linked our hearts closely together." In Henan Province, I saw such a case. Where wheat yield was the same, in regions where the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output was followed, provided the people were careful enough, they could obtain an additional 40 jin of wheat just from the process of gathering and threshing wheat--an additional 20 jin from gathering wheat and 20 jin from threshing wheat on the threshing ground.

From the above-mentioned facts, it can be seen that our collective economy is basically successful but that there are also drawbacks in it. The reason is that we were not good at regulating the interests of the collective and those of the individual and dared not affirm the interests of the individual in the collective economy. Lenin once said: "It is imperative to establish all major departments of the national economy out of concern for the interests of the individual." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 51) We studied this quotation of Lenin's many times in the past, but we simply did not understand it and did not implement it systematically, that is, we did not discover the management form that suits our rural collective economy. This gave people a false impression of the so-called "alienation" of the means of production. The alienation brought about by capitalism is that the products of labor by the laborers have become the antitheses that control and oppress them. There is no exploitation in our public ownership system. The means of production are the property of the working people and intrinsically are not antitheses. But if the democratic rights of laborers are not sufficiently guaranteed, and especially when they cannot exercise the power of control over the means of production and the products of their labor, people will think that the production is not for themselves. Therefore, it is necessary to study the management form of how the laborers can control the means of production and the results of labor under the prerequisite of upholding the collective economy. Naturally, we must not, on whatever pretext, revert to the system of private ownership.

III

In solving the problems of the rural collective economy, first of all it is necessary to proceed from the actual conditions of agriculture and particularly from the actual conditions of China's agriculture.

Agriculture is different from industry and especially from modern industry. Different production procedures and working procedures of modern industry can be carried out in different regions and even in different countries. The working procedures and product quality of thousands upon thousands of laborers can be controlled and basically guaranteed. But the objects of agricultural production are living animals and plants. They are influenced by many changing factors. There is no fixed combination of such factors as weather, seeds and soil. In timely understanding and grasping the monthly, daily and even hourly changes in these factors and regulating them so as to develop in a direction favorable for agricultural production, we must depend on men, on the laborers themselves, rather than any other force. This shows that agricultural production in particular cannot deviate from the great concern of the laborers for production. On a certain piece of farmland, it makes a world of difference whether one is concerned with it or not and whether one levels it again or not. Things have greatly changed since the peasants were held responsible for the land under a contract. In Yunnan Province, the peasants turned the soil over in rows to fully sun the earth, crushed and watered the upturned and sunned earth, and then transplanted rice seedlings in it. Paddy fields cultivated in this way are indeed of high quality. In Beijing, in the past a large amount of wheat would rot every year, but this year the wheat hardly suffered any losses. Apart from the fact that sunny days were fairly frequent during the wheat-harvesting period, this was the result of letting the production groups manage the wheat under a contract. If we say that the industrial enterprises need to establish responsibility systems, then agriculture needs more badly to establish a responsibility system that suits the characteristics of agricultural production and can arouse the working individuals' great concern for production.

Another difference between industry and agriculture is that goods can be produced in many processes in industry; they are called intermediate products for assembly. The daily amount of labor of a person can be measured by the quantity and quality of the products he produces. There is no assembling of parts in agriculture. Work time is not commensurate with production time. All labor, including plowing, applying fertilizers and weeding, is a fluid process. The embodiment of labor is the end product. Therefore, measuring the results of labor depends on the final yields. In considering how much they can earn from their labor, the peasants must also depend on the distribution of the end products (output value). If you give certain workpoints to a peasant, he will still feel anxious, anxious to know the cash value of a workpoint. The implementation of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output enables the peasants to directly perceive through their senses and have a true understanding of the relationship between labor and remuneration. Having a fair idea of the relationship between labor and remuneration, the peasants will be full of drive in their work.

China's agriculture has its own characteristics. Ours is a country with a huge population but little arable land. In order to meet the demand for food, it is necessary to maintain the continuous growth of land productivity. Therefore, we must depend on deep plowing and careful cultivation to a great extent, and deep plowing and careful cultivation depends on the initiative of the laborers. Up to now, over vast areas, China's agriculture is still in the stage of a self-supporting or semiself-supporting economy in which most agricultural work is done by hand and the level of specialized production and socialized labor is low. If it were not for the necessity of utilizing new technology and natural forces, we would put the original one-household family economy into a community. Then a situation would emerge in which no one would be responsible for collective work and there would be great difficulties in measuring labor and calculating remuneration. If collective labor is regarded as doing work in a centralized way at any time and in everything, and the method of "doing things in a massive and unplanned way" is practiced, this will cause holdups in the work through poor management and also waste. In addition, it is not economical to put the united family efforts, at the stage of the individual economy and the use of small-scale farm implements, into the process of production. A production scale depends on conditions. A big production scale is better than a small one. This is a common principle but it is not absolute. It is better for us to be more practical and first to make the scope of operations smaller and to more closely link the right to use the land--that important means of production--with the laborers than "to pitch a tent to wait for machinery that has not come for over 10 years," as the peasants say. By so doing, it will be easier for us to implement the principle of distribution according to labor, to arouse each peasant's enthusiasm and initiative, and to fully make use of their rich experience in small-scale management. In the past, the system of fixed targets for output quotas, workdays and costs, with a portion of the extra output as a reward, was practiced with notable results. We have now taken a step further by implementing the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration with output, and have achieved even better results. Under this system, the means of production is still owned by the collective but part of the right to use and manage it is given to individuals. In the past the personal interests of the peasants were embodied in the total income of the collective, but now, in addition to that, a small portion of the income is put aside to be used as a form of personal income that embodies personal interests. This personal income is closely linked with the quality of one's labor. The peasants are organized according to their economic interests. The relations between the peasants and the collective have become contractual relations--contractual relations with the economy as the substance--and not the past relations of administrative orders. In the past some comrades advocated the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration with output, called "responsibility for fields," but instead of being encouraged, they were criticized. From then on the efforts of the vast numbers of cadres to explore forms of the agricultural economic structure were frustrated. Arbitrary uniformity became the traditional practice. The existing model was regarded as the only socialist one, and others were regarded as heterodoxical. Our thinking was really too ossified at that time. What was the rural socialist economic form? There was only one model, namely, the three-level ownership with the production team as the basic accounting unit. Anyone who tried to alter it even a bit ran the risk of being charged with changing the socialist orientation. This practice dealt blows to cadres who dared to explore reforms and indirectly abolished the rights of peasants to choose other forms of integration.

People readily put political labels on peasants and called such ideas the capitalist spontaneity of small producers, resulting in confusion in both theory and understanding. The equal relations embodied in the principle of distribution according to labor, that is, the so-called "bourgeois rights" were regarded as a ground for breeding capitalism; the principle of distribution according to labor was regarded as putting workpoints in command and the disparity of income brought about by the principle of distribution according to labor as polarization, and so forth. When people were afraid to act in accordance with the principle of distribution according to labor and were afraid of polarization, they restricted incomes. For this reason, the diversified economy and household sideline production were cut off as "capitalist tails," resulting in the unitary economy. As a result, the decrease in income restricted expanded reproduction in agriculture and caused commodity production to sag. This situation was not changed until the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. From then on, we began to take another look at and restudy the characteristics of agriculture and particularly those of China's agriculture, to emancipate the mind, to seek truth from facts and to explore a new road for reforms.

IV

Marxist principles tell us that only after the productive forces contained in the old relations of production are fully developed, will the old relations of production die out. Similarly, new relations of production cannot be established or even be consolidated until productive forces develop to a certain level. Then, how will China establish the new socialist relations of production when there are no mature capitalist productive forces in China and the productive forces are backward? How will these contradictions be resolved? At present, we have only one answer to this question: In the light of China's conditions, we can advance to socialism without going through the capitalist stage. Polarization is necessary and unavoidable. However, we have to undergo and cannot leap over the process of the development of the productive forces. After agrarian reform, we advanced in good time the socialist transformation of agriculture and at the same time formulated state industrialization to carry out technological transformation in agriculture step by step. It is beyond doubt that what we have taken is a scientific socialist road. Ours is a country with a vast territory and uneven economic development, so it is impossible to provide agriculture with the new discoveries of industrial technology and with the improvements in agricultural productive forces in the near future and the corresponding period. Therefore, socialism should be established through a series of intermediate links, step by step. This is the scientific road to socialism. Therefore, to suit the regional differences of China's economic development, it is necessary in different regions to separately choose concrete forms of production relations which suit current productive forces. This is a task that we must deal with consistently and earnestly. It will hinder the development of the productive forces if we pursue the method of "the bigger the collective unit and the higher the level of public ownership, the better" by deviating from the level of development of the productive forces. There is a national minority in Yunnan, in which the primitive communes have not been dissolved and private ownership has not come into being. Every year the headmen led the clansmen in slash-and-burn cultivation. A group of people worked together and divided what they earned. In the early stage of liberation, we decided to distribute land among the masses and let them practice individual farming for some years and carry out mutual aid and cooperation among them. But very quickly they entered the stages of the cooperative and the commune. It seemed that this change was a bit too fast but they managed. Why? The reason is that they were used to working together and having unified distribution. In organizing the cooperatives and communes, they only replaced the headmen with the production team leaders, and everything else remained the same. This natural economy still prevails in the region. I visited them and found that, apart from such commodities as a cauldron and a knife, the wooden ladles, bamboo water buckets and cloth were all made by themselves. There were no commodities, and exchange was very underdeveloped as they regarded exchanging commodities as losing face. They remained at the stage in which the community was beginning to break up. Our method was precisely to prolong the process of disintegration of the natural economy. They continued slash-and-burn cultivation without interruption. This shows us that the improvement of the productive forces will be held up unless there is a corresponding adjustment in the relations of production, and that only when we improve productive forces and develop commodity production can we build socialism. Although the level of development of the greater part of the country is higher than it is in this region, we have not got rid of the semi-natural or natural economy. Therefore, in similar regions, we must adjust the relations of production which are not suited to the level of the productive forces and adapt them to suit the development of the productive forces so as to develop the productive forces to a new level and transform a natural economy into a commodity economy, simple reproduction into expanded reproduction, extensive cultivation into intensive cultivation and intensive farming, and to promote specialized production and socialized labor. Only in this way can the new socialist relations of production reach maturity and perfection; otherwise, a situation will surely emerge in which the relations of production are not commensurate with the productive forces. One cannot bear to wear tight shoes and one cannot walk in loose shoes. The readjustment is predicated on the collective economy, on the affirmation and development of personal interests; on the basis of developed personal interests, it will strengthen the collective, thus enabling the collective and the individual to have independent interests and to become the bearers of commodity exchange and to become motivated to push economic development forward through continuous economic incentives. We must take the development of the commodity economy as a target for us in consolidating and developing the agricultural cooperative economy. Viewing the country as a whole, the commodity economy is very underdeveloped. The proportion of pure commodity grain is only about 15 percent and that of other farm products is also on the low side. With the development of industry and cities, the volume of market demand is increasing day by day and the demands for farm products are also increasingly pressing. Agricultural production has been stimulated by the expanded market demands, and there should have been a great development in the volume of commodities, but this development was held up for various reasons. We are now resolved to promote its fresh development. Only with the full development of the commodity economy, can we develop and flesh out the socialist relations of production.

In proceeding from today's reality, the road of readjustment and reform we are seeking must not only be different from "the bigger the collective unit and the higher the level of public ownership, the better" and "making the transition through poverty," but also be different from replacing the cooperatives with new ones.

In line with the spirit of Document No 75 of the CCP Central Committee, in economically developed regions, the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration with output, as the system of fixing output quotas for a special line of production under a contract and going in for mass production, a diversified economy and preliminary specialization, should be encouraged. Some people go in for pig raising, some for fish breeding, and some for vegetable growing; some people run transport services or work in the building industry, processing industry and service trades; some plant industrial crops of one kind or another; and some plant grain crops or breed domestic animals. Under a powerful unified management, the system of fixing output quotas for a special line of production under a contract can fix output quotas for each group, each household or each able-bodied laborer. The principle of more pay for more output and less pay for less output should be introduced. Remuneration should be linked to output.

In regions which have economic difficulties and where commodity production is sparse and the natural economy holds a dominant position, we should be bold enough to implement the system of fixing output quotas for individual households for land. Under the unified administration of production teams, peasant households will be responsible for the farmland, output and costs under a contract. The output quotas within the fixed targets under the separate management by peasant households are to be put under unified distribution and those in excess of the targets will go to individual contractors. Some regions can introduce the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion, that is, a system of separate management by the peasant households under the unified administration of the production teams. Farmland is assigned to a peasant under a contract and, after handing over various social deductions as taxes, accumulation funds and public welfare funds, the surplus yield is turned over to him. This method gives him greater decisionmaking power and independent management power, and is different from ordinary responsibility systems. According to my figures for some regions, those regions which introduced the system of fixing output quotas for individual households and the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion on average increased output by 30 percent, and some even by 100 or 200 percent. The annual average per capita income increased from 40 yuan to more than 100 yuan.

The production teams intermediate between the above-mentioned cases practiced the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration with output under the unified administration of the production team. Differing from the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion, this responsibility system upholds the unified administration of the production team and brings a certain proportion of its income from industrial and household sideline production into line with unified distribution. The farmland contractors must be able-bodied commune members and the contracts are not to be made in accordance with the number of family members. Besides, other choices by the masses must not be ruled out. For instance, in a production team after discussion, if some commune member households adhere to the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion and the others uphold the system of unified administration under the production team with remuneration according to fixed production quotas, instead of forcing one side to accept the other's choice, we must let some people practice the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion and the others practice the existing form. This, after all, is the only way to proceed. This is because what we mean by the responsibility system today has surpassed the original meaning and it involves a change in the forms of management. This is a profound change. In regions in an intermediate state, things are more complicated. Therefore, reforms of a production team must be treated with great care. If people have divergent opinions on and do not have an accurate idea of the system, it is better not to act recklessly. It is first necessary to conduct investigations and study, repeatedly consult the masses, carry out experiments and then decide on a choice. It is unwise to call cautious action the fettering of the mind. Emancipation of the mind cannot deviate from seeking truth from facts. We must not bring pressure to bear on people who dare to do things in a practical way.

In a word, we must adopt the principle of diversity and oppose the method of finding a single solution to diverse problems. To perfect the collective economy, it is necessary to adopt various measures. Twenty-eight years have elapsed since we carried out agricultural collectivization. The state and the peasants have expended a considerable amount of funds and labor to establish the collective economy and have accumulated some useful experiences over the past 28 years. We must not underrate these achievements. Through the perfection of the existing system, a number of units that have run the collective economy well are in a position to solve the problem of correctly integrating personal interests and collective interests so as to further perfect the collective economy. This is a way out, and we must affirm it. We must not think that China's existing economic forms should be completely replaced with the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion. We advocate reaching the same goal by different routes. In the past we confined ourselves to one way only and harmed ourselves by imposing uniformity. Today we must not think that doing things that way is correct. We must attain a relatively perfect economic integration through various forms and ways. This integration must have both the superiority of unified management and the initiative of the individual, and practice unified leadership as well as invest laborers with full power to manage and control the results of labor. In this way we can solve the problem of motivation in the rural economy. This motivation can be sustained for a long time and will grow bigger and bigger.

V

With regard to the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion, some people say it is fine, some say it is bad, some say it is dangerous and some say it is terrible. What is the actual state of affairs? This has a bearing on how to appraise the question of the tendencies of peasants in the stage of socialist construction. This question has yet to be clarified.

Today China's peasants are not as they were before liberation. They are not the peasants of the 1950's either, but the peasants of the 1980's. Is there any centrifugal tendency to break away from the collective economy among peasants who demand the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion? It is hard to say that there is none at all. Now that the enthusiasm for individual production has been aroused, there will exist a centrifugal force to break away from the collective. But what the overwhelming majority of peasants want to get rid of is not the socialist road but the unbearable and longstanding unsolved phenomena such as egalitarianism, arbitrary uniformity, excessive burdens, administrative orders that lack democracy and arbitrary decisions by a handful of people. The system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion can help free the peasants from these things, and so it was welcomed by the masses. It is only natural that the peasants have a private-ownership mentality. This mentality cannot be overcome in a short period of time. The peasants should be won over through prolonged historical changes. Today's system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion is quite different from the individual economy after the agrarian reform. Owing to changes in the situation and conditions, objectively there are now more binding factors to ensure that the development of the system does not become divorced from the socialist road. These conditions, first of all, are party leadership and the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship. They constitute a force leading the peasants onto the socialist road. This leading force has a material foundation. The question of who triumphed over whom throughout the country was solved in the 1950's and, as a class, the bourgeoisie has ceased to exist. Our industry is socialist in nature, and so are our commerce and credit tools--banks. The socialist rural economy (including state farms) has occupied a dominant position. Large amounts of water conservancy facilities and large-scale farm machinery are in the hands of the state or the collective. They are public property that cannot be transferred or dispersed. In particular, the law stipulates that free transactions and transfer of land are prohibited. Thus, the centralization of land brought about by land transactions and transfer and the consequent polarization are restricted. In regard to this point, some comrades hold that land owned by the collective is a fact but that this ownership must not remain a legal concept; it must be manifested in the use of land and distribution of income. If the right to use the land, and the right of distribution on which the former relies for existence, revert to the individual, then is there not just the legal concept left? Theoretically speaking, will capitalism not emerge just as it did after the nationalization of land? This view contains some truth. But in our country, the law stipulates that land transactions and transfers are prohibited, so the state and the collective can adopt powerful administrative and economic measures to ensure the enforcement of this law, thus restricting the possibility for the peasants who assume full responsibility for task completion to become small landowners. Their use of land and distribution of products can be effectively controlled. In our country, public ownership of land does not exist in isolation. We must not deviate from the principal part of the economy in understanding its meaning. More often than not, this is neglected. In the former individual economy, the buying and selling of land was permissible, resulting in land annexation. Today there is no such condition. Therefore, there are differences between today's system of fixing output quotas for individual households and the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion and the small private economy before liberation and that after the agrarian reform as well as that before the cooperative transformation. No equal sign should be drawn between them. Being restricted, the system of fixing output quotas for individual households and the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion cannot become polarization and deviate from the socialist road. They remain the components of the socialist rural structure.

Then where will the system of fixing output quotas for individual households and the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility develop? It seems that after having enough to eat and wear, the peasants demand that the economy be further developed and that there be more chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals, machinery and water conservancy facilities. Thus they encounter the contradictions between the lack of funds and management by separate peasant households and expanded reproduction. The only way out is to integrate the scattered individual funds and labor forces. This tendency has revealed itself. There has emerged much elementary cooperation and integration among the peasants of Anhui, Henan and Shandong Provinces. They have helped one another in farming and jointly bought the means of production, but they did so more and earlier in jointly developing sideline production. This is just a trend. The time has not come for further integration on a larger scale. Further integration will be realized when the conditions for specialized production and socialized labor are ripe in the development of the commodity economy. At that time, not only will the integration of land emerge but also the integration of various specialized production and services will emerge simultaneously or go a step further. For instance, the integration of the production of fruit, mulberries and tobacco, the integration of pig raising and chicken raising, unified solutions for technological problems, the problems of supply and marketing and the problems of daily services will surely emerge. This will become an integration of agriculture, industry and commerce and an integration encompassing whole areas. In short, with the improvement of the productive forces and the development of the commodity economy, and the importation of and increase in new technology and equipment, the small production under the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion will change into integrated mass production. This change depends on certain material conditions and it cannot be accomplished at will. Of course, the future integration might not entirely follow our past "three-level transition," advancing from the production teams as the basic accounting unit to the production brigades as the basic accounting unit, from the production brigades as the basic accounting unit to the communes as the basic accounting unit, and from the ownership by the communes to ownership by the whole people. In fact, this past assumption must undoubtedly be rectified in the light of practice.

Everything develops and changes amid contradictions. We must apply the method of "one divides into two" to the system of fixing output quotas for individual households and the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion. We must see both their positive side and their negative side. They can develop production, but when production develops to a certain extent, it will be restricted by decentralized management. They will bring us some new problems in the development of production. All forms of the production responsibility system must undergo a process of being instituted, improved and perfected. The system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion is also undergoing a process of being continuously amplified, advanced and perfected. Therefore, there is still much work to be done. In the initial stage, owing to a lack of propaganda and discussion work, some of the masses misunderstood the responsibility system as a system advocating only "division." Some existing public accumulation and equipment was divided equally and even the public trees were cut down to be divided. These erroneous practices were the results of the abandonment of leadership. They must be resolutely corrected and not be allowed to spread unchecked. In the course of development, some peasants have become rich and some households which are full of drive have earned a lot of money, while households enjoying the five guarantees, including widowers, widows, orphans and the childless who are short of labor power, have improved slowly. The economic return improved but support for these people was ignored. It is wrong to regard the common prosperity as becoming prosperous in one step, but this does not mean that we must no longer adhere to the principle of common prosperity. Failure to arrange well the rural surplus labor power and funds will cause them to be unused and wasted. In addition, attention should be paid to the solution of the problem of how to put land distribution and the river system under unified administration so as to make management easier. With the changes in labor power and population and the emergence of the division of work and trades, the demands for the centralized management of land and the readjustment of land will come to the fore. The contradictions between decentralized and centralized management over the rational use of water conservancy, breeding technology and plant protection technology should be resolved. The problems of how to further carry out farmland capital construction, how to maintain the ecological balance, and how industry and commerce should adapt themselves to the new situation should also be solved one by one. These things show that, like other responsibility systems, there are also the problems of how to integrate better microeconomic results with macroeconomic results, the interests of the individual with those of the collective, and how to organically integrate the immediate interests of the peasants with the long-term interests of the state. Some problems are just in the bud; provided we strengthen our leadership, we can effectively nip them. Many localities have given us good experience. But, on the contrary, a laissez-faire attitude of the leadership will bring negative results to the reforms. After affirming and giving consideration to personal interests, we must stress the principle of taking account of the state, the collective and the individual. We must live up to our words: "Hand over in full the fixed amount of output originally agreed upon to the state and the collective." According to the several decades' experience in dealing with the peasants, we have come to realize that the peasants have always taken the interests of the whole into account. At present, from the angle of development, some problems can be solved easily provided the whole party pays prompt attention to unifying the thinking of the cadres.

The question is: How to pay attention to it? Must we adopt the past methods and again exercise rigid control? Certainly not. Instead of taking the previous road, we must pay attention to the adoption of economic measures supplemented by legal means. We must solve the problems of the economic cooperation between the collective and the individual, and between their rights and obligations, through a contractual system. We must use the method of taxation to regulate the economy, adopt the system of welfare funds, carry out the old-age pension system to ensure the life of martyrs' and armymen's families, households enjoying the five guarantees and households with economic difficulties. It will not do to just adopt the method of prohibiting this or that.

However, we must show no weakness toward such questions as the protection of public property. We must teach the peasant masses to thoroughly understand that the aim of the system of fixing output quotas for individual households is to develop production, boost income and strengthen the collective economy. Thus, we must use our resources and wealth even more sparingly. Existing public property cannot be dispersed. The motor-pumped wells should be operated and tractors be used as usual, and in particular the trees and water conservancy facilities, which are of vital interest, should be protected well. The peasants should be taught to offer just the right and necessary amount of public accumulation in order to promote the filling out and development of the collective economy. Every peasant, be he a peasant who assumes full responsibility for task completion or an individual peasant, must provide a certain amount of compulsory service, such as in afforestation and in some necessary public projects. The government should enact laws for these matters. So long as we are resolved to uphold the collective economy, we must enhance our material strength. Our country is carrying out a modernization program on the basis of self-reliance, and therefore, the peasants should make greater contributions to it. The increase in income relies mainly on the improvement of labor productivity rather than reducing the amount of contributions to the country. Judging from various conditions, instead of abandoning leadership over the collective economy, the production team must attach particular importance to the reinforcement of unified leadership and political and ideological work. It is entirely wrong to wrangle with the masses, to slide away by a roundabout route, or to take a laissez-faire attitude.

Under the correct leadership of the CCP Central Committee, we must arouse ourselves, use our brains and do our work in a down-to-earth manner. At present, we must go all out to grasp well the reform of the rural economic structure which was started by the agricultural production responsibility systems, further do away with the influence of various "leftist" policies, pave the way for an all-round development of the agricultural economy in the future and strive to realize an "affluent" society by the end of this century. The development of the system of fixing output quotas for individual households is a signal: the peasants who represent the social productive forces have made known their wishes for reforms. This is a social trend that brooks no violation. We must make the best use of the situation to bring their wishes for reforms onto a healthy course of development. We must not let controversy over the system of fixing output quotas for individual households restrict our understanding so that we fail to see the creativity and the spirit of initiative of the masses germinated by their demands for reforms and the vast vistas opening up therefrom.

(This article is a report given by the author to the Central Party School. Revisions were made before publication.)

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IS OPPOSITION TO BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE GUIDELINES OF THE 3D PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 81 pp 26-28

[Article by Commentator]

[Text] Since the party Central Committee suggested that we should uphold the four basic principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization, and in particular, since the national conference on the questions on the ideological front was held in August this year, some people have raised the following question: Is opposition to bourgeois liberalization incompatible with the guidelines of the third plenary session? This is really a very important question which must be discussed and clarified.

Here, the first question is: How should we interpret the spirit of the third plenary session? People often link up emancipation of the mind with the third plenary session. This is certainly correct. The third plenary session firmly criticized the erroneous principle of the "two whatevers," fully affirmed and highly appraised the discussions on the criterion of truth and formulated the guiding principle of "emancipate the mind, use the brain, seek truth from facts, and be united and look forward." However, the third plenary session also pointed out that all comrades in the party and all people throughout China should emancipate their minds under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. That is to say, we put forth and we stress the emancipation of the mind because we want the whole party and the whole Chinese people to be free from the shackles of the personality cult and leftist ideology, to turn chaos in all areas into order, to strengthen and improve party leadership, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to make concerted efforts to build socialist modernization. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his speech at the meeting on principles or ideological guidelines governing theoretical work: All the principles and policies formulated at the third plenary session have upheld the four basic principles. The third plenary session stressed the rectification of leftist errors and opposed the ossification of the mind due to leftist influence. This was completely necessary and correct. However, at the same time, some comrades also pointed out the erroneous tendency of liberalization which began to emerge. This was also necessary because the ideological trend which played up extreme democracy, absolute freedom, departure from party leadership and departure from the socialist road ran counter to the spirit of the third plenary session. It is necessary to oppose the tendency of deviating from the four basic principles, no matter whether it comes from the "two whatevers" or from bourgeois liberalization.

Since the third plenary session, we have held discussions on the criterion of truth, criticized the "two whatevers" and turned chaos in all areas into order. In the view of the handful of people who openly declared that they doubted or opposed the four basic principles, and the people inside the party who interpreted the emancipation of the mind in a one-sided way, who failed to notice or recognize the harm of this erroneous ideological trend, who even directly or indirectly sympathized with or supported these views, the party Central Committee promptly reiterated the four basic principles of upholding the socialist road, upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the party's leadership and upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is necessary in implementing the spirit of the third plenary session. The party's fourth and fifth plenary sessions, and even the sixth plenary session held recently, have all upheld this spirit.

At present, we must continue to uphold this spirit, overcome all erroneous tendencies on the ideological front and unfold struggles on two fronts. We should continue to eliminate the leftist influence in various areas of practical work. We should, in particular, carry out strict and correct criticism and necessary and proper struggle against the ideological trend which tends to deviate from the socialist road, break away from party leadership and engage in bourgeois liberalization.

People indulging in liberalization often use "emancipation of the mind" as an excuse. When we put forth opposition to liberalization, they will immediately say: "Opposition to liberalization will hinder the emancipation of the mind." This is one of the main points of their argument.

What do we mean by the emancipation of the mind? It means doing away with the backward and decadent traditional concepts which exist in our minds and which hinder the progress of history; it also means criticizing and replacing these traditional concepts with advanced thinking which reflects the demands of the times. The criticism of religion and theology in the Middle Ages by the enlightened thinkers of the European bourgeoisie; the attack on Confucian ideas, which was a concentrated reflection of feudal traditional concepts, during China's "May 4th" period; and the criticism of dogmatism during the Yanan rectification period were all examples of emancipation of the mind. The main objective of the current thoroughgoing movement to emancipate the mind is to do away with the shackles of the leftist concepts, persist in seeking truth from facts, bring people's thinking into line with dialectical materialism so that people will consciously advance along the socialist track under the party's leadership. All interpretations which deviate from this principle are wrong.

The current tendency of liberalization is entirely different in nature from the emancipation of the mind. Moreover, judging from the actual situation over the previous years, this tendency is a negation of emancipation of the mind. Since the third plenary session, under the guidance of the principle of emancipating the mind, using the brain, seeking truth from facts and being united and looking forward, large numbers of party members and the broad masses of people have done away with the leftist ideological shackles, and they have given fuller and fuller play to their enthusiasm and creativity. The situation has been excellent. However, in this course, some negative factors have also emerged. Some people depart from the four basic principles when they talk about the emancipation of the mind. They have even engaged in spontaneity and the worship of liberalization. They oppose the "two whatevers," but they lack a critical Marxist spirit. They often study problems from the viewpoint of bourgeois democracy or democratic individualism. According to them, emancipation of the mind means that everyone can say and do whatever they like in a free and unrestricted way, and that they can also reject party leadership and deviate from the socialist track. This, in essence, is bourgeois "liberalization of the personality" and "absolute freedom." As a result, they will invariably be sharply antagonistic to the four basic principles which our party has consistently adhered to, and will deviate from the principle of seeking truth from facts. Of course, we cannot deny that there are still leftist things in our ranks. However, people with the tendency of liberalization are usually unable to draw a clear line of demarcation between leftist pernicious influence and Marxism. They uphold liberalization. Thus, it is natural that they regard some Marxist principles as leftist things and oppose the correct criticism of liberalization as an obstacle to emancipation of the mind.

This shows that the current tendency of liberalization is a negation of the principle of the emancipation of the mind formulated at the third plenary session and is not compatible with this principle. If we say it was necessary for the third plenary session to put forth emancipation of the mind, turning chaos into order and criticism of leftist errors, then, it is now necessary for us to continue to oppose leftism in practical work and stress opposition to liberalization. At present and in the future, we must continue to emphasize emancipation of the mind and seeking truth from facts so that our subjective world will be in line with the objective world. On the whole, it is obviously wrong to say that we have done enough, or more than enough, in the emancipation of the mind. However, on the other hand, if we do not firmly oppose the tendency of liberalization, our thinking will be confused in another way and will be enslaved and restricted by bourgeois ideology.

"Opposition to liberalization will cause a relapse into the 'two whatevers.'" This is another view held by a number of people.

The "two whatevers" was an erroneous ideological system and principle which arose under specific historical conditions. It safeguarded the leftist errors during and prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution." It was always diametrically antagonistic to the principle of seeking truth from facts which our party has consistently advocated. Over the past 2 years, we have been able to gradually turn chaos into order through the continuous struggle against the "two whatevers." While opposing the "two whatevers," we intend to negate the leftist errors which should be negated, to distinguish right from wrong and to assess merits and faults in a realistic way. We do not intend to doubt everything or negate everything. Comrades with the tendency of liberalization have deviated from the principle of seeking truth from facts. Apparently, they are also opposing the "two whatevers." But they proceed from an erroneous standpoint and adopt an entirely different approach with the "two whatevers"; they start from affirming everything and end up in negating everything. They do not adopt a scientific approach in making appraisals and summing up historical experiences but they try to look for loopholes in Mao Zedong's works and wantonly deny the party's successful historical experience. Under certain circumstances, they even oppose the upholding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the upholding of the "two whatevers." Their standpoint, viewpoints and methods are entirely different from the current ones adopted during the struggle against the "two whatevers." We must draw a clear line of demarcation.

At present, the pernicious influence of the "two whatevers" has not been completely eliminated. It coexists with the ideological trend of liberalization and they have become two extremes on the current ideological trend. Apparently, these two extremes are diametrically opposite to each other and reject each other. In fact, both sides are trying to create evidence for their own existence by using the existence of the other side as an excuse. People with the tendency of "two whatevers" often attribute some expressions of the tendency of liberalization and the emergence of liberalization to the emancipation of the mind and the turning of chaos into order. They say that we should not have opposed leftism. On the other hand, people with the tendency of liberalization often call attention to some expressions of the continued existence of the "two whatevers" and attribute the ideology of the "two whatevers" to the upholding of the four basic principles. They say we should neither have upheld the four basic principles while putting forth the emancipation of the mind, nor have opposed liberalization in the course of opposing leftism. Thus, we must persist in opposing both the above-mentioned tendencies. Only when we unswervingly oppose the "two whatevers" can we more effectively oppose liberalization. At the same time, only when we firmly oppose liberalization can we more effectively oppose the "two whatevers."

"Criticizing liberalization is wielding a big stick." This is another view held by some people.

The phenomenon of wielding a big stick often occurs in our ranks. The practice of exaggerated criticism, wanton criticism and struggle which prevailed during the "Great Cultural Revolution" are typical examples of wielding a big stick. Up to now, we still cannot say that its pernicious influence has been completely eliminated. However, while rectifying and preventing this tendency, we must not neglect another tendency, the tendency of abandoning all ideological struggles, which is a consequence of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Some viewpoints on this question should also be clarified.

First of all, on the overall estimate of the ideological front, some comrades admit that there is leftism, but do not admit that there is liberalization. Second, they call attention to some cases handled in an oversimplified and crude way in real life and exaggerate them. They think that the major problem in the leadership of the ideological front is handling cases in an oversimplified and crude way rather than the state of weakness and laxness. Third, on the basis of the above two estimates, they do not agree to wage struggles on two fronts. They consider it necessary to criticize leftism, but they resent, resist and oppose the strict and correct criticism and necessary and proper struggle against the tendency of liberalization. According to them, all these necessary criticisms and struggles are reactions of the "two whatevers." They constitute leftist practices, an oversimplified and crude approach, wanton interference, wielding a big stick and putting on labels. They reckon they are always right. They refuse to carry out self-criticism even if they have obviously made mistakes. They do not accept people's criticism and even regard themselves as objects of attack and persecution. This is very harmful to the individual and the party's cause. These comrades have always opposed the upholding of the four basic principles as leftist things. On the other hand, they have always praised some bourgeois things as proletarian principles. They regard themselves as pioneers of the emancipation of the mind even though they are consciously or subconsciously advocating liberalization.

In short, the problem is very obvious. While opposing the leftist tendency, we have to oppose liberalization. This is an objective demand of the present situation. Opposing liberalization does not run counter to the spirit of the third plenary session. It helps us to distinguish right from wrong and our cause to advance along the Marxist track. The viewpoint that opposes the criticism of liberalization under the pretext of the spirit of the third plenary session is untenable.

In his article entitled "Party Organization and Party Literature," Lenin severely criticized the viewpoint that "everyone is free to write and say whatever he likes, without any restrictions." He sternly pointed out that party literature should become a "cog and a screw" of the party's cause, should adhere to the party spirit and be subject to the "party's supervision." He also pointed out that if the party turns a blind eye to the development of this tendency of liberalization and does not adopt measures to stop it, then, "the party would inevitably break up, first ideologically and then physically." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, pp 647, 649) Today, as a member of the CCP, particularly as a party member on the ideological front, we must keep Lenin's teachings in mind. Moreover, we should always remember that in the first place, we are party members, then, we are experts in one field or another. Since we are party members in the first place, we must first of all have the party spirit, we must observe party discipline, consciously follow the guidance of Marxism and unswervingly uphold the four basic principles.

The national forum on the problems of the ideological front held recently was a very important meeting. In accordance with the spirit of this forum, we must seriously carry out criticism and self-criticism, overcome all erroneous tendencies, and particularly liberalization and the weak and lax leadership on the ideological front, in order to make contributions to implementing the spirit of the sixth plenary session and to developing the excellent situation since the third plenary session.

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FILMS SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TOWARD DEVELOPING A SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 81 pp 29-33

[Article by Chen Bo [7115 2330]]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" passed at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee is of great historical significance. It puts forward the historical task of building China step by step into a powerful socialist country with a high level of democracy and culture. As the film industry has the closest ties with the masses and the greatest influence among the masses, it has the unshirkable duty of developing a high level of socialist spiritual civilization.

I

Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the film industry has scored outstanding achievements in emancipating minds, bringing order out of chaos and implementing the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and ushered in the radiant and enchanting spring. Its outstanding manifestation in film literature and art and in creative thinking is in getting rid of the fetters of leftist ideas and returning to the path of Marxist-Leninist artistic theory and Mao Zedong Thought; in restoring and promoting the spirit of revolutionary realism and carrying forward and developing the fine tradition of portraying the images of revolutionary heroes on China's socialist screens. Consequently, it has made many new breakthroughs in creative practice. This could never have happened even in the 17 years before the "Great Cultural Revolution." With the precedent of the images of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou appearing in "Fast Flowing Big River," films such as "From Slave to General," "Ji Hongchang," "Mayor Chen Yi," "Dawn" and "Nanchang Uprising," which portray the revolutionary activities of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, have been made one after another. These works have accumulated very valuable experience for the continued writing on such subjects in the future. Some of these films have portrayed and exposed mistakes in work, particularly those leftist mistakes which are harmful to the revolution, and some have seriously criticized the unhealthy tendencies in the party and among the people. The purpose of this is to safeguard the correct line of the party and help the people to correctly understand history and various aspects of life. Such films as "The Rainy Nights of Bashan" have even attacked and castigated the Lin Biao and Jiang

Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and played the role of arousing the revolutionary indignation of the people.

As in the case of the discoveries and developments which have appeared in the field of subject matter, stimulating explorations and new ideas have also appeared in such aspects as the format, style and language of films. We not only have the epic sort of biographies, but also some comedy-type feature films, musical feature films, travel feature films and adventure films. In artistic style, some have experimented with film narrative poems and film prose poems. For example, the new work "Little Flower" by a group of new people has used a new film language together with the new composition of montages to enrich the expressiveness of the visual and audio images of the film. This has enabled the film to make new explorations into the expression of the inner world in depth.

At the same time, a number of lively and moving images of new socialist people have also appeared on the screen. They are followed by films reflecting episodes in the four modernizations. The images of new people in such films as "Younger Generation," "Look at This Family," "Two Men and Two Women," "Sweet Enterprise," "Happy Occasion," and "Laughter of Yueliangwan" are typical examples of the new socialist people extracted from actual life. They glow with communist ideals and have good and simple characters as well as lofty moral value. They are precisely the kind of people we must vigorously eulogize during the socialist modernization of today.

II

Although enormous achievements have been scored on the motion picture front, there are still many problems. To make an accurate appraisal of the overall situation, we must still realistically make a scientific analysis of the problems arising in creative practice.

On the one hand, we must see that there is still a certain market for the pernicious influence of leftist ideas, which is hindering our advance and remains to be further eliminated. For example, if we do not adopt the method of democratic discussion and do not carefully carry out ideological work but adopt simple administrative measures to deal with certain undesirable tendencies which have appeared in some films, it will have an adverse effect on the flourishing development of filmmaking.

On the other hand, we must also see that the tendency of bourgeois liberalization, certain tendencies of naturalism and other unhealthy things have been appearing for some time. In the second half of 1979, films imitating the low and vulgar tastes of the plots and actions in foreign films appeared. This phenomenon gradually increased in 1980. A handful of directors without a profound knowledge of life and whose artistic taste is not high have attempted to use scenes of stripping, kissing, and men and women playing under water to draw a part of the young audience without any judgment. Some films which purported to criticize low and vulgar lifestyles have instead presented the spectacle of decadent and vulgar rock and roll in full to the audience. They have even mixed in the sentiment of appreciation and forfeited their critical role. A film with the Guangzhou trade fair as the setting has used the low and vulgar scenes of life abroad, which bear no relation to the plot, as the portrayal of naturalism. The purpose of these films is simply to cater to those audiences with low and vulgar tastes. But instead, objectively, they have poisoned the young and inexperienced. As for the love interest applied mechanically in the plot, when the man and woman speak of love, they must do so in the woods, in a garden or by the sea. Moreover, the scenes must also be done in slow motion. Such vulgarity has only made the audiences feel disgusted. As a new attempt in making a scenic Kung Fu picture with higher entertainment value, the film "The Mysterious Buddha" ought to be permitted. However, from a practical point of view, it is also not a success. The reason is that it has paid too much attention to acting out the Kung Fu scenes and not enough to depicting the historical background and the thoughts and emotions of the characters and has used fantastic actions and horror effects to cover up the absurdity of the plot. Because it is blind imitation without a thorough understanding of life and without artistic originality, its artistic value will not withstand the test of practice. We must conscientiously sum up these experiences and lessons. Some comrades have summed up the above artistic tendencies as the tendency of "commercialization" or the tendency of seeking "box office value." It is inaccurate to criticize it from this angle alone. Socialist film art is a powerful instrument for the building of spiritual civilization. It has a "commercial nature," but this is only for winning over a wider audience by means of educational ideological content as well as interesting and absorbing artistic charm. Such tendencies as the use of low and vulgar elements or even the attempt to copy decadent and sexy actions to cater to a certain section of the public or the making up of strange and unusual stories to lure people away from reality are basically contrary to the interests of the broad masses of working people and will naturally be condemned and resisted by workers, peasants and people with socialist consciousness.

In 1979 the scripts of two films "In the Files of Society" and "Woman Thief," which appeared separately in FILM WRITINGS, touched off a debate in the film circles as well as in society. Not long afterward, a forum was held to discuss and criticize the problems in three scripts including the script of "If I Am Real," and to create a favorable atmosphere for "letting a hundred schools of thought contend." The important speech made by Comrade Hu Yaobang at the forum is of profound practical significance to the development and prosperity of literary writings in the new period and will also have a far-reaching impact in future. The regrettable thing is that WENYI BAO No 10 published last year carried an article, entitled "Talking 'Nonsense'" by Comrade Sha Yexin, which negated the achievements of this forum on film scripts and held that it had set "a precedent for the covert banning of plays." This formulation is not in keeping with facts. When the forum criticized the three scripts, it had at the same time made some rather good suggestions for changes. If the changes were not made, how could the scripts be put into production? The scripts of "In the Files of Society" and "If I Am Real" have recently been used by the Taiwan authorities and made into films for anticommunist propaganda. This is of course against the wishes of the writers. However, does this not afford as much food for thought or teach us a lesson! Taking the stand of the party and the people, it is entirely necessary to criticize the ugliness and passivity in life of artistic images. However, the purpose of criticism is to help the party and the people overcome shortcomings and mistakes, further consolidate the democratic dictatorship of our people and promote the four modernizations--but not otherwise. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his "congratulatory message" to the fourth writers' congress: We must be promoters of emancipating minds, upholding stability and unity, safeguarding the unification of the motherland and realizing the four modernizations. What is favorable or unfavorable to realizing the four modernizations should be our most basic criterion for measuring what is right or wrong in all our work.

Another lesson we should draw on is the weak and lax attitude the leading members of the literary and art circles have shown toward the criticism of the film script "Unrequited Love." "Unrequited Love" is a script with a seriously erroneous political and ideological tendency. In the first place, the script has confused the principled demarcation between the party, the motherland and the people on one hand and the disasters caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in exploiting the mistakes of the party on the other. Based on this erroneous concept, the writer deliberately arranged a political environment and a political fate similar to that of Qu Yuan, who had been exiled and persecuted 2,000 years ago, for Ling Chenguang, a 20th century artist in the 1970's. On the one hand, he tried his utmost to show the artist's unrequited love for the "motherland." On the other hand, he also wantonly played up the ruthless indifference of the "motherland" toward him, until in the end, he could not even answer his daughter when she asked, "You love the motherland, but does the motherland love you?" His "unrequited love" for the motherland did not turn out well. When the happy news of the smashing of the "gang of four" was announced and people and his relatives were searching everywhere for him, he had already frozen to death on a remote snow-covered mountain to which he had crawled leaving behind a trail in the form of a question mark on the snow. This is the finishing touch to the film. Proceeding from a subjective idea, the script has portrayed the persecution of the artist Ling Chenguang by the "gang of four." At the same time, it has also shown that there is still a lack of confidence in the party and in socialism since the smashing of the "gang of four." This is a basic confounding of the essence of life. Another mistake in principle in the script is that it has artificially and abstractly added a hint of opposing modern superstitious belief. However, it has only used a simple symbolic and metaphoric technique to show this profound social subject. In this way, it has not only failed to reveal the essence of modern superstitious belief but it has also confused even more the line of demarcation between the mistakes of the party and the leader in the 10 years of disturbance and the sinister conspiracies of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and further distorted the basic relations of the party and the leader with the masses. Because of the mistakes regarding these two questions of principle, the kind of socialist realism shown in the script is incompatible with the call for human nature and human dignity and will inevitably cause people to arrive at the fallacious conclusion that the socialist motherland under the leadership of the Communist Party has caused numerous tragedies in the country, and it seems that whether the lot of Ling Chenguang can change after the smashing of the "gang of four" is still an unknown factor. In relation to these questions of principle, in the portrayal of scenes, plots and minor details, the script can only resort to subjective fabrication. This inevitably goes against the criterion for objectively and realistically understanding and determining the nature of life.

This kind of portrayal in the script of "Unrequited Love" is nothing unusual. It is only the reflection of the bourgeois liberalization trend in society, which runs counter to the principle of emancipating minds and seeking truth from facts put forward by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. We must realistically discuss, analyze and criticize scripts with such serious erroneous tendencies, help the writers to understand the problems in their own ideology and writings and encourage them to bravely correct their mistakes. We will also draw a useful lesson from them. People who unscrupulously lavish praise on them not only cannot genuinely help the writers but will instead do them harm.

We must also point out another more common shortcoming in the artistic presentation of films and that is the spuriousness of certain contents and plots. All realistic literary works must always use the true feeling of artistic charm to attract and influence readers and viewers. If realism is lost, there is no way of making the subject interesting and absorbing. This requires our film workers to make earnest and conscientious efforts.

III

As an important aspect on the literary and art front, films shoulder a very important mission in the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

This is the 60th year of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and the 32d year of the founding of the People's Republic. In the history of our party, numerous pioneers and martyrs who struggled for communist ideals have given up their lives and shed blood to win the victory of China's new democratic revolution and to build the People's Republic of China. Now, when we are healing the wounds of the country and struggling to build a strong and modern country after 10 years of disturbance, films should pay even more attention to the propaganda and education of communist ideals. The deeds of heroic struggle of the martyrs and older generation of revolutionaries are models for our emulation. They are also an extremely rich source of living materials for our film writings. The molding of such heroic examples will have an important impact on the people engaged in socialist construction today.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, we have successfully carried out socialist transformation under the leadership of the party and made great achievements in socialist construction. However, because of the lack of experience and the desire for quick results, the party has also made mistakes and taken a roundabout course. Particularly painful was the fact that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of the mistakes of our party to carry out counterrevolutionary intrigues, create 10 years of disturbance and push the national economy to the verge of collapse. However, this has only been a short span in the long river of history. Armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the party and the people of the whole country have not only smashed the "gang of four" but also have been able to quickly heal the wounds and continue with the building of a strong and modern socialist country. Bearing in mind the future, portraying the new Long March of socialist modernization and creating images of new socialist people on the screen are the glorious responsibility of the film workers. We have already carried out some explorations and experiments in this direction, but we are still lagging very far behind in life. Life's constant activity is always presenting us with new conditions and demands. We must throw ourselves into life to feel, experience, analyze, refine and process various living source materials and create images of new socialist people with lofty ideals, rich emotions and a distinctive temperament.

In the process of building socialist spiritual civilization, we must take over and carry forward the rich historical heritage, the lofty moral sentiments and the brilliant tradition in literature and art handed down by the nation. This is a rich and limitless treasure trove we can develop in our filmmaking. We have numerous historical figures who have pushed society forward and left their names in history. In the treasure house of our literature and art, we have countless extremely charming fairy tales, legends, biographies, plays, historical romances and novels. All these are waiting for us to unearth, study and improve with a historical materialist standpoint, and by means of refining, to further create and produce films with our own national characteristics that the masses will be happy to receive. This is also an important component in the building of a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. In a talk on literature and art, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: There are limitless subjects for literary writings spreading over thousands of years and covering tens of thousands of li in length and breadth. He called for the writing of 3,000 films and plays over the next 10 years to satisfy the cultural needs of the people. This means film workers can play an outstanding role in this broad field of subject matter. We should be determined to make contributions.

Faced with shouldering such a vital task in the film enterprise, film workers have the task of strengthening study, going deep into life, and raising their ideological and artistic level.

1. We must pay attention to the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and unify the thinking of the film workers on the basis of the resolution of the sixth plenary session. We must continue to emancipate minds. However, this undertaking must be guided by the four basic principles and must adhere to the orientation of serving the people and serving socialist modernization. This definitely does not imply going in for liberalization. Some people hold that emancipating minds means breaking away from Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," from Lenin's "Party Organization and Party Literature" and from Engels' expositions on realism. They support the slogans "art for art's sake" and "writing is subjective reflection." This is a mistake in fundamental stand and concept which not only violates the basic law and principle of socialist literature and art but also violates the most elementary law of knowledge in general. The expositions of Engels and Lenin on literature and art, the basic concept of Comrade Mao Zedong in "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," as well as the relevant expositions on literature and art which formed Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art are the scientific summary of practice in literature and art which have been subjected to strict tests in practice. These expositions and standpoints are still of actual guiding significance today. We can only keep on enriching and replenishing them and we must on no account crudely negate them. The resolution passed at the sixth plenary session has carried out a scientific analysis and profound summing up of Mao Zedong Thought. We should conscientiously study it and implement it in our everyday lives and in our creative practice.

2. We must pay attention to studying and carrying forward the tradition of the outstanding progressive films produced in China in the 1930's and particularly the creative experience of outstanding socialist films in the 17 years following the founding of the People's Republic. These outstanding films have been highly thought of and praised by viewers and by film critics and researchers at home and

abroad. These films have not only more authentically and profoundly reflected the social life of our people in various periods, but many of them have also formed the national style and characteristics unique to our country. Their assimilation of the characteristics of various forms of literary and artistic expression in our country, application of the means of artistic expression of traditional literature, adoption of the rich technique of expression of traditional operas, and blending of the unique appeal of classical painting and folk music have also become a technique of expression unique to our country. Time is moving forward and our field of vision keeps on expanding. We naturally must learn from new foreign techniques and experiences, but we must not adopt a nihilist attitude in dealing with our national tradition. We should first carry forward the fine artistic tradition with our own national characteristics before drawing on the new techniques of artistic expression from foreign countries which would be useful to our country. Only in this way can our film industry become a unified entity in arousing the spirit of the Chinese nation, giving play to national style and characteristics and drawing on the fine techniques of expression from outside, and steadily and proudly aligning itself with the world. When drawing on the useful experiences from foreign countries in building socialist spiritual civilization and improving artistic quality, there are two points we must pay attention to. In the first place, we must not be dazzled by certain artistic techniques and means of expression and lose our judgment. In the second place, we must not substitute copying and plagiarizing for creating. Blindly copying from the artistic experiences of foreign countries will not only be harmful to reproducing the national quality of film art but will also be detrimental to drawing on useful artistic experiences.

3. Writers must persist in going deep into life for investigation and study. This is the basic path we must take to improve the artistic quality of films. In recent years, some comrades have parochially thought that life is all around us and that we have already accumulated rich experience in life from the 10 years of disturbance. There are even such views as "on the contrary, going deep into life will not produce good work." This is extremely harmful. There is still a question of transforming world outlook. We must not think that the mention of transformation is a leftist tendency. The correct understanding of the objective world and society will bring subjective knowledge closer to reality. If we develop a feeling for fresh socialist things and new people, this is also a transformation of the subjective world. Socialist modernization will advance the life of the people to a new stage. Such contradictions and struggles as progress pushing aside resistance, advanced elements triumphing over conservative elements, lofty-minded people overcoming despicable people, patriotic people condemning people who worship foreign things, and selflessness eliminating selfishness will constantly present us with new subjects of new people who dedicate themselves to socialism in the new Long March, new sentiments and social ethics. This means that writers depicting history must also make arduous efforts to carry out textual research and acquaint themselves with the historical life portrayed. At the same time, they must also understand the needs of the spiritual life of the people in that particular period. If a writer becomes separated from going deep into life, he will only end up on the road to defeat.

4. Continue to uphold the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and develop normal literary and art criticism.

Following the upsurge of modern economic construction in China, there will be a gradual improvement in the material life of the people. Therefore, there will also be a growing demand for cultural life and for films. This requires us to produce better and more diversified films to satisfy the wishes of the people. However, while placing the emphasis on the ideological and educational role of films, we must also not overlook their aesthetic, knowledge-disseminating as well as cultural and entertainment roles. This requires us to be more comprehensive in the selection of materials. There are relatively few subjects on industry and agriculture at present. There are not enough films for the 800 million peasants, and the films for young people must also be increased. We must also keep on exploring and blazing new trails in the style and format of films. Films must rely on their originality and artistic charm to compete for and to win over more viewers. At the same time, we must also develop normal literary or art criticism. It is needless to worry that the development of literary or art criticism might enable leftist ideas to gain ground or might dampen the enthusiasm of the writers. We also must guard against the influence of erroneous leftist ideas. However, we absolutely cannot overlook at present the liberalization trend in literature and art and in filmmaking, and we must carry out an appropriate ideological struggle against it. This is the guarantee that our literature and art and films will develop and flourish along the socialist road. We must recruit a contingent for the study and criticism of artistic theory in films so that the criticism of literature and art can be normalized. Proceeding from the desire of uniting with and helping, we must by means of the method of discussing criticism and counter-criticism, give publicity to those which are good, help those which are inadequate, criticize those which have shortcomings and mistakes, keep on improving the quality of filmmaking in the course of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and improve the ideological and artistic level of the works. This is an important path to take for the flourishing development of filmmaking.

Films must make positive contributions toward the building of socialist civilization, and for this reason we must put in a lot of hard work.

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A DISCUSSION ON THE LIVING SOUL OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 81 pp 34-37

[Article by Teng Wensheng [3326 2429 3932] and Jia Chunfeng [6328 2504 1496]]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" has not only concretely analyzed the wide-ranging content of Mao Zedong Thought but also incisively elucidated the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought. This living soul means the stand, viewpoint and method embodied in Mao Zedong Thought. Its three basic points are: to seek truth from facts, the mass line, and independence. Correctly understanding and vigorously grasping this living soul is of utter importance to us in upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought and effectively carrying out the socialist modernization program now and in the future.

Why do we say that seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence constitute Mao Zedong Thought? What is its relationship to Lenin's thesis on the living soul of Marxism?

The soul is a figurative expression. It means the very essence and the innermost core of a matter. It permeates and embodies all parts of the matter and vividly maintains contact with them. Seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence are the very essence and the innermost core of Mao Zedong Thought as a system. This point can be explained by proceeding from the following several aspects.

Mao Zedong Thought is a product of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. By applying Marxism-Leninism to the arduous struggle in China and by making seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence a practice and turning them into the unified, fundamental guiding principles for the CCP members, Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms successfully solved the various problems of the Chinese revolution and formulated a series of strategies, tactics, principles and policies which were compatible with China's realities and continuously led the revolution to victory. For this reason, the formation and development of these three basic principles were fundamental indications of the full realization of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Without these three basic principles, this integration could not have been realized and developed, the whole scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought could not have come into being and the Chinese revolution could not have triumphed.

The series of scientific theories, basic viewpoints and fundamental policies concerning political, economic, cultural, military and foreign affairs and party building as incorporated in Mao Zedong Thought were formed and developed gradually on the basis of these basic principles of seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence, and in light of the specific tasks at various stages of the Chinese revolution and the actual conditions in various fields. These three basic principles permeate and are embodied in all component parts of Mao Zedong Thought, run through all scientific works by Comrade Mao Zedong and are upheld in the great revolutionary activities of the CCP members. They fundamentally guarantee that our party will maintain close ties with social life and revolutionary practice. They also ensure that various components of Mao Zedong Thought will continue to be replenished, revised, enriched and developed in the course of practice, thus continuously opening a wide road for people to understand, apply and develop the truth in the course of revolution and construction.

Some specific conclusions derived from the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought were applicable to a certain period of the Chinese revolution. For example, the strategies, tactics, principles and policies regarding China's new democratic revolution and the general and specific policies regarding China's socialist transformation have become historical contributions because the revolutionary tasks were successfully realized. However, as the fundamental stand, viewpoint and method of Mao Zedong Thought, the principles of seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence are entirely correct at all times. They will play a tremendous guiding role ideologically and methodologically in all spheres and in all branches of work. We should constantly uphold them not only at present and in the future, but also throughout the period of socialist construction and until the great ideal of communism has been realized. Undoubtedly, the basic principles of seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence should be continuously enriched and developed along with the improvement of daily life. In this course of enrichment and development, they will manifest their strong vitality more and more profoundly and show their universal theoretical and practical value in our country's cause of revolution and construction.

Comrade Mao Zedong had carried out protracted struggle, done a great deal of creative work theoretically and practically, and expended much energy in order to establish and uphold seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence as the basic principles in our party's guiding ideology. Unfortunately, Comrade Mao Zedong made serious mistakes during his later years. In the final analysis, the cause of these mistakes was that he neglected the principles of seeking truth from facts and the mass line, which he had strongly emphasized, and that he divorced himself from reality and from the masses when handling a number of major problems. This misfortune showed that, long-tested in practice, these basic principles of Mao Zedong Thought must be followed and must not be violated by the CCP members at any time or under any circumstances. Anyone, even Comrade Mao Zedong himself, who goes against them will inevitably make mistakes. This also profoundly shows that these basic principles are the very essence and the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought.

In his article "Kommunismus," Lenin said that "the very gist, the living soul, of Marxism is a concrete analysis of a concrete situation." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 290) Though different in wording, this thesis by Lenin is identical in essence with the thesis in our resolution on the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought. By a concrete analysis of a concrete situation, Lenin meant that in doing anything, we should proceed from realities, not from principles and books, and still less from our wishful thinking; we must formulate working policies by making a concrete analysis of the objective realities, in order to unify the subjective with the objective and theory with practice. This is the same as the principle of seeking truth from facts as incorporated in Mao Zedong Thought. Then, how shall we understand the point that the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought comprises the mass line and independence in addition to seeking truth from facts?

Seeking truth from facts involves the question of the basic starting point in our revolution and construction, that is, we must proceed from China's actual conditions to find a suitable, concrete way for carrying out revolution and construction. From the time he joined the revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong paid attention to applying the Marxist-Leninist theories and methods in systematically and carefully investigating China's social conditions, and he knew how to theoretically sum up the experiences and lessons derived from the practice of the revolution and to raise and solve questions according to the time, place and other conditions. He stressed that investigation is the first step in all work and that without carrying out investigation, one has no right to speak. He emphatically pointed out that theoretical understanding derived from investigation and practice must be applied to practice, so as to find the truth from practice and also to test and develop the truth in the course of practice. He defined seeking truth from facts as the party's ideological line and regarded one's ability to seek truth from facts as an indication of the purity of one's party character.

The mass line refers to the source of strength for the revolution and construction. This means that China's revolution and construction will surely succeed provided they are for the masses and are carried out by relying on the masses. Comrade Mao Zedong creatively and systematically applied to all activities of our party the Marxist-Leninist principle that the people are the makers of history, and formulated the party's mass line for all its work. He emphasized that the people are the source of the party's strength as well as the source of the party's correct ideas. He pointed out: "In all the practical work of our party, all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses.' This means: Take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time." "In the process of concentrating ideas and persevering in them, it is necessary to use the method of combining the general call with particular guidance, and this is a component part of the basic method." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, pp 854-855) In this way, the mass viewpoint is combined with practice, the wisdom of the leader is combined with the wisdom of the masses, and the general call is combined with particular guidance. That is, the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge is organically combined with the historical materialist mass viewpoint.

Independence involves the question of our standpoint in carrying out revolution and construction. That is, the policy for China's revolution and construction should be chiefly based on its conditions and strength. This is an invariable conclusion deduced from the policy of carrying out revolution and construction by proceeding from China's actual conditions and relying on the masses. Philosophically, it has correctly solved the relationship between internal and external causes and is of great significance in our method of carrying out revolution and construction. In the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels pointed out that the proletariat must rise to be the leading class of the nation in order to acquire political supremacy, that is, it must become the leading force of its people and its nation and must not be divorced from the historical conditions and the concrete realities of its country and nation. However, after taking into account the situations of the various capitalist countries in Europe and America, they emphasized that "united action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 270) However, since then, the situation of united action of the proletarians of various capitalist countries and their simultaneously winning victories of the socialist revolution has never been realized. Russia's October Revolution led by Lenin had theoretically and practically changed this estimate and conclusion drawn by Marx and Engels. In the course of leading the people in carrying out the democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly pointed out: "We the Chinese nation have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 147) "We are not alone; all the countries and people in the world opposed to imperialism are our friends. Nevertheless, we stress regeneration through our own efforts. Relying on the forces we ourselves organize, we can defeat all Chinese and foreign reactionaries." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1078) During the period of socialist construction, he reemphasized this principle and put forth the policy of "relying mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary."

The proletarian revolution is an international cause which requires that the proletarians of all countries support each other. However, should the proletarians of a country stress relying on the strength of the people of their country or depending on external assistance? This is a major question concerning the success of the revolutionary cause of their country. Without establishing the determination to fight by their own efforts to the end, without relying on the strength of the people of their own country, and without creatively carrying out theoretical and practical activities in light of the historical characteristics of their own country and nation, it is difficult for them to win a victory in revolution and construction, and it is impossible for them to consolidate a victory. Thanks to the constant efforts of our party and Comrade Mao Zedong to uphold the policy of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, to explore a road of advance suitable to our country's conditions and to rely on and display the Chinese people's initiative and creativeness and their spirit of fighting bravely and sacrificing themselves for the future of their country and nation, we were able to overcome difficulties, resist pressure from outside and hold an invincible position in carrying out revolution and construction.

The three principles of seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence are interrelated. Among them, seeking truth from facts is the most fundamental and the mass line and independence are its invariable requirements and derivatives. Proceeding from different angles, they together solve the question of closely integrating Marxism-Leninism with China's realities and the question of how the Chinese communists should scientifically understand and transform the objective world in light of China's conditions. For this reason, our party takes these three basic principles as the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought. They are identical in spirit and essence with Lenin's thesis on the living soul of Marxism. They are characteristic of the Chinese revolution led by the CCP and clearly bear the imprint of the Chinese style and spirit. The CCP carried out revolutionary struggle in a semicolonial, semifeudal big country of the east and in very tough conditions of being exceedingly outnumbered by the enemy forces for a long time. Its revolutionary forces could not develop in size and strength and even could not exist for a single day if they did not proceed from China's realities, rely on the masses and base their policies on their own strength. Therefore, these three basic principles became our party's guiding principles and the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought. This was by no means by chance but was an invariable product of the practice of the Chinese revolution and a precious crystallization of historical experience.

Seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence are the concrete application of the basic viewpoints and principles of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to China's revolution and construction. Today they have become the common knowledge of the Chinese people. However, these principles were established and unequivocally regarded as our party's basic viewpoint and basic methods of thinking and work and have been applied to revolutionary practice, continuously improved in practice, systematically demonstrated in philosophical and theoretical work and turned into instruments for all party members and fine traditions of the party--this is undeniably a great achievement of Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms and the party. This living soul of Mao Zedong Thought is exactly an enrichment and development of the Marxist theories.

At present, the Chinese people of all nationalities are scientifically summing up the experiences of the positive and negative sides since the founding of the PRC, closely rallying around the CCP Central Committee and fighting vigorously to build a powerful modern socialist country with highly developed democracy and civilization. This is a great undertaking never attempted by our ancestors before. In the course of carrying out this undertaking, correctly understanding and tightly grasping the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought and upholding and developing the three basic principles of seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence under new conditions of the time will undoubtedly be of vital significance to us in using the scientific world outlook and methodology as our guide to analyze the new conditions which continuously emerge on our road of advance, to study new problems and to resolve new contradictions; in deeply trusting and relying on the masses, arousing them to display their initiative, creativeness, spirit of self-sacrifice and all their intelligence and wisdom, so that they will work concertedly to produce the best results in all tasks; and in heightening our national pride and confidence, learning all good things of foreign countries, and depending mainly on our own efforts to attain our great goal.

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WHY IS IT THAT NOT ALL IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES IN THE PARTY REFLECT CLASS STRUGGLE IN SOCIETY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 81 pp 38-40

[Article by Sun Ruiyuan [1327 3843 7687]]

[Text] In the past, a viewpoint holding that all ideological differences in the party reflect class struggle in society was in vogue. This viewpoint is one-sided and wrong and the "resolution" negated it.

Ideological differences are common phenomena and are of various kinds. Some of them reflect class struggle in society, but quite a large number of them do not.

Our party exists in society, and ever since its founding it has been surrounded by nonproletarian elements. Therefore the class struggle in society and various kinds of nonproletarian ideology have influenced the party through diverse channels. Differences between proletarian and nonproletarian ideology in the party have thus occurred. Therefore, some of the ideological differences in the party reflect the class struggle in society. Even now this situation, in which the exploiters have been eliminated as a class and class struggle only exists within certain limits, is inevitable. This is because there still exist in our society former landlords and rich peasants who have not yet reformed, counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, various kinds of criminals who disrupt public order and new exploiters, such as those engaged in graft, embezzling and speculating, with whom we are in conflict. Of course, these conflicts differ from the historical struggle of one class against another and they are the remnants of the historical class struggle under the special conditions of socialism. We should also be aware that the influence of feudal and bourgeois elements still exists in the ideological field. Moreover, the international reactionary forces are still doing their utmost to oppose us, and there are very sharp conflicts between those forces and ourselves. Therefore, various kinds of nonproletarian ideology have quite an important influence on us. The resolution points out: "Class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction since the exploiters have been eliminated as a class. However, owing to certain domestic factors and influences from abroad, class struggle will continue to exist, within certain limits, for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions. It is necessary to oppose both the view that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out. It is imperative to maintain a high level of vigilance and conduct effective struggle against all those who are hostile to socialism and who try to sabotage it in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields and in community life." This struggle is bound to be reflected in the party and create ideological differences there, and these differences cause the contradictions and conflicts within the party. Hence, when we analyze the ideological differences in the party, we should first see that some of them actually reflect the class struggle in society. To fail to see this point or to slacken our vigilance is a mistake.

However, we should by no means treat all ideological differences in the party as a reflection of class struggle in society. Quite a large number of them cannot be included in this category. This is especially true in a socialist society. For social contradictions are very complicated, and some of them fall within the scope of class struggle and some do not. As the resolution points out, "We must correctly understand that there are diverse social contradictions in Chinese society which do not fall within the scope of class struggle and that methods other than class struggle must be used for their appropriate resolution. Otherwise, social stability and unity will be jeopardized." Therefore, when we analyze the ideological differences in the party, we should see that quite a large number of them do not reflect social contradictions which fall within the scope of class struggle. To fail to see this point or to refuse to admit it is also a mistake.

The ideological differences in the party not only have their source in social classes but also in cognition and the many ideological differences which are caused by the differences in the cognitive abilities of the party members. As Lenin said, "Truth is a process." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 215) Man's cognition is a permanent and endless ideological approach to objects and results in a transition from ignorance to cognition, and then from partial and indefinite cognition to relatively complete and relatively definite cognition. Therefore, the process of man's cognition is one of gradual decrease in his blindness and increase in his consciousness. It is not easy for anybody to understand objective matters and things or to master the laws governing their movements; hence errors often occur. This is an important reason why people's cognition differ so much and why mistakes are inevitably made. Our party has more than 38 million members and each member has his individual life experience, practical experience, and theoretical and cultural standards. Besides, each is in his individual position and investigates and handles problems from his own specific angle. Therefore, there are often different understandings of the same problem. Some of the understandings are relatively correct, some only partially correct and some even completely wrong. This causes ideological differences in the party. Historical experience has taught us that ideological differences, caused by differences in cognitive abilities rather than class struggle, often occur in large numbers everywhere in the party. By no means should they be simply called the reflection of class struggle or rashly ascribed to the differences between the "two classes and the two lines." It will only fetter people's minds and stifle the party's vitality if we raise problems of cognition to the plane of principle or two-line struggle and call them problems of class struggle in every situation.

In regard to the problem of how to treat the ideological differences in the party, we should pay attention to the following two points:

First, we should make a concrete analysis of errors in cognition and work which have been demonstrated by practice. In real life, we often come across such cases. Some party members who are honest, just, loyal to the people and hard-working have committed mistakes or even serious mistakes in their cognition or work owing to their low standards and lack of experience. Certainly we should treat these mistakes seriously and even mete out proper punishment for some of them. Nevertheless, we must seek truth from facts and make a concrete analysis and by no means should we confuse these mistakes with class struggle. Nor should we treat errant comrades as the enemy or carry out "ruthless struggle against them and deal them merciless blows." On the contrary, we should use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to enthusiastically help them to overcome their erroneous thoughts and help them learn to use a Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to investigate and handle problems. Thus we can raise their ability to find the correct orientation and judge what is right and what is wrong. We should help them to learn to use Marxist theory as a guide to study and help them sum up their work experiences and draw from their experiences the laws governing the development of objective matters and things. Only by so doing can we eliminate the ideological differences in the party, correct the mistakes in our work and strengthen the party's unity.

Second, we should be discreet toward the matters of right and wrong which have not yet been proved by practice. Socialism is a brand new cause. It is a glorious and arduous task of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with our concrete practice. No doubt, the whole party should strictly follow the line and the general and specific policies of socialist revolution and construction formulated for us by the CCP Central Committee. However, our country is so large, our population is so great, and the conditions in our country are so complicated, that in order to attain the great goal of socialism, people should be allowed to proceed from reality and carry out various kinds of experiments and exploration on the basis of adhering to the four basic principles and remaining within the limits of the general policies formulated by the CCP Central Committee. People should carry out discussions to better solve problems. It is wrong to label all differing opinions as "revisionism" as soon as they are aired. As Lenin said, "Differences within or between political parties are usually resolved not only by polemics over principles, but also by the course of political development. In particular, differences in a party's tactics, i.e., its political conduct, are often resolved by those with incorrect opinions actually turning to the correct path of struggle, under the pressure of developments which simply brush aside erroneous opinions and which make them pointless and devoid of any interest." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 9, p 132) Practice is the only criterion for truth. Opinions which have been formed through exploration but not yet been proved by practice should be allowed to be subject to the examination of practice as long as they conform with the four basic principles, the line and general and specific policies laid down by the CCP Central Committee. Rashly sticking labels of "revisionism" on people will not facilitate the development of the socialist cause.

The historical experience of our party has time and again proved that it is very harmful to treat all ideological differences as the reflection of class struggle in the party. To do so will only result in the intensification of the frequency and intensity of inner-party struggle and the undesirable expansion of class struggle. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" this theoretical viewpoint was in great vogue and caused tremendous damage to the party. Therefore, it is a theoretical viewpoint that harms and weakens the party, destroys its unity and causes disorder and turmoil in the party. We should conscientiously understand the spirit of the resolution and abandon this erroneous viewpoint.

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IN WHICH FIELDS SHOULD WE CONTINUE TO CARRY OUT REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE UNDER SOCIALIST CONDITIONS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 81 pp 40-42

[Article by Zhang Gong [1728 1712]]

[Text] To correctly understand the need to continue to carry out revolutionary struggle in various fields under socialist conditions is of great practical significance in making us firmly adhere to the correct political orientation on our road of the new Long March and in making us consciously strive to attain the party's great goal in the new historical period.

The CCP takes the ultimate realization of communism as its historical task. Its members should not relax or end the revolutionary struggle before this lofty revolutionary ideal has been realized. In China, after state power under the people's democratic dictatorship was established, and especially after socialist transformation was basically completed and the exploiting class was destroyed, the revolution entered a period of peaceful development in which economic construction was the central link and the content and method of the revolution were basically different from those of the past even though the socialist revolution had not yet been finally accomplished. During the period of peaceful development, our revolutionary struggle does not need to be carried out by means of violent confrontation and clashes between classes, as was necessary before the overthrow of the exploiting system, but can be carried out by means of the socialist system, under good leadership, systematically and in the correct order. This kind of revolution is basically different from the so-called "continued revolution under proletarian dictatorship," which advocated the overthrow of one class by another as carried out during the "Great Cultural Revolution."

In what fields should we continue to carry out revolution under socialist conditions? The "resolution" has already pointed out the basic direction for us.

The most important task of the revolution is to vigorously develop the social productive forces. Since the elimination of the exploiting class, class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction. The principal contradiction which we currently need to resolve domestically is the contradiction between the people's daily growing material and cultural needs and the backward social production. The focus of work of the party and the state should be resolutely shifted to socialist modernization and strength should be concentrated on developing social productive forces. The party's various tasks should be subordinate to and serve this central link. Developing the cause of socialist modernization requires a great deal of mental and physical labor and demands the elimination of leftist and rightist erroneous trends in the guiding ideology. At present, it is first necessary to overcome the leftist influence and to work in strict accordance with objective economic laws, so that our country's economic construction will develop effectively, gradually and steadily, according to the conditions of our country.

Another important task for us in continuing the revolutionary struggle is to continuously improve and develop the socialist relations of production and the superstructure. The history of the socialist system in our country is very short. The production relations have changed from private ownership to public ownership. However, at the present stage, our country practices two forms of socialist public ownership, viz, ownership by the people and collective ownership. The basic forms of the Chinese economy are the state economy and the collective economy, with the workers' individual economy existing within certain prescribed limits. This suits today's level of development of productive forces in our country. With the socialist productive forces developed, the relations of production must be revised and improved so that they are suited to the conditions of the productive forces and conducive to the development of production. The "resolution" pointed out: "There is no rigid pattern for the development of socialist relations of production. At every stage our task is to create those specific forms of the relations of production that correspond to the needs of the growing productive forces and to facilitate their continued advance." With regard to the superstructure, we still need to continuously build a highly democratic socialist political system. This is a fundamental task of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to realistically strengthen the building of state organs at all levels in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, so that the people may directly manage and supervise the state power and the affairs of their enterprises and units and enjoy and exercise their democratic rights. It is necessary to correctly understand and properly dispose of certain undesirable phenomena which undoubtedly exist in party and state organs and also to correct certain defects in our establishments, so as to facilitate development of the socialist cause. At the same time, it is also necessary to build a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization and, with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the guide, to develop socialist ideological education, morals and practices, create a varied and colorful cultural life, and eliminate the influence of bourgeois and feudal ideas and the force of outmoded habits. This revolutionary task has more profound meaning than it did before.

The great goal of communism should be gradually realized on the basis of continuously carrying out the revolutionary struggle mentioned above. Socialism should be aimed at gradually wiping out all exploiting systems and classes, all class differences, and all major social differences and inequalities caused by the shortage of social productive forces, such as the differences between towns and countryside and between mental and physical labor and the actual inequalities between one man and another in distribution and demand, until communism is achieved. We are now carrying out the struggle to build a powerful and modern socialist country with highly developed democracy and civilization. This is only a stage in the great revolution to realize communism. We must attain the goal of modernization systematically and gradually by advancing along the correct road to modernization as pointed out by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. We must also apply the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in creating conditions for the change from socialism to communism. This is a great revolution unprecedented in the history of mankind.

All this shows that the revolution which we are required to carry out during the period of peaceful development should be carried out in a greater depth and calls for more arduous efforts than in the past. This revolution will take a very long period of time to accomplish. It also demands the persistent efforts, strict observance of discipline, hard work and brave sacrifice of the people for many generations.

Lenin pointed out: After the proletariat has seized political power, its most important, most fundamental and most consistent task is to lay down the economic base of the socialist system. "A 'reformist,' gradual, cautious and roundabout approach is needed to solve the fundamental problems of economic development." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 86) This tells us: In order to continue to carry out revolutionary struggle under socialist conditions, we must adopt a method entirely different from that adopted before the proletariat seized political power. Basing himself on the practice of socialism in China, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth for the first time in 1957 the theory of correctly handling contradictions among the people and stressed the need to take the correct handling of contradictions among the people as a main theme in the political life of the country. He pointed out clearly: Contradictions in socialist society "can be ceaselessly resolved by the socialist system itself." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 373) We have acquired experience in the positive and negative sides of this question over the past two decades and more. Practice shows: The method of using the "Great Cultural Revolution" to carry out revolutionary tasks under conditions of socialism did not work and was harmful. The contradictions between productive forces and the relations of production and between the superstructure and the economic base can be resolved systematically and in the proper order only by relying on the powerful people's democratic dictatorship and by fully displaying the superiority of the socialist political and economic systems under the leadership of the CCP.

The revolutionary road during the period of peaceful development is not smooth. Because of domestic factors and international influence, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits and might increase under certain conditions. We must not make light of the question of correctly understanding and handling the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. We must effectively struggle against the enemies who openly or secretly carry out sabotage activities in the political, economic, ideological and cultural spheres and in social life. We must strictly and promptly strike down those who have committed murder, arson, robbery, rape, profiteering, smuggling or other crimes that seriously endanger society and harm the people's lives and property. We must punish the principal culprits and the abetters. This will consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship. We must seriously denounce words and deeds which are against the four basic principles. We also must realize the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and accomplish the great cause of reunification of the motherland.

We must keep close watch on the developments and changes of the international situation and strive to safeguard the independence and security of the motherland, to persistently oppose imperialism and hegemonism, to support the cause of emancipation of the oppressed nations and to defend world peace.

The new historical period has assigned us a new militant task. We must uphold our lofty revolutionary ideals, maintain our vigorous revolutionary spirit and carry out to the end the great socialist revolution and construction.

CSO: 4004/5

WHY WAS OUR COUNTRY'S NATIONAL ECONOMY ABLE TO PROGRESS DURING THE 'GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION'?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 81 pp 42-43

[Article by Gao Zhiyu [7559 2535 3842]]

[Text] As pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," during the "Great Cultural Revolution," "our country's national economy was still able to progress despite meeting with huge losses." This is in conformity with the viewpoint of historical material dialectics and with the practical scientific diagnosis of our country.

Marxism tells us that activities of producing material objects constitute mankind's most fundamental activities. Any race of people will surely perish once it stops its labor on the production of material objects for even a few weeks. Generally speaking, during the socialist period the productive force is bound to progress at a varying speed, either swiftly or slowly, provided it encounters no calamitous natural disaster or is not involved in large-scale warfare. In the course of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing sabotaged socialist economic construction and inflicted heavy losses on production, but they were unable to conquer the maxim of the law that social production forever progresses. And during the 10-year period, certain progress was made in our national economy.

However, while we acknowledge that progress was made in the national economy, this must not be construed to mean that the fruits should be ascribed to the "Great Cultural Revolution." On the contrary, the "Great Cultural Revolution" precisely slowed up the speed of development of the national economy. If no such serious error which was of overall importance and lasted for a long time had been committed, our enterprises would certainly have achieved much bigger successes.

The resolution made a factual summary of the progress made in the national economy during the "Great Cultural Revolution." On the agricultural side, the national output of grain, the main agricultural product, amounted to 572.6 billion jin in 1976, an increase of more than 40 percent over 1965. In the industrial sector, steel output increased from 12.23 million tons in 1965 to 20.46 million tons in 1976, while certain increases were scored in the output of coal and crude oil. In addition, certain achievements were also made in capital construction and in science and technology. All these are objective facts.

That in the course of the 10-year internal turmoil our national economy did still progress must first of all be attributed to the fact that the people of all nationalities firmly insisted on taking the socialist road and protecting the socialist cause. As Marx and Engels pointed out: "Historical activities are in effect the undertakings of the masses." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 104) Armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the people of our country have taken socialism as a cause for their own intimate concern. They have devoted utmost efforts to the promotion of this great cause. When confronted with difficulties, they would not allow the socialist cause to be disrupted but would insist on fighting hard to promote its development. During the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the masses of people resisted the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They took concrete steps to criticize such fallacious slogans as "once a good job has been done of class struggle, production will naturally 'go up' of its own accord," "we would rather have socialist weeds than capitalist seedlings," "never carry out production for an erroneous line," and so on. They waged repeated struggle against the counterrevolutionary intrigues to sabotage production on the part of the "gang of four." Some people, though suffering from severe attacks or torture, would never waver from their stand of loving the motherland, supporting the party and supporting socialism. They would still remain at their post and insist on production, persist in their work, and do their utmost to reduce the damage caused by the internal turmoil. In this way, they accumulated wealth, bit by bit, for socialism. The masses of the populace really expended great efforts.

Secondly, the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and the great majority of cadres, who were loyal to the party and the people and had deep faith in the communist cause, all along remained on the correct side of the struggle and performed the mainstay role in maintaining and developing production. Just as the resolution pointed out, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Zhou Enlai was in a very difficult position. But he made untiring efforts to turn the tide, to keep the party and the state in normal operation, to protect the masses of cadres and people, and to develop production and reduce the economic losses to the minimum. In 1975, when Comrade Zhou Enlai was critically ill, Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of the daily work of the central government. He convened a series of meetings to solve problems relating to industry, agriculture, communications, science and technology. Work rules covering industry and scientific research were formulated and steps were taken to straighten out the work in various aspects. For a time, the situation clearly appeared to have turned for the better. As for the party cadres at various levels, despite the difficulties surrounding them, they firmly and thoroughly carried out the various important policies beneficial to the development of production and worked assiduously to increase the economic strength of socialism by all ways and means. All these things provided assurances that the "gang of four" could not succeed in their intrigues and that socialist economic construction would not be interrupted.

Finally, we cannot but note that this considerable progress made by the national economy was closely related to the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong was able to absorb the lessons of the "Great Leap Forward." Although he committed errors affecting the situation as a whole in the 10 years of turmoil, he was still comparatively careful in economic work. At the time, at the instigation of such counterrevolutionary elements as Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Kang

Sheng, loud calls were made in certain rural areas to change the system of ownership by the collective to that of ownership by the whole people. Insistent and noisy calls were also heard demanding "this" or "that" reform in the production relations. However, Comrade Mao Zedong did not agree with or support these viewpoints, which were in effect opposed to objective laws. It can thus be seen that he was comparatively cool-headed and careful concerning matters of this kind. This was instrumental in ensuring a stable foundation for the socialist system of our country. It enabled socialist economic construction to progress.

In the turmoil of the "Great Cultural Revolution" which brought great and serious disaster to the party and the people, our country's national economy was nevertheless still able to progress. This must be attributed to the vast strength of the Chinese people, to the superiority of the socialist system and to the enormous vitality of our party.

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POSTWAR INFLATION OF FINANCIAL CAPITAL IN IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES AND RELATED CHANGES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 81 pp 44-48

[Article by Tao Dayong [7118 1129 6978] in "Forum on Economic Problems of Imperialism" section]

[Text] During the period of free capitalism, industrial capital occupied the ruling position, but during the stage of monopoly capitalism, financial capital occupied the ruling position. After World War II, following a further intensified concentration of production and capital in industry and the speeding up of the monopolization process, financial capital became unprecedentedly inflated in the developed capitalist countries and occupied an absolutely dominant position in the economic and political life of these countries.

Under the new historical conditions after the war, because of certain changes in the form of combining bank capital and industrial capital and because of the appearance of professional managers and a new stratum of technological personnel, various kinds of theories about the "deterioration" or change in character of capitalism have emerged among Western economists. An endless array of such theories has emerged. They include theories ranging from "company-revolution theory" to "manager-control theory," from the theory of the "later-stage industrial society" to the theory of "super-technological society" and from "people's capitalism" to "annuity socialism." The central thought is the "disintegration" of financial capital and the "disappearance" of currency control, resulting in the so-called "transfer of economic power." For the purpose of deepening our understanding of the laws governing the current economic operations under imperialism, we must make a concrete study and analysis of the evolutions in the development of financial capital under the conditions of modern monopoly capitalism.

I

In capitalist countries during the postwar period, the scope of banking institutions has continuously expanded and the accumulation and concentration of banking capital have continued to increase rapidly. Take the United States for example. In 1918, there were some 28,000 commercial banks with gross assets amounting to over $36 billion. Following the wave of amalgamations and the economic crises in the 1920's and the early 1930's, the number of banks was reduced by roughly 50 percent. During most of the postwar period, it was around 14,000 but gross assets had increased by 10 times above the original figure. By the latter half of the 1970's, their total assets had exceeded $1 trillion. In 1960, there were 25 commercial banks with gross assets of over $1 billion each. Of these only one had gross assets of over $10 billion. By 1970, the number of banks with gross assets of over $1 billion had increased to 80, of which 7 had assets of over $10 billion each. According to more recent statistics, of the 50 largest commercial banks in the United States, 20 had assets of over $10 billion each while the remaining 30 had assets of no less than $4 billion each. We can thus see the high degree of concentration and monopolization of capital of these banks. In Western Europe and Japan during the postwar period, the trend toward the concentration and monopoly of banking capital was more or less like that in the United States. At present, the "four magnates" in Britain, the three big banks in West Germany and in France, and the banks in the largest cities in Japan all occupy a monopoly position in their respective countries.

The further concentration and monopolization by banks after the war can also be seen in the rapid increase in the number of branch offices of the large banks. In the early postwar period, commercial banks in the United States had over 4,100 branch offices. By 1977, this number had grown to 33,000, an increase of over 7 times in a 30-year period. In Britain, the "four magnates" all had 2,000 to 3,000 branch offices each, while the three large banks in France also had about 2,000 branches each. Thus, in the developed capitalist countries after the war, a tightly knit monopoly network of banks has been formed. Lenin said: "Banks are the backbone of modern economic activities; they constitute the nerve center of the entire structure of capitalist national economy." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 136) This point was particularly evident among the developed capitalist countries after the war. The actual situation is: With the daily expansion of the scale of operation of the banks and the continued intensification of their monopoly position, the banking business has assumed a steadily diversified nature. The large banks not only have control of the spare funds of society but also have become all-embracing composite financial giants. (For example, in the United States they embrace insurance companies, finance companies, investment and trust companies, credit and loan associations, savings and loan associations, organizations handling private retirement funds, and so on.) They control the industrial and commercial enterprises by means of the traditional banking business (such as accepting deposits and granting loans), but, more than that, they also engage in various kinds of nonbanking businesses (such as acting as agencies, attending to electronic computer services, taking care of rental-service companies, running consulting departments, and managing old-age funds and retirement funds). In this way, they control and manipulate general economic activities.

Another noteworthy trend is: Following the postwar abnormal expansion of multinational corporations, the banking monopoly organizations of the various principal capitalist countries have likewise extended their operations to different parts of the world. Their expansion overseas was especially evident beginning in the 1960's. Since then they have truly set up an international banking system. In 1939, American banks had branches or subbranches in only 22 countries, but by 1960 they had them in 55 countries. During the 1970's the expansion overseas of the multinational banks was even more rapid. According to statistics compiled by the United Nations, in 1971, American banks operated some 822 branches, subbranches or agencies overseas; by 1976, this number had grown to 1,065. During the same period, Japanese multinational banks increased their overseas branches from 198 to 400. The multinational banks of France and Britain were no less aggressive, as in 5 years' time their overseas branches had doubled. In this way, this tightly knit banking network not only has consolidated domestically the thousands of individual and scattered economies into one united capitalist economy but also has formed a global capitalist economy.

II

In the postwar period, in addition to the further development of the centralization and monopolization of production, and with the speeding up of a high degree of concentration and monopoly of banking capital, large banks in the major capitalist countries have stepped up the combining of banking monopoly capital with industrial monopoly capital, thereby forming an unprecedentedly enormous block of financial capital. This was done through credit and loan relations and through such channels as capital participation and sharing of management personnel. It can be said that, owing to the state mechanism intervening in the national economy and due to certain legislative limitations, the form of the union of banking capital and industrial capital might have suffered certain changes, but viewed from the basic procedure of modern capitalist development, no qualitative changes of a fundamental nature have taken place.

In the initial postwar period certain Western economists (such as Bailey, the celebrated American expert on corporation law), on the basis of observation of such phenomena as the wide distribution of shareholders' rights and the emergence of such strata of people as professional managers and technicians, came to the arbitrary conclusion that economic power had drifted from the banks to the managers. Facts have indeed borne out this conclusion. In 1966, 1967 and 1968, in the three investigative reports (collectively known as the Patman report) prepared by the domestic monetary policy subcommittee of the U.S. Congress headed by Congressman Wright, Patman supplied us with much firsthand material on the entire picture of the concentration and monopolization of American banking capital and of banking capital's control over industrial capital. Patman arrived at the following conclusion: "As I see it, the materials herein indicate for the first time that today's American economy faces the great danger of certain industries or trades falling into the grip of a number of companies, a situation reminiscent of the great monetary trust in the early period of the 20th century. Commercial banks, employing the various methods described in these reports are in control of the investments of several billion dollars. As large shareholders, they hold the voting rights of the principal companies of nearly all the important trades or industries of the national economy. These banking institutions have representatives sitting on the board of directors of the above-mentioned principal industrial corporations. At the same time they provide the principal source of loans to these corporations. Hence, a small cluster of banks can exercise enormous influence on certain of the biggest corporations in our country or even control them altogether. In addition, the thousands of medium-sized and small enterprises scattered in the country are under the domination of the large commercial banks in their respective localities. No rational being can deny the infiltrative nature of banks after studying these reports." The publication of these reports elicited wide attention from the capitalist world.

Generally speaking, under the conditions of modern capitalism, banking capital has steadily increased its infiltration into, and control of, industrial capital, by means of loans and credit relations. According to statistics compiled by the Department of Commerce of the U.S. Government, between the years 1946 to 1972, of the new capital funds raised by the corporations in the country, two-fifths came from sources outside of the corporations themselves, principally as bonds floated by the corporations through the banks or even outright bank loans. Many corporations have floated long-term bonds larger in amount than their own capitalization. Of bank loans to industries, medium-term (below 5 years) loans have greatly increased. They can be used for the purchase of machinery, equipment or other production materials and in reality are equivalent to a kind of indirect investment from the banks. In other principal capitalist countries, the degree of dependence on external capital on the part of their enterprises was even larger. In the first half of the 1970's, British enterprises obtained external funds amounting to about half of their capital funds. In West Germany this figure was three-fifths, and in Japan over four-fifths. Needless to say, external funds from bank loans occupied an important position. In addition, other financial institutions such as insurance companies (especially life insurance companies), trust companies, credit and loan associations, savings associations, and so on, all play an increasingly important role in the supply of funds to enterprises. This is a new phenomenon not to be overlooked in the financial field in postwar capitalist countries.

It must be especially pointed out that after the war the role of trust departments of banks was also noticeably strengthened. This was particularly true in the United States. According to the U.S. 1933 Banking Act, commercial banks were forbidden to invest in industrial and commercial enterprises. Furthermore, the 1934 Stock Exchange Act also stipulated that the financial relations between banks and large corporations must be revealed to the public. To a certain extent this legislation has reduced or weakened the traditional binding relationship between banking capital and industrial capital. After the war, American banks resorted to various means to expand the business of their trust departments and made use of the increasing amounts of trust funds at their disposal to purchase the stocks and debentures of big corporations. They thus became the principal shareholders of the corporations and actually controlled them. Simultaneously, because after the war the working class stepped up its struggle against monopoly capital, the latter rapidly devised the annuity system in an endeavor to split the workers' ranks, to weaken the power of workers' unions in waging struggles, and to pacify the contradictions between labor and capital. The corporations entrusted the great proportion of their annuity funds to the custody of the trust departments of the banks, and the latter used these funds to purchase the stocks and debentures of the big corporations. This became an important measure enabling banking capital to control industrial capital. The annuity system developed rapidly in the 1960's, but by the 1970's it had become a powerful force in the American stock market. According to statistics, by 1975 the private annuity funds entrusted to the trust departments of banks had in their control one-fourth of the total volume of new shares floated by American corporations. Therefore, basically speaking, this is not so-called "annuity socialism." Rather, in name and in fact it is the rule or domination of financial capital covered by a coat of red paint to deceive others. Among the countries in Western Europe after the war, conditions of this kind have likewise developed. For example, in the 1970's, the volume of stocks entrusted to the banks of West Germany amounted in value to 50 percent of the total volume of stocks and debentures floated domestically.

As for capital participation, an obvious change occurred after the war. This was the drastic reduction in the volume of stocks which banks must have on hand to acquire control of the enterprises. Following the increased concentration of production and capital and the continued expansion of the scale of monopoly organs, the volume of stocks has also increased and the shareholders' rights have become even more scattered and diversified. As a result, the volume of stocks required for the control of an enterprise has been generally reduced. Under ordinary conditions in the past, holding 25 percent of the stocks of an enterprise was usually sufficient to acquire control of that enterprise. According to a congressional report in the United States, in the 1960's, generally speaking holding 5 percent of any kind of the stocks of a corporation was sufficient to exert important influence on the corporation or to acquire control over it. According to statistics compiled by the Japanese weekly NIHON KEIZAI, in September 1970, the 8 large Japanese commercial banks held over 5 percent of the stocks of 221 out of 687 big corporations in the country. This was roughly one-third of the total number of big corporations. The Fuji Bank alone controlled over 5 percent of the stocks of 41 big corporations while the 8 large Japanese banks occupied the dominant position of big shareholders of 80 big corporations.

With regard to staffing, in the postwar period the situation of the big banks and big corporations reciprocally holding seats on each other's board of directors has been especially prevalent. According to an investigative report conducted in 1978 by the American Government on 130 big corporations, the largest 13 had not only formed a spider-like network of reciprocal directorship relations (as many as 240 instances were cited) but also maintained various kinds of relations with 70 percent of the remaining 117 corporations.

The above-mentioned situation primarily reflected that under the current conditions of capitalism, the union of banking monopoly capital and industrial monopoly capital had taken a new form and achieved further development. The financial capital interests of the imperialist countries took precisely this road and steadily strengthened their control and domination of the national economy. No wonder the "Patman report" made the following striking remarks: "Summarizing the above, it can be seen that America's important banking institutions, by means of the enormous funds at their disposal and through the centralization of these funds and the various kinds of reciprocal relationships they have with a large proportion of America's nonbanking enterprises, have become the only and most important force in the economy." "The power of the banks themselves has already deeply impressed people but, more than that, their union with other financial organizations has made them to tower above all." In other words, since World War II, although evolutions have taken place in the pattern of the banding together of banking capital with industrial capital, at no time has financial capital been disintegrated, nor has financial control been lost. Precisely on the contrary, the union of banking monopoly capital and industrial monopoly capital is much closer than before.

III

Naturally, on account of the role played by the law governing the uneven development of capitalist economy, after the war the relative strength of the many monopoly capital combinations underwent rather important changes. Take the United States for example. Before the war (1939) the entire national economy was under the control of eight large financial blocs. After World War II, particularly in the 1970's, in addition to seven of the old financial blocs--Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, Du Pont, Chicago, Boston and Cleveland--there emerged three new financial blocs: the Bank of America (California), First National Citibank and Texas. After the war, the Cohen-Loeb bloc, which used to occupy second place among the eight old financial blocs before the war, lost its importance and became a subsidiary of the Rockefeller bloc. Beginning in the last years of the 1950's, both the Cleveland and Du Pont blocs were successively squeezed out of the ranks of the eight large financial blocs whereas a number of local financial groups, particularly in California and Texas, which had made their fortunes from the armaments industries, electronics and other newly emerged industries, rose to take their place, becoming the upstarts of national monopoly capitalism.

At the same time, among the old financial blocs, their comparative financial strength also met with varying fortunes. Both the Morgan bloc and the Rockefeller bloc used to be in the front ranks. However, beginning in the 1960's, the Rockefeller bloc rapidly grew in strength and after the beginning of the 1970's surpassed the Morgan bloc and occupied first place. Despite the changes in the ranking and the economic strength of the postwar American financial blocs, the economic foundation of the modern capitalist society has never been even slightly shaken. There was no possibility of changing the dominant position of the financial oligarchs within the country. The important diplomatic and economic policies of the American Government must to a certain extent reflect the interests and wishes of the big financial blocs, particularly the two "magnates," Rockefeller and Morgan.

West Germany and Japan were defeated in the war. But in the postwar period their financial capital and financial oligarchs staged a comeback, and their rule was gradually extended in the domains of economic life and political life of their respective countries.

After Germany entered the stage of imperialism, its three large banks, including the Reichbank, were the pillars of financial capital of the whole country for a long time. During the early postwar period, these three banks were for a time practically eliminated and were reorganized into 30 local banks. However, under the protection of the American and British occupation authorities, the economic ruling position of Germany's monopoly capital bloc was never really shaken. In the early 1950's, these 30 German banks were again reorganized to form 9 big banks. Following the recovery and swift development of West Germany's economy, in 1957 the West German parliament enacted a law which actually put the nine banks under the three national banks. In this way the three original banks recovered their former influential position. They became the nucleus for the gradual formation of postwar West Germany's various monopoly capital blocs. Take for example, Siemens, whom Lenin called "one of Germany's greatest industrialists and 'financial kings.'" At present, the Siemens concern heads West Germany's No 1 financial capital bloc--the Reichbank. In 1931, the Siemens concern's assets amounted to only 63 million marks, employing 83,000 people. By the early 1970's, its gross assets had grown to 13.72 billion marks and it had a staff of over 300,000 people. In 1978, of the 10 biggest electrical conglomerates of the capitalist world, it occupied fifth place. In addition, the three big chemical plants, namely, the Hoechst, Bayer and Baden plants (respectively the first, second and third largest chemical plants in the Western world) under the control of the Fabin financial bloc, and the Krupp concern (ranked fifth among the 10 big iron and steel conglomerates of the West) under the control of the Dresden financial bloc, have all revived and begun to hold sway in their respective fields.

The postwar revival of financial capital in Japan followed approximately the same course. Following Japan's surrender, the American military occupation authorities ordered the "dissolution" of the old financial blocs of Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and others. In reality only the signboards of the "family companies" were changed, and with the help of several large banks the old blocs managed to retain their former influence and power. Later, under the pretext of "economic cooperation" between America and Japan and with the support of American monopoly capital, not only were their operations not restrained but also their former signboards actually reappeared. Companies like Mitsui Resources and the Mitsubishi Commerce at one time had to change their names and diversify their operations, but they soon resumed their activities in a lively way. After the war, most of the Japanese companies were burdened with heavy debts, and since the banks were the principal creditors, the companies had to depend on the banks for support. Hence, in the 1950's the monopoly organs which surfaced usually took the form of a big bank serving as the nucleus which banded together the monopoly enterprises of the trades, holding each other's shares and effecting mutual infiltration by means of reciprocal personnel placements and other measures. In this way, a situation of the joint growth of banking capital and industrial capital reappeared and there was a rapid inflation of financial capital. The situation soon developed into one in which the six big financial blocs of Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumimoto, Fuji, Daiichi Kangyo and Sanwa actually held in their hands the supreme political and economic power of Japan. Although the newly emerged financial blocs (Daiichi Kangyo, Fuji and Sanwa) are somewhat different from the other three old blocs and have a very thin "family" link, their real nature remains very much the same. Thus, with the close union of banking monopoly capital and industrial monopoly capital as the foundation, they have restored the rule of the financial oligarchy in Japan.

Therefore, generally speaking, among the postwar principal capitalist countries, although changes of varying degrees have occurred in the internal structure and reciprocal relations of the individual monopoly financial blocs, their financial capital power not only has not been weakened but has actually been unprecedentedly inflated. A small minority of the biggest monopoly capitalists having a tight hold on financial capital still control firmly the economic lifelines of their respective countries. Among this group of financial oligarchies, many still belong to the old financial blocs that existed before the war, but since the 1950's new and strong financial blocs have appeared in succession. Following the daily-growing inflation of financial power, while on the one hand the financial blocs have further infiltrated into each other's domain, the alliance between the families of the old and new oligarchs has in the meantime been strengthened and the old financial empires have been replenished with new blood. In this way, after the war the ruling position of the financial oligarchs in the various countries has been further augmented. Just as Lenin wrote: "Financial oligarchs have covered the economic structures and political structures of modern capitalist society with a close network of relations of mutual dependence." "Aside from the banks and industries forming 'individual combinations,' these two types of companies have also effected 'individual combinations' with the government." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, pp 841, 746) A situation of this kind existed in the past, but its development after the war was especially rapid. Formerly, monopoly capitalists themselves seldom appeared on the political scene. They relied principally on their managers or agents as their representatives. However, after the war, owing to the growing intensification of contradictions both inside and outside the imperialist states and to the many and numerous difficult problems awaiting solution, many of the oligarchs found that unless they themselves personally took charge and relied on the authority of the state, the problems could hardly be solved. Consequently, some of the monopoly capitalists, while searching for managers had to climb onto the political stage themselves. An increasing number of them have made public appearances. In the postwar period in the United States, the successive governments have almost always been served by cabinets of "people of wealth and opulence." And conditions of this kind are not exceptional in postwar Japan and Western Europe. This phenomenon of state power and monopoly capital being close-knit has increasingly become a new and vital feature of modern capitalism in the realm of politics. It indicates a new development in postwar state monopoly capitalism.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO KNOW THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 81 inside back cover

[Article by Shi Ding [2514 7230]]

[Text] In a speech delivered to the meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of the CCP, Comrade Hu Yaobang vividly described as "very encouraging" the reaction of the vast numbers of cadres and the masses to the general political guiding principles adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. He pointed out, "This is also precisely one of the fundamental reasons why the change since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee is so powerful and irresistible."

It is "encouraging" because it "conforms to the people's minds." The general political guiding principles since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee conform to the minds of the people and the party and have therefore greatly mobilized the enthusiasm of the vast numbers of cadres and the masses, in particular the vast numbers of peasants who are profuse in praise for the policies and various responsibility systems the party has adopted. The peasants have said, "The policies set by the party's leading authorities are so good that people have become more capable and the land has given richer crops." As reported, the family of Yan Guoming, a production brigade head 50 years or more in age in the Liu Jiadian commune of Shenqiu County, Henan Province, has harvested more than 10,000 jin of wheat this year. In celebrating the good harvest, he never forgot to express his gratitude to the party. He went to the market and bought 10 jin or more of meat, then set off fireworks and saluted the north. He said, "I worship neither gods nor heaven but only the party's central authorities in Beijing. The party's central authorities really know well the minds of our peasants in bringing us such a happy life."

"The party's central authorities really know well the minds of our peasants." This comment of the broad masses of peasants on the party's policies and responsibility system inevitably makes me recall a saying of Comrade Liu Shaoqi in his report at the eighth national party congress--"It is necessary to know the minds of the people"--and enables me to really understand its importance. We communists, whose fundamental stand and sole aim is to serve the people wholeheartedly, can only win the sincere support of the broad masses of the people if we can know the minds of the people, understand their will and needs, and thus work out and carry out the guiding principles which conform with the people's fundamental interest and succeed in seeking real benefits for them. To know the minds of the people is the key to carrying out the mass line of the party.

However, to know the minds of the people is not an easy task. In the saying "really know well the minds of our peasants," the key word is "really." We have witnessed a few cases where our comrades seemed to have known but in fact did not know or even misunderstood the minds of the people. Cases like these can still be found today in a small number of comrades. I can still remember that many comrades thought that vigorously promoting collective canteens was the "will" of peasants during the years of the "Great Leap Forward." In fact, did peasants really want to do so? At present, a small number of cadres are passively resisting the enforcement of responsibility systems in rural areas, in particular the practices of "fixing output quotas for each household" and "assigning households full responsibility for task completion" in some areas which have more difficulties. These cadres always go against the will of the masses. Is such a situation not a fact? The reason for this is that the influence of the leftist thinking remains alive and thus prevents them from really knowing the minds of peasants. The peasants indeed have their reasons for criticizing these cadres as "people whose stomachs are full and therefore do not feel the hunger of others."

To know the minds of the people, truly and not superficially, the most important thing is that we must have a correct attitude and stand, and firmly establish the mass viewpoint. As pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong, "We must make every comrade clearly understand that all speeches and acts of a communist should be aligned with the highest criteria which form with the greatest interest of the broadest masses of people and are supported by them." With this understanding, we must do everything for the people and depend on the people for everything; we must immerse ourselves in the masses and earnestly listen to their opinions; we must think what they are thinking, be eager to meet their needs and link our hearts to theirs. Of course, in order to know the minds of the people, we still have to go personally among the masses to observe and experience reality. Otherwise, we will, though out of "concern for the masses," do stupid and wrong things if we always act on our own and substitute our own subjective judgments for the masses' true will.

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22 December 1981

China Report

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No. 20, 16 October 1981

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22 December 1981

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 20, 16 October 1981

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SPEECH AT THE RALLY OF ALL CIRCLES IN THE CAPITAL IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1911 REVOLUTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 2-6

[Speech by Hu Yaobang]

[Text] Comrades and friends,

Seventy years ago, in 1911, revolutionaries under the leadership of Dr Sun Yat-sen initiated a revolution in old China that overthrew the Qing dynasty. That revolution raised the banner of a democratic republic on the territory of China and the Republic of China was founded. This was a revolution of great importance in China's history. In the present situation it is of tremendous immediate significance for the 980 million compatriots on the mainland and 18 million compatriots in Taiwan to commemorate this glorious occasion.

Scarcely a day passed after China was gradually reduced to the status of a semicolonial, semifeudal country starting from the forties of the 19th century that the Chinese people did not wage a revolution struggle against imperialism and feudalism. National capitalism began to develop in China in the last decades of the 19th century and the new emerging force of the bourgeoisie mounted the stage of history. The patriots imbued with bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas of nationalism and democracy led a revolutionary movement which was the vanguard of the trend of the times in the early years of the present century. This revolutionary movement concentrated the desire of the Chinese people of that time for national independence and a democratic republic. The Qing dynasty was extremely corrupt, bringing humiliation to the nation and forgetting its sovereignty. It had thus become entirely the tool of imperialism to rule China as well as the representative of the reactionary feudal forces. The revolutionary party firmly believed that revolutionary armed force would have to be used to overthrow the regime. The masses of people supported their call. Comrade Mao Zedong said that in China's modern history of people's revolutionary struggle, the 1911 revolution was in a fuller sense the beginning of a national and democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism. This evaluation is entirely correct.

The 1911 revolution did not reach the anticipated goal of establishing an independent and free bourgeois republic and failed to free China from its semicolonial, semifeudal status. However, the historic contribution that the revolution made is indelible. It put an end to the autocratic monarchy that had ruled China for thousands of years; this was a tremendous advance for Chinese society. Not only did the two attempts in the early years after the founding of the republic to restore an autocratic monarchy fail quickly, but any form of reactionary autocratic rule was bound to fail. Contrary to what the imperialist powers wanted, the 1911 revolution overthrew the Qing dynasty they supported. This demonstrated for the first time in modern history that imperialism could not control China's destiny. From that time on, opposition by the people brought the downfall of any reactionary force with imperialist backing, no matter how strong its armed forces. The 1911 revolution brought ideological emancipation to the people of China. Since rule by the emperor, which for thousands of years had been regarded as divine, could be overthrown, what other thing that was reactionary and backward could be considered sacred and could not be transformed? The Chinese people and their activists were greatly inspired, and they continued to forge ahead, learn progressive ideas and struggle courageously and unceasingly to find the revolutionary road for China.

The May 4th movement took place 8 years after the 1911 revolution. The proletariat began to show itself as an independent political force in the Chinese revolution. The Communist Party of China was founded not long after. Thirteen years after the 1911 revolution, Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China cooperated for the first time. Then the Northern Expedition was launched to overthrow the rule by the northern warlords who had imperialist backing. Twenty-six years after the 1911 revolution, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party cooperated for the second time. This made it possible for the Chinese people to wage the great war against Japanese aggression for 8 years until victory and realize the return of Taiwan to China. Then, 38 years after the 1911 revolution, the Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Zedong led the people throughout the country in bringing the new democratic revolution to victory and founding the People's Republic of China, thus putting an end to China's semicolonial, semifeudal status, securing national independence and people's democracy and shifting over to socialism. China's economy and culture, hitherto very backward, experienced an unprecedented and tremendous development, thanks to the efforts of the people of all nationalities throughout the country under very difficult conditions. The goal sought by Dr Sun Yat-sen and other patriots of the 1911 revolution had finally been achieved to an extent far beyond their expectations. The course of history of the past 70 years shows that the 1911 revolution, regarded as the beginning of the democratic revolution, opened the road for a series of historical developments. That is why we communists and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, regard the victories of new democracy and socialism as the continuation and development of the 1911 revolution. We pay great respect to Dr Sun Yat-sen, leader of the 1911 revolution, and his comrades.

Many patriots joined the revolutionary ranks led by Sun Yat-sen and waged arduous struggle during the 1911 revolution. Some even forfeited their lives. Among the noted patriots were Lu Haodong, Zheng Shiliang, Huang Xing, Zhang Taiyan, Zou Rong, Chen Tianhua, Song Jiaoren, Zhu Zhixin, Liao Zhongkai, Cai Yuanpei, Hu Hanmin, Tao Chengzhang, Qiu Jin, Xu Xilin, Xiong Chengji, Liu Jing'an, Zhan Dabei, Zhang Peijue, Wu Yuzhang, Chen Qubing, Liu Yazi, Ju Zheng, Yu Youren, Li Liejun, Cai E, Zhu De, Jiao Dafeng, Dong Biwu, Lin Boqu, Feng Yuxiang, Xu Fanting, Zhang Xiruo and Situ Meitang, as well as many others. Among them, apart from those who laid down their lives at that time, some continued to follow the democratic revolution of Sun Yat-sen, some became communists and some others departed from the revolution. The people will for all time honor those who made contributions to the 1911 revolution. Their lofty spirit in fighting and making sacrifices for the revolution will for all time be respected and studied.

Dr Sun Yat-sen was a great national hero, a great patriot and the great forerunner of the democratic revolution in China. His meritorious deeds are inscribed forever in the annals of Chinese history. He devoted his whole life to seeking national independence, democracy, freedom and the happiness of the people. The Chinese people of all nationalities will never forget his historic accomplishment of raising high in dark China the banner of democracy and revolution; they will never forget his historic contribution in leading the revolution that overthrew the autocratic monarchy and established the republic and in persevering in the struggle against the warlord forces that seized the signboard of the republic to exercise reactionary rule; they will never forget his historic achievement in leading the Kuomintang to develop its first cooperation with the Communist Party and in carrying the three people's principles of the 1911 revolution forward to those of 1924 when he convoked the first congress of the Kuomintang.

The life of Sun Yat-sen was replete with success and failure; he encountered all kinds of danger and setbacks, but he was unyielding. He went on summing up experience, seeking new ideas and courageously advancing with the tide of history. He firmly believed that through the people's struggle China could take great strides forward in politics, economy, culture and other fields and "catch up with" the advanced nations. Endowed with a strong will and outstanding determination, he never ceased fighting to achieve this ideal. As he said: "I am determined to go forward toward the goal that I pursue. The greater the setback, the harder I will work. I will redouble my efforts." This was the heroism of a great patriot. Throughout his life, Sun Yat-sen gave publicity to the slogans "everything for the public weal" and "of the people, by the people, for the people" and persisted in "bringing about a thorough awakening of our people" and "allying ourselves in common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality." Even in his later years, in spite of his illness, he travelled to north China for the convocation of a national assembly and abrogation of unequal treaties. He raised the call "peace, struggle, save China." Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary spirit is the most precious legacy he left us, a legacy that will always inspire all revolutionaries and patriots of the Chinese nation. Respect for Dr Sun Yat-sen and his memory remains a strong spiritual link between the mainland and Taiwan.

Comrades and friends!

Our motherland has entered the historical stage of carrying out socialist modernization in all fields. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee reestablished a political line, an ideological line and an organizational line complying with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," which distinguished right from wrong in historical experience. The goal for advance has been set and the road for construction has been decided upon. We must now strengthen the unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country, enlarge to the broadest possible extent the united front of all socialist laborers, of patriots who support socialism and of patriots who support the reunification of the motherland, mobilize all positive factors and work hard with one heart and one mind to build our country into a modern and powerful socialist state with a high degree of democracy and civilization. To sum up, we are presently confronted with three great tasks at home and abroad, that is, to achieve the four modernizations, to defend world peace and to fulfill the great cause of reunification.

The prime task of great importance for the people of all nationalities throughout China is to concentrate major efforts on socialist construction to modernize agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. This is also the foundation for fulfilling the second and third tasks well. The Chinese people for the past hundred years and more, especially since the 1911 revolution, have yearned and struggled for China's joining the ranks of advanced nations in the world as a prosperous and strong country. We now have the conditions and possibilities to fulfill this ideal step by step through planned efforts. China is rather backward economically and culturally, but it is not backward in everything. There are many difficulties on our road of advance, but there are also favorable conditions. Backwardness can be changed and difficulties surmounted. We should continue to liberate our thinking, rouse ourselves, seek truth from facts, and break with set patterns that do not accord with dialectical materialism and suit the needs of the four modernizations. Efforts should also be made to study new problems arising in all trades, to find new approaches and open up new prospects. We should continue to adhere to the four fundamental principles, and consolidate and promote the political situation of unity, stability and liveliness. We should build a strong contingent of workers by hand and by brain who work courageously and in unity for the four modernizations and who are ideologically advanced, technically proficient and disciplined. We should make full use of existing material and technical foundations, bring into play the superiority of the socialist system and carry forward the creative spirit and patriotism of the nation, while learning as much as possible what is useful to us of the science and technology and administrative and management skills of other lands and expand our economic exchange and cooperation with other countries, guided by the principles of equality and mutual benefit. We are bound to reach our magnificent goal of modernization. In this respect we ought to follow the example of countless revolutionary martyrs since the 1911 revolution, energetically promote education in patriotism and internationalism among the people of all nationalities throughout the country and inspire everyone to act with a high sense of national self-respect and self-confidence. This is an important basis for us to build our socialist spiritual civilization. It will become a powerful motive force in the development of our socialist material civilization.

Our second task of great importance is to defend world peace. The defense of world peace and prevention of world war are not only essential international conditions for carrying out our modernization program, but also the international duty of the Chinese people to all humanity. The founding of new China led to complete national independence. Gone are the days when China was dependent on imperialism in diplomatic affairs. We formulate and carry out our foreign policy independently, proceeding from China's national interests and also from the common interests of the people the world over. We firmly oppose imperialism and hegemonism, oppose any aggression or armed threat, in order to safeguard world peace and make efforts to promote an international situation that develops in a direction favorable to world peace and to the people of all countries. All sorts of hegemonists, big and small, are going ahead with aggression and expansionism in many places in the world. This is the main source of aggravated turmoil in international affairs and it is undermining world peace. We have always held that the danger of world war is very grave and must be given full attention, all peace-loving forces should struggle firmly against hegemonism and against aggression and expansionism since this will make it possible to postpone the outbreak of a world war and safeguard world peace over a fairly long period of time. To reach this aim, we hold that the Third World countries should seek common ground while reserving differences and unite as one, and make every effort to unite broadly on the basis of equality with all countries that oppose war and aggression. We still advocate "allying ourselves in common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality" and stand for worldwide application of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We oppose unprincipled connivance at and concession to the acts of aggression by big and small hegemonists. We do not intend to seek our own interests at the expense of others through any kind of war. We ask peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world to strengthen the joint struggle against hegemonism and aggression. This is the only realistic way to defend world peace. The Chinese people have unswerving fighting spirit and great vitality. We do not quail before hegemonist threats and provocations. We are determined to make due contributions to the defense of world peace.

Our third task of great importance is to ensure Taiwan's return to the motherland so as to complete the great cause of reunification. All people share this aspiration, especially on the occasion when they are commemorating the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. Taiwan had been occupied for 50 years before it was returned to China; later, owing to the rupture of peace negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the outbreak of a new civil war, Taiwan was again separated from the mainland and has remained so for 32 years. What a misfortune for our nation! For several thousand years since China became a unified country, all our nationalities have had the glorious and patriotic tradition of opposing division and safeguarding unity. All splits of the country were historically temporary and against the will of the people and reunification was always the final result. On the mainland, the success of the Chinese people's revolution in 1949 finally put an end to the disunity that had torn China apart for decades, and brought about the unification that the people demanded. But the fact that the mainland and Taiwan are still not reunited remains a cloud hanging over the mind of the people of the whole country. Great changes have taken place in China and the world as a whole. The desire to bring to an end Taiwan's separation from the mainland as quickly as possible has become a rising and irresistible historical trend.

On New Year's Day 1979, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress issued a message to compatriots in Taiwan in which it proclaimed the policy for the return of Taiwan and the reunification of the motherland. Soon afterward, we proposed an early exchange of mail, trade, air and shipping services and economic scientific and cultural exchanges between the mainland and Taiwan. Ten days ago, on the eve of National Day, Comrade Ye Jianying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, issued another statement elaborating on the policy for the return of Taiwan to the motherland to achieve peaceful reunification. His statement expressed the common will of our party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Our word is our bond. The people of Taiwan, our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese nationals residing abroad have done much to help reunify the country, and they are bound to respond warmly to the policy announced by Chairman Ye Jianying. People all over the world who are concerned about peace in the Far East are also glad to learn of this policy.

The question of Taiwan is entirely China's internal affair. It should be settled by the leaders and people on both sides of the strait. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party cooperated twice in history, to complete the Northern Expedition and conduct the war against Japanese aggression. This gave a strong impetus to our nation's progress. Why can we not have a third period of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to build a unified state? It is true that neither of the two previous cooperations lasted long, but fair-minded people all admit that the two unfortunate splits were not caused by the Communist Party. We do not wish to settle old accounts here. Let bygones be bygones! Let the past lessons help us to cooperate better in the future!

There is nothing in our present proposal that is unfair or should cause anxiety to the Taiwan side. If the Taiwan side is still worried about something, it may raise questions for study and settlement in the course of negotiations. It is understandable for a certain distrust to exist as a result of long-time separation. But if we do not come into contact and talk things over, how can we remove the barriers and build up mutual trust? If we do not solve this knotty problem and instead wear each other down in confrontation, how can we face Dr Sun Yat-sen and the martyrs since the 1911 revolution or face our compatriots on both sides of the strait and our descendants? The Communist Party will not retaliate like the Kuomintang did against us; the excesses of the "Great Cultural Revolution" will never be repeated. Here, I would like to tell the Taiwan authorities that not only has Dr Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum been repaired repeatedly, but the ancestral tombs in Fenghua have been repaired, too. The "Mei Lu" villa on Mount Lushan is well preserved and the family members and relatives of high-ranking Kuomintang officials are being properly looked after. "A tree may grow ten thousand feet high, but its leaves fall back to the roots." Does Mr Chiang Ching-kuo not love his natal land? Doesn't he want to have Mr Chiang Kai-shek's remains moved back and buried in the cemetery of the Chiang family in Fenghua?

In my capacity as a leading member of the Communist Party, I today invite Mr Chiang Ching-kuo, Mr Shieh Tung-ming, Mr Sun Yun-suan, Mr Tsiang Yien-si, Mr Kao Kuei-yuan, Mr Chiang Wei-kuo and Mr Lin Yang-kang, and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Mr Yen Chia-kan, Mr Chang Chun, Mr Ho Ying-chin, Mr Chen Li-fu, Mr Huang Chieh, Mr Chang Hsueh-liang and others, and personages in all walks of life in Taiwan to visit the mainland and their natal places. It would be good if they wanted to talk with us, but they are also warmly welcome if they do not want to talk with us for the time being. What have Mr Chiang Ching-kuo and the others and the compatriots in all walks of life in Taiwan to lose if they do this? Foreign aid is important, but what is most important, most reliable and most powerful is the great patriotic unity of the 1 billion people of our own country. Only those who rely on themselves are aided by heaven. No one comes to the aid of him who breaks the country's Great Wall, no matter what high-sounding words he uses. Dr Sun Yat-sen will rest in peace in the netherworld if we seek to understand and respect each other, work in long-term cooperation and stand together through storm and stress so that our ancient civilized nation can stride forward proudly in the world. Dr Sun Yat-sen raised the call "peace, struggle, save China." Why do we today not call, in a loud voice, "peace, struggle, build up China"? The great cause of reunifying the motherland peacefully and making the Chinese nation prosperous and strong depends on no more than taking the decision or a turning of the hand. Let us consider Dr Sun Yat-sen's teaching, "agreeing with the trend of world affairs and serving the urgent needs of the community," join hands and work together to create a new glorious page in the history of the Chinese nation!

Long live the great unity of the Chinese nation!

Eternal glory to the martyrs of the 1911 revolution!

Eternal glory to Dr Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary forerunner!

CSO: 4004/7

SPEECH AT PLAYWRITING FORUM (12 AND 13 FEBRUARY 1980)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 7-25

[Speech by Hu Yaobang]

> [Text] Editor's note: To meet the needs of the reading public, we carry in this issue the speech by Comrade Hu Yaobang delivered in February 1980 at a playwriting forum. In the speech, he expressed very important views on some problems of primary importance in literary and art work. For instance, he talked about the problems of realizing the superiority of the socialist system and the social sense of responsibility of literary and art workers and of correctly handling the relationship between praise and exposure. He also profoundly expounded the way to correctly carry out literary and art criticism and establish a literary and art contingent. In his speech, Comrade Hu Yaobang also fully affirmed the achievements scored in literary and art work since the party's third plenary session. At the same time, he convincingly criticized some shortcomings and mistakes in literary and art creation. In this highly principled speech, he discussed matters with people in a comradely way and on the basis of equality. This has set a good example for us in leading the literary and art work in the new historical period. Conscientiously studying Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech will undoubtedly be beneficial to strengthening the party's leadership over the literary and art field and the whole ideological front, further arousing the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses of literary and art workers and of ideological and theoretical workers, and promoting the prosperity and healthy development of socialist culture.

Comrades!

I have a few suggestions to put forward. They are not directives. Suggestions and directives are two different things. Directives are to be followed, but suggestions are subject to discussion and deliberation. Why aren't we able to rectify the practice of issuing arbitrary orders? One of the reasons is that some comrades confuse suggestions with directives. On many problems, particularly ideological problems. We must gradually seek consensus and solution through discussion and deliberation. The indiscriminate issuing of directives will not do.

I have eight suggestions to make.

First, the Purpose of This Meeting and the Hopes Pinned on It

This meeting is called a forum on playwriting. It is the most important meeting on literature and art work since the fourth congress of writers and artists. The party Central Committee believes that the fourth congress of writers and artists was of great significance. It cleared up a series of fundamental questions. But even before that congress had ended, the Central Committee already knew that there were some controversies. They mainly concerned two aspects: Some people had different opinions on the history and principles of literature and art work and on the question of the congress of writers and artists itself. Others had dissenting opinions on some contemporary works. Controversies are not bad. They usually force us to use our brains to study existing problems. What is to be done if there are differences of opinion? For some problems, we must encourage everyone to speak their minds and to continue discussions and solve the problem through literary and artistic practice. However, for general and major problems of principle directly related to the development of literature and art work, the lack of a general consensus will adversely affect our work.

Before the congress of writers and artists closed, we discussed with Comrades Zhou Yang and Zhu Muzhi two measures to be taken:

One was for the Central Committee to issue a document, and that was the "Circular of the CCP Central Committee on Seriously Studying and Implementing the Spirit of the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists." This document explicitly affirmed that the fourth congress of writers and artists was successful. The message Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered on behalf of the Central Committee spelled out the tasks of literature and art in our country in the new period. It correctly analyzed and estimated the conditions of the contingent of writers and artists, and further solved the problem of the relationship between literature and art and the people, and between literature and art and life. It also dealt with a series of problems such as how the party should lead literature and art and so forth. The document fully affirmed the achievements of literature and art work in the past 3 years. It pointed out that since the smashing of the "gang of four," the literary and art circles have made contributions and have been one sector which has scored great achievements. Indeed, this is a very high evaluation! The document also clearly pointed out that literature and art work must unswervingly persist in implementing the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," carry out democracy in art, persist in the "three not's," that is, not wielding the big stick, not hurling epithets and not capitalizing on the mistakes of others, and effectively guarantee the people's freedom to engage in literary and artistic creation and literary and artistic criticism. Recently, some comrades in the literary and art circles have continued to talk about a "lack of a feeling of security." I do not agree with such statements. The party Central Committee has repeatedly reiterated the implementation of the "double hundred principle." In the past 3 years, was there any occurrence of wielding the big stick? I am not saying that this has not happened in a few places. Nor am I saying that there is no one who would like to do that. But the Central Committee has not engaged in such a practice and it does not agree with such a practice. This attitude is very explicit. There are some controversies in some places and the situation is awkward. But this is not unique in literary and art work. There are also many dissenting opinions in propaganda work and on many academic and theoretical questions. Is it necessarily true that when there are controversies and dissenting opinions, there should be a lack of feeling of security? This view is not correct because it is not in line with reality. The document again affirmed and clarified the principle of leadership in literary and art work. This is what the third article in the document is all about. It says that the party's leadership in literary and art work must not go against objective reality and must not be dictated by the wishes of individuals. The document brought out specific demands concerning the importance of literature and art, the present tasks, and the orientation of literary and artistic creation. I hope all comrades in literary and art circles will seriously and repeatedly discuss and clarify these questions. Party members must firmly implement these principles, because Communist Party members must obey the decisions of the party Central Committee and implement them.

Another thing is: Concerning the differences of opinion on some problems in literature and art work, in literary and artistic creation and in individual works, we felt that the method of issuing a Central Committee circular was not proper, nor was extending the meeting of the congress of writers and artists. Therefore, we agreed that the best way was to call a forum and invite some comrades to exchange views. I suggested that the forum be held in December of last year, but Comrade Zhou Yang thought that more preparation was needed and that the forum should be held this year. Therefore, this forum was on the drawing board for a long time. We hope that the discussion at this forum will not be limited to the problems of playwriting. We also hope to exchange views on important questions of mutual interest in literary and artistic creation and arrive at a consensus on important matters of principle. This is the purpose of the forum and the hopes pinned on this meeting.

How well has this meeting proceeded so far? That I cannot say. Comrade He Jingzhi said that everyone thinks that it is not bad. There has indeed been a free expression of thought. Some comrades have said that there have been fairly unified views on some major problems of principle. Of course, this is good. If there has been no consensus on some problems, this does not matter. The sky will not fall just because a consensus has not been reached on ideological questions within a specific period. From our experience over the past 30 years, we know that we cannot be impatient with regard to ideological problems. If we become impatient, I will be finding your faults and you will be finding mine. Then there will be confusion. We are striving to arrive at unified thinking, but if this cannot be achieved at once, we must not be impatient. Impatience usually leads to trouble. We must still follow the Central Committee's document, which says that controversial questions in literature and art should be settled through full and free discussion and practice. Sometimes, superficially, the views seem unified and clear, but once a concrete problem is encountered, it again becomes muddled. Furthermore, new problems are bound to emerge in the course of practice.

Problems of ideology and consciousness on the literary and art front are like problems of ideology and consciousness in other sectors. They have their own laws of development, that is, from disunity to unity, to disunity again and then to a new unity; from unclear to clear, to unclear again and then to more clear. From disunity and incongruency, through the process of practice and discussion, consciousness becomes more deepgoing. It becomes more unified and congruent. As it develops, it becomes disunited and incongruent again. Later, unity and congruency occur. This process operates in a perpetual cycle and enables consciousness to develop to a higher level. This is the law of development of ideology. Comrades who lead literature and art work must know this law. However, the development of matter is always progressive. On the one hand, consciousness must undergo a process of development from disunity to unity. In that sense, we need not be impatient. On the other hand, all matters must progress and develop to a higher plane. In this sense, we are optimistic. When we try to solve the problems of ideology and consciousness in literature and art, first, we must not be impatient and we must fully explain our arguments; second, we must be optimistic and confident that truth will become clearer through debate. Therefore, a communist must not be an insensitive observer of life. He must never shirk his duty to facilitate the development of matter. In the field of literature and art, we must actively and effectively carry out the leadership function of the party in accordance with the objective laws in this field. Shouldn't this be a basic viewpoint in solving problems of ideology and consciousnees? Shouldn't it be a problem worthy of special attention in leading literature and art work? Comrades, please think about this.

Second, How Should We Look at Ourselves

Our party has always believed that the primary question in revolution is distinguishing between enemies and friends. The first sentence in the first article in volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" made it very clear right from the beginning: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of primary importance for the revolution." This seems to be common knowledge, but it is actually a basic question and general principle of Marxism. It is true for the democratic revolution as well as for the socialist revolution. The experience of our party over the past 60 years proves that the correct distinction between enemy and friend and the correct distinction and handling of the two contradictions of different natures is a basic question in revolution. When we made a clear distinction between enemy and friend, the revolution was victorious and our cause flourished. When the distinction between enemy and friend was blurred, the revolution failed and our cause suffered losses. Such a problem exists in the political line, foreign policy, and propaganda work, as well as in literary and artistic creation.

Our party's experience also shows that it is easy and commonplace to talk about the correct distinction between enemy and friend and the correct handling of the relationship between enemy and friend, but it is not at all easy to put it into practice. This issue was raised by Chairman Mao. But even he did not always handle this problem very well. Sometimes, especially in his old age, he did not analyze some problems clearly, did not really distinguish between enemy and friend, and did not handle this question really well. I myself committed mistakes in the problem of correctly distinguishing between enemy and friend. Then, how can each comrade guarantee that he will never make mistakes in this regard? I am afraid there are very few people in the whole party and among the cadres at all levels in the whole country who have never made any mistake on this question. The problem of distinguishing enemy and friend cannot be solved by book knowledge or by a few rules. It must be solved through repeated practice and repeated understanding and through study and investigation, and by accumulating a considerable amount of information. Moreover, in the different periods of history the concepts of friend and enemy have also been different. I am not saying this to reduce or take away the responsibility of leaders. We must say that when leaders make mistakes on this question, the results are very serious. I am only saying that it is very difficult to solve this problem. No one can be absolutely sure of not making mistakes. Here, the important thing is to be good at summing up historical experiences and to do our best to avoid making mistakes of severely transposing the enemy and ourselves, which we committed during the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Now, as we proceed with the four modernizations with one heart and one mind, does the problem of distinguishing between enemy and friend still exist? I think it is still a question we should never forget. Then, are there manifestations of the failure to distinguish between enemy and friend in our propaganda and literary and artistic creation? We must say that there are. For example, did we look at counterrevolutionary elements undermining socialism as good people? Yes, we did. And take another example: Did we treat our own people who made mistakes as irreconcilable enemies? We did. There were similar cases with regard to international questions. On different fronts, we must properly distinguish between enemy and friend among all kinds of people. Correctly handling this relationship is very difficult and mistakes can be made at any time. Therefore, under the new historical conditions, we must not forget to do a good job of distinguishing between the two kinds of contradictions. Each and every comrade must pay attention to this basic question.

I want to stress the question of how to look at ourselves. Here, I am not referring to ourselves as individuals. I mean ourselves in a broad sense, or the larger self in the sense of ourselves as distinguished from the enemies.

First, how should we look at the party that leads us and at ourselves? Is the Chinese Communist Party our very own party? The Communist Party is the force at the core leading our cause. How could it not be our own? Is our party really great and beloved? Our party has indeed made mistakes. Party organizations at all levels all have this or that big or small defect. Our party does have many members who lack qualifications, and a small number among them are really bad. In short: first, it has made mistakes; second, problems exist in the party; and third, there are members who do not measure up to qualifications and some of them are really bad. These things are all true. However, no matter how many shortcomings and mistakes of the party, two points must be affirmed: First, if it were not for our party, could the Chinese revolution have succeeded? The emancipation of the Chinese people and the founding of new China would not have been possible without our party. None of the parties and factions in the past was able to transform old China into new China. Only the CCP succeeded in the revolution. Second, who can lead our people to build the four modernizations and build China into a great socialist power. We cannot depend on other people or other parties.

We can only depend on the CCP for leadership. Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently said: We must persist in the leadership of the party and improve the party's leadership. Every comrade, including comrades in the literary and art circles, must have this basic premise in mind when looking at the party. We hope that we can correctly deal with this party. No matter how many shortcomings and mistakes this party has, it is still a great and beloved party.

Second, how should we correctly look at this society? Is this socialist country of ours under the dictatorship of the proletariat really superior? Should we be proud of it? This is another question all comrades must be clear about. Our country is very backward in production and culture. For 30 years we were not able to develop our economy and culture. What were the reasons for this? I think, first, there were historical reasons. The old society left us a very poor foundation and a heavy burden. The second reason was the sabotage and turmoil created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the 10 years. Third, we made mistakes in our policies. Citing the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" alone will not convince people. We have some policies that have been wrong all along. There were already some defects in some of our policies even before Lin Biao and the "gang of four" came to power. Fourth, some of our comrades, including myself, are not good at grasping production. They do not know or do not know enough about economic laws, and their knowledge of modern science and technology, management and administration is limited. Fifth, our system is defective. For example, how are we to carry out distribution according to work and the allocation of bonuses? After groping for 2 years, we are still unsure. Our country is backward both economically and culturally. Those who deny this are not real communists. But there is one point in which we are far more advanced than anyone else--we have eliminated the exploitative system and completely rooted out the phenomena of man eating man and man oppressing man. We must be fully proud of this fact. However, some of our comrades have forgotten and overlooked this basic fact. If we look at the good movies and novels of capitalist countries--not only at their form but, more importantly, at their content--we see that the merit of these movies and novels lies in their exposure of the exploitative nature of capitalist society. I seldom see movies. I cannot name the particularly good ones, but "Million Pounds" is not bad and neither is "The Wanderer." They reflect this point. It took us several decades to eliminate the exploitative system and to end the situation of being humiliated and discriminated against. Comrades, please do not forget this. Many young comrades do not understand this. We cannot blame them. Our old workers, old peasants, old professors, old scientists and old men of letters know this. For example, Comrade Xia Yan, who is present here, has very vivid impressions. Also, Comrade Cao Yu, who is with us here. His "Thunder and Rain" and "Sunrise" both portrayed the old oppressive system. We must repeatedly propagandize this point. Naturally, the method of propaganda should be one of seeking truth from facts and should be in accordance with logic and history, and not just be one of remembering past bitterness. We must not use stereotyped, generalized and formalistic methods. The propaganda on the basic difference between the systems of new and old China is the revelation of historical truth. Lenin said that truth is never harmed by repeating it hundreds and thousands of times.

Third, how should we look at the majority of our population who are engaged in physical labor or mental labor. For a long time, we had a mistaken opinion of intellectuals. We looked at that segment of the working people incorrectly. We distorted their image and called them the "stinking ninth category." As a result, our mental workers suffered a great injustice. After the smashing of the "gang of four," we rectified this mistaken view. Intellectuals in new China are also working people. They are mental workers and members of the working class. We have already made some achievements in correcting the mistaken ideas of the past and the mistaken methods that resulted from these ideas. However, there are still quite a few lingering questions. We must continue in our rectification and stop only when we have totally rectified our mistakes. I do not think this will be a problem. What I would like to stress here is that our comrades on the theoretical, propaganda, and literary and art fronts should never forget the people who engage in physical labor. There are two reasons for this: first, they constitute the great majority of our people; second, they were the main force of the revolution in the past and they are the main force for the four modernizations. Our intellectuals are a part of the working class and, thus, it goes without saying that they are also a part of the main force for the four modernizations. In fact, they are a particularly important, valuable backbone force. But we have too few intellectuals--only around 20 million. Our great army of physical workers still lacks education and culture. We used to talk about reeducation by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Looking at this now, it was too definitive. The intellectuals should learn from the peasants. That is correct. But why shouldn't the peasants learn from the mental workers as well? They should learn from each other! However, we mental workers must not think that because the idea of receiving reeducation is not entirely correct, we need not learn from the physical workers any more or that the physical workers are not worth learning from. On the contrary, the physical workers are in fact far better than us on many questions. They are worth learning from, and worthy of singing the praises of and portraying in our works. I recently saw the movie "Tear Stains." I think it portrayed very well the cadres in the rural areas and the peasants. The rough and ordinary workers and peasants, who make up 90 percent of our socialist motherland, are also the masters of our society. In the old society, the progressive writers could not portray them adequately. I remember Marx' saying that workers and peasants in capitalist countries are untapped forces. In socialist China, the power of the workers and peasants has been, or is being, fully developed and brought into play. Our literary and artistic works have the duty to vividly and accurately portray their life, work and sentiments.

Fourth, how should we look at our People's Liberation Army? Our army does have some shortcomings. Among the several million PLA personnel, there are a few bad ones. But overall, there are two facts about our army: First, they are indeed the most beloved people. The army was founded in 1927 and for several decades has fought under heavy fire and braved untold dangers. Without the army, there could not have been the glorious history of revolution and victories of the Chinese people. Our revolutionary history is inseparable from the PLA. Second, the achievement of our four modernizations mainly depends on their protection. Thus, they are also the most reliable people. They are the most beloved and the most reliable. They must occupy an important place in our propaganda work and in our literary and art works.

Fifth, how should we correctly look at Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought? In the past, some of our views concerning Chairman Mao were incorrect. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made Chairman Mao a god, made the works of Chairman Mao a bible and engaged in superstition. In doing this, they were actually opposing Chairman Mao, opposing Mao Zedong Thought, and practicing idealism and metaphysics. During those times, who would dare mention the shortcomings of Chairman Mao? They would say "one thousand times, no" and "ten thousand times, no." How can a person not have any shortcomings? Chairman Mao himself said at a meeting of 7,000 persons in 1962 that he had to be held responsible for some matters. Asserting that he made no mistakes is a mistaken view contrary to the basic ideology of our party. How much effort has been devoted to rectifying this mistaken view in the past 3 years! It used to be that when one said that Chairman Mao had some shortcomings, some people would say that the capitalist roaders were reappearing. At present, after education over the past few years, there are only a very few people who still hold that view. The thinking of people has been straightened out. But we must now pay attention to another side of the problem. We must absolutely not totally repudiate Chairman Mao. There are in fact some people who believe that Mao Zedong Thought is not effective anymore! Chairman Mao is a nuisance! We must pay attention to this. We must admit that although Chairman Mao had or made this or that shortcoming and mistake, we must still fully affirm that Chairman Mao's contribution was the greatest. There is not one person in the CCP who made greater contributions than he did. He made contributions to the people of all nationalities in China and to our party. Mao Zedong Thought is a science. It is the product of decades of experience in the revolutionary struggle of the CCP and the people of all nationalities in China. Mao Zedong Thought guided us to victory in our revolution. A series of its basic principles will likewise guide us to victory in the four modernizations. Among the works of Comrade Mao Zedong some are obsolete but many are not. As a scientific framework and a general truth, they are not obsolete. We must learn from the wisdom of the works of Comrade Mao Zedong and advance our cause. We can only repudiate the errors that ought to be repudiated, but we cannot repudiate science. We can only repudiate a person's mistakes, but we cannot repudiate his contributions to the cause and to science.

It is said that crises have appeared in the country--one is a crisis of conviction, the second a crisis of confidence and the third a crisis of trust. Comrades, I would like to discuss this with you. I do not know your views on this question. When the revolution suffers setbacks, it is not unusual for some people to experience ideological confusion and waver in their faith. If we are to talk about a crisis, there are some problems with these people themselves. We must strengthen our ideological work on these people. Is there indeed a crisis in the view of the broad masses of people with regard to the leadership of the party and our entire revolutionary cause? If there ever was a crisis, I think there was a great crisis in 1976, just before the smashing of the "gang of four." After the "gang of four" was smashed, we saved the party and the revolution, that is, we came out of the crisis. Of course, we might still suffer from the sequellae of this crisis now. Are we still facing a crisis now? We should not use the word crisis lightly. A crisis means being in an extremely precarious situation of near collapse. Is our party, our socialism and our Marxism in an extremely precarious situation? Are we nearing collapse? I do not believe this. I say that our party is not in any crisis. On the contrary, we have regained vigor! We are full of vigor! Our party, our country, our socialism and our Marxism are full of vigor. In our newspapers, we intentionally used headings like: spring has returned, spring comes to the earth. Spring has come! Then, can we say that our prestige has gone down or that it is lower than before? Yes. I do not think there is anything wrong with saying that. That is the truth. People have seen that our party has made mistakes. This should inspire our party organizations and our Central Committee to work hard. Why do we advocate improving party style and rectifying party discipline? Why did we also recently advocate improving party leadership? These measures were all brought forth because of the declining prestige of our party. The Central Committee believes that with our subjective hard work, the party will not only restore its prestige in a few years but will also gain even greater prestige than before! (applause) This, of course, is the goal we will strive for. It has not yet become a reality. So it does not matter whether or not you applaud. We believe that there are people with integrity and noble aspirations in our party! (applause) I agree with this applause. We do have many people of integrity who have noble aspirations. We will be able to reform our party. Some comrades say that we are in a crisis. Some of them might really think that way and might really be worried. This, too, does not matter. When people say that our party is in a state of crisis, what should we do? We must do positive work of persuasion, conduct some propaganda and exchange views with them. Another reliable method is to wait. To be good at waiting accords with Marxism. It is actually letting practice prove the point! We believe that after 3 years, there will be very few people who would say we are in a crisis. However, there is one precondition for this--we must not make any grave mistakes and we must rectify any mistakes we make.

The five points mentioned above are all closely related to the nature of our present society. Did you not say that literary and art works must portray the essence of society? If literary and art works in the period of socialism are divorced from or do not portray the essentials of socialism, then they cannot avoid various shortcomings and defects. What is the very essence of society? It is the internal law of development of society. If we want to portray this law accurately, we must not only portray the contradiction and struggle between new and old things, but must also portray the trend of its development and the force that takes the leading position in our new society. We are not saying that backward and ugly things should not be portrayed. Even backward and ugly things, as long as they are representative of a certain type and are typical, must be portrayed. However, generally speaking, if we only, or always, portray backward and ugly things, I do not think we are fully or accurately portraying the essence of our society. Therefore, it would be contrary to the reality of the whole society. The great forerunner of Chinese proletarian literature, Lu Xun, said in 1925: "Literature and art are the spark that comes from the national spirit. They are also the light that leads the national spirit forward." I think these two sentences are very interesting. Where did the spark at that time come from? I think it mainly came from the five factors that I mentioned earlier--the party, the socialist system, the people who engaged in physical and mental labor, the PLA and Marxism, and Mao Zedong Thought, which lead our cause forward. To reflect the spiritual spark of our country and people and to become the spiritual light leading our 900 million people to a higher spiritual plane, to higher aspirations, to higher revolutionary character and morals, and to push history forward are the issues we must pay attention to in literary and art creation.

Third, How Are We To Look at the Darker Side of Life in Our Society

Is there an ugly, darker or negative side in our present society? Party members and leaders must explicitly tell everyone: There are negative, unjust, unhealthy, unhappy, despicable and ugly things. All we are saying is that there are two sides of our society--the bright side and the dark side. While we see the dark side, we must not forget the bright side. We do have many bright, attractive and enchanting things. That is reality. That is the truth. Did you not talk of realism? I think that seeing the bright side while seeing the dark side is a realistic attitude. Which side is larger? I think this point is controversial! Here, we must make a concrete analysis. There are two things we must point out: First, generally speaking, the bright side is larger and it is still the leading force. This is based on looking at the whole country and the whole society. Of course, for some individuals, units or departments, the dark side might be larger and might be the major factor. Second, in our country, the dark side is, after all, illegal and temporary. The first point is that it is temporary, and the second is that it is illegal. It will definitely be abandoned and overcome by our party and people.

Then, what kind of dark side do we have in our society at present? To sum up, we can generally speak of two types of dark sides. Of course, the actual situation is very complicated. However, based on essential characteristics, we can roughly classify the two types of dark sides as those involving contradictions of different natures. The first type involves contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, or antagonistic contradictions. Examples of this are counterrevolutionary elements, sabotage elements, and murder, arson, sedition and going over to the enemy's side, or other counterrevolutionary destructive activities. What policies should our party and government take in dealing with such people and things? What principles must our literary and artistic works follow in portraying them? We must follow the principle of exposing and attacking them, struggling against them and eliminating them. Naturally, I do not mean eliminating them physically. It is mainly through reforming and struggling against these people and resorting to legal means that we eliminate such seamy social phenomena. Other seamy social phenomena include serious swindles, thefts, hooliganism and so forth. The contradictions between these sabotage activities and our society are antagonistic contradictions regardless of their social causes. We should likewise adopt methods such as reform and struggle as well as legal and economic means to eliminate these phenomena. According to the Marxist view, we should not blindly sympathize with or, in particular, support swindlers, hooligans and thieves who committed even less serious crimes. Marxists should not think that these people are employing proper means. Then why do we sympathize with the Indian "wanderer"? This requires a specific analysis. (Lazi) did not have anything to eat. His mother was sick in bed. She told him: There is bread there, go eat it! He looked and saw nothing and realized that his mother also did not have anything to eat. He went out on the street and stole a piece of bread, which he intended to give to his mother. But he was caught. He wanted to work but no one wanted him. That society deprived him of the right to work and right to labor. He was forced to live by stealing. We sympathize with him because we sympathize with his unfortunate social position and his unfortunate fate. Our society gives the people the right to work. It strives to create conditions for people to work and study. Of course, at present this problem has not been completely solved. However, some people refuse to work when they are asked to do so. They complain about poor conditions. If conditions are poor, they can strive to change them! Some leaders in charge of job placement do make serious mistakes. They can be removed. If these people refuse to take a job, give themselves up as hopeless, and then take to evil ways and refuse to change after repeated education, they are worse than (Lazi). Our attitude toward the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and the antagonistic contradictions must be to expose, criticize and attack until they are eliminated. There must be no equivocation on this matter.

Another type of contradiction involves the backward things among the people. This is another type of dark side. Examples of backwardness in ideology and morals include a lack of organizational discipline, individualism, liberalism, refusal to study, lying and so forth. We still have many backward things. We should expose backward things, but we must adopt the principle of education and criticism. Chairman Mao said: Wake people up and make them aware. It goes without saying, we must not look at backwardness as an antagonistic thing.

The most controversial issue today must be how to look at bureaucratism and special privileges. Do we have bureaucratism and special privileges in our country? We do. In some places, the situation is very serious. What type of contradiction is this? I think that as long as it has not gone to the extent of breaking laws, it is still in the category of contradictions among the people. Must we expose them? Of course, we must criticize them, or even use a bit of sarcasm in portraying them! We need to use satire in literature. Our party is very resolute and is taking measures to root out bureaucratism and special privileges. The party ardently hopes that comrades in the literary and art circles will take correct measures with us, and use literary and art works as a tool to expose and overcome bureaucratism and special privileges. This is an arduous struggle. We must do long-term, meticulous work. When we struggle against bureaucratism and special privileges, we advocate first making an analysis. There are two types of bureaucratism. One can be termed ordinary bureaucratism, meaning acting like an overlord, being divorced from reality and the masses, coveting comfort and luxury, not striving to improve, and never using one's brains in dealing with problems but only being good at handling them by issuing orders. Is that not a nuisance? I really think that it is. There is another type of serious bureaucratism. Chairman Mao called it "diehard bureaucratism." When it comes to diehard bureaucratism, comrades in the literary and art circles can use even sharper language. Prick them and make them feel pain! How do we analyze special privileges? Should we use the term "privileged elite"? Must we use the term "privileged class"? It is still justifiable to say that there are some privileged people in our party. But we must think twice before saying that our party is a privileged class. I do not think we can say that, because it is not true. A few years ago, our cadres were all termed big and small capitalist roaders. It was even said that a bourgeois class had been formed inside the party. All of us suffered from that. You people also suffered a great deal. We were labelled counterrevolutionary revisionist elements and capitalist roaders, and you were called the bourgeois reactionary authority and the "stinking ninth category." At that time, we could not help you and you could not help us. Must we repeat the practice of name calling of those years?

Another very important question is where bureaucratism and special privileges come from. We must study this problem clearly. Is it inherent in a socialist society? I do not agree with the opinion that bureaucratism and the privileged elite come from the socialist system itself. In fact, our CCP rose to power by fighting against special privileges and bureaucratism. Among the three big mountains that we toppled, one was bureaucrat-capitalism. Then, why is it that after we opposed other people's bureaucratic privileges, we ourselves succumbed to this disease? I think that the first reason was the remnant influence from the old society. Good things in society can be inherited; the same is true of bad things. This is called the contagiousness of society. Marx termed it the birthmark of the old society. There are even more marks in people's thinking. The second reason was that some of us appreciated those privileges, pursued them and caught those contagious diseases. Lenin said that after the victory of the revolution, some people think: the rulers of the old society had their chance to reap benefits and now it is my turn. The third reason was that the imperfections, defects and loopholes in our system enabled some people to take advantage of the system. In particular, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" greatly inflated feudal privileges and bureaucratism and gravely corrupted the minds of our cadres. In the 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," we have not been able to totally solve this problem. There have been numerous comments among the masses, and most of them are correct. But one comment is that bureaucratism is inherent in our system, that we will not be able to overcome it and even that ours is worse than capitalism's, as if capitalism does not have plenty of bureaucratism. How shall we look at this comment?

Our comrades will agree with us that there was a privileged class and bureaucratism in the feudal society. Does capitalist society have a privileged class and bureaucratism? We Marxists clearly point out that a privileged class and bureaucratism are not only inherent in a feudal society but are also inherent in a capitalist society. Marx in his "Eighteenth Brumarie of Louis Bonaparte" and Lenin in his "State and Revolution" pointed out that it was precisely the bourgeois class which effected an unprecedented development, perfection and consolidation of the state machinery, with bureaucracy and military apparatus as characteristics. This system was inherited from the feudal authoritarian system. In the era of imperialism, the state machinery of the bourgeois class was further strengthened. Its bureaucracy and military apparatus are "parasites" on the body of bourgeois society. They are parasites blocking the pores of life. Big and small representatives of the propertied classes obtain high positions and salaries in this bureaucracy and military establishment, enjoy various privileges, practice graft, and oppress and deceive the people. Therefore, whether it is a feudal or a capitalist society, the entire government machinery is a parasitic bureaucracy and military establishment. The government officials are nothing more than agents of the big landlords and capitalists, and champions and enforcers of the privileges of the exploitative classes. For this reason, Marx, Engels and Lenin stressed: The proletarian revolution must absolutely not take over the state machinery of the bourgeoisie as it is. It must break and destroy this machinery. We have overthrown and destroyed the feudal and bourgeois bureaucratic-military system and state machinery. But we must establish, maintain and consolidate our own state machinery for a long time. Moreover, the personnel of our state did not drop from the sky. They inevitably carry with them the feudal and bourgeois "special privileges" mentality and bad habits of bureaucratism. However, our state machinery is essentially different from that of the landlords and capitalists, and the broad masses of personnel in our government and state organs serve the people and work for the interests of the people on behalf of the people. After all, only a very few people are seriously contaminated with the "special privilege" mentality and bureaucratic practices. They do not constitute the essence and mainstream of our state power. Therefore, we must not say that our government organs are bureaucratic organs and equate our entire contingent of cadres with a privileged class and bureaucratism. Although, in one sense, officials in the capitalist society are more able, issue less directives, are more knowledgeable, attend less meetings, are more efficient and even have less of a bureaucratic air, we must never forget one thing—all regimes of the landlord and bourgeois classes are composed of bureaucratic privileged organs; all officials of capitalist countries serve the capitalists and defend the private ownership system. This is the nature of their bureaucratism. Even if they work hard, are very efficient and seem less bureaucratic, they do this to win the trust and support of the capitalists and to protect the interests of the bourgeois class. The "Communist Manifesto" said: The political organs of capitalist countries are merely executive committees running the common affairs of the entire bourgeois class. Lenin said that any government of the bourgeois class is only an economic office of the capitalists. Lenin bluntly pointed out that all officials of the bourgeois governments are watchdogs of the capitalists. Then, are there some relatively enlightened and farsighted people among the officials of the government of the feudal landlord class and the bourgeois class? Of course there are. For exemple, in the feudal society, there was Hai Rui and Judge Bao. They were honest, upright officials. It is wrong to deny their progressiveness. However, our literary and art works should not portray them as serving the people, nor picture them as representatives of the peasant class. Although they were somewhat progressive and somewhat enlightened, they could not transcend the limits of the landlord class. There should be specialized papers to discuss these problems.

Why is it that bureaucratism cannot be overcome immediately and might even exist for a long time to come? We must analyze this question. As I said a while ago, one reason is the influence of the ideology of the old society. Lenin said that if education is not developed and there are many illiterates, bureaucratism cannot be rooted out. The development of the economy and the perfection of the system is a long process. Our party is one in heart and mind with everyone, and it has a firm resolution and is taking effective measures to expose and overcome the practice of seeking special privileges and bureaucratism. It intends to cure these two stubborn diseases left over from the old society. But this cannot be done in one morning. We must conduct a tenacious struggle and work on this for a few years. We believe that the ugly features inherited from the old society will finally be overcome.

Fourth, Our Views and Works Must Be Able To Pass the Test of History

Workers in our party and government, responsible persons on all fronts, and writers and artists often must express their views. When we say something at home, it does not really have much influence. But views expressed publicly are equivalent to doing ideological work. They are bound to have some influence, and this is called the social effect. Social effects can be big or small, good or bad. Our theoretical circles, literary and art circles, and news and publishing circles specialize in ideological work. All our work, articles and reports have social influence and produce social effects.

On this problem, what lessons have we drawn from the past? One important lesson is that we simplified complicated things. As our comrades have said, one is simplification and two is crudeness. One manifestation of this is dichotomization. Things are simply divided into good and bad--one is either correct or incorrect. We must learn from the lessons of the past and refrain from dichotomization. Dichotomization only messes things up. I propose multidimensional classification--3 dimensions, 4 dimensions, even 7 or 8 dimensions. One dimension could be top grade works that are correct, educational and very moving. A second dimension could be those that are fairly correct, fairly beautiful and fairly good. A third dimension could be the ordinary and plain ones, or what we call low-grade products when referring to commodities. Still another dimension could be those that are a bit immature, not very successful and still need to be polished. What is the last dimension? It is the bad, poor and no good. Should I say that they are poisonous weeds? Comrades in the literary and art circles are very sensitive about this term. I would rather not use it. But poisonous weeds do exist objectively. We must have more ways of looking at works. Even dividing them into three classes of nine grades each will be no problem. You people are not the only ones who have many classes of products. In other work and on all fronts, products are also classified into several grades. This is true in industry and commerce, as well as in political, ideological and propaganda work.

The same is true even if we talk about an individual. The lifetime of a writer or a party cadre might be 30 to 50 years. He might produce top-grade, medium-grade or low-grade products at different times. Could there also be rejects? Marx and Engels themselves admitted that they had produced rubbish. Lenin admitted the same thing. Lu Xun said that some of his works during his younger days were very immature. Therefore, we must take the analytical point of view when looking at the life of a person. We must not attack only one point and ignore the rest. On the other hand, we must not only look at his top-grade products and say that all his works are the most beautiful and the best. In olden times there was a story as follows: There was a man named Zou Ji, who thought himself very handsome. He was very handsome. But another man called Lord Xu of the North City was even more handsome. Zou Ji asked his wife: How do I compare with Lord Xu. Is he more handsome? His wife said: You are more handsome. How can Lord Xu compare with you! Still uncertain, he asked his concubine, who said: You are handsome. You are more handsome than Lord Xu. He was still unsure, so he also asked his guest. The guest said: Xu is not as handsome as you are, Mr Zou. You are more handsome. Later, Lord Xu came to see him. He felt that he could not compare with Xu and was still worried. So he looked into a mirror. Then he knew that he was not nearly as handsome as Xu. That night, while lying in bed, he thought: Why did they all say good things to me? My wife said good words because she is biased, my concubine said good words because she is afraid of me, and my guest said good words because "he wants something from me." He told this story to King Wei of the State of Qi. His intent was to let the king know that he must beware. Many people are biased in favor of you, are afraid of you and want something from you. There is a great possibility that you are being hoodwinked. After the king of Qi heard this story, he issued an order saying that those people in his kingdom who criticized him to his face would receive the highest reward, those who did so on paper would receive the next highest reward, and those who did so on the streets would receive the lowest reward. Zou Ji not only had a clear understanding of himself but also helped the king of Qi to correct his mistakes. That was the reason the State of Qi was very strong at that time. This story was recorded in "Discourse on the Warring States--Zou Ji Admonishes the King of Qi To Seek Criticism."

Who are the ones to comment on our views? They must be the broad masses of people, the workers, peasants, soldiers, youths, old people, intellectuals and cadres. We must be able to pass the test of time and not just pass a test temporarily. Comrades, in testing whether a task was done well, whether a line or policy is good, or whether a work or an essay is good, we cannot look only at immediate conditions. We were fooled once--we were fooled during the Great Cultural Revolution. At that time, after an order was issued, the labels capitalist roader, reactionary authority and "stinking ninth category" went flying about everywhere. At that time, many people thought they were right. Many people were overthrown at one swoop. What is the situation now? Facts have proved that what they did was wrong. So, in testing something, we must not only look at it for 1 or 2 months. Some problems can only be clearly comprehended after a few years or even longer. In 1974, the dignity of the teacher was criticized. Some primary school pupils broke all the glass in their schools. Is it not true that some people supported this? Therefore, whether we want to negate or affirm a certain thing, our view must be able to pass the test of history. Our comrades must never be satisfied with temporary prestige. We must not hear only the praises of some people.

I would like to devote special attention here to the problem of how to look at our young people. Some comrades say that young people are good, and some say that young people are bad. I think both these views are extreme. Our party has always said that most young people are good, but that there are a few bad ones. Young people are lovable and by nature innocent, vigorous and our future. When people are young, generally speaking, they are immature and easily hoodwinked. Therefore, we should follow a correct line in youth work. We have to pay attention to the following two points: First, we must take good care of them and carefully nurture them. We must protect the great majority of young people, with the exception of those who bring disgrace to their group by violating the law and committing crimes. Second, we must guide young people correctly. We must show concern for them, like cultivating fresh flowers, but not engage in unprincipled flattery. We must not give in to the erroneous ideological tendencies and vulgar tastes of some young people. With regard to the problem of how to treat our young people, our work must pass the test of history and time.

We must have a strong faith in history. The judgment of history will be fair. Take Comrade Liu Shaoqi for example. The Central Committee has decided to rehabilitate him. He was not a renegade, traitor or scab. He was one of the most outstanding leaders of our party and state. On the contrary, Kang Sheng was a bad man. Our literary and art works must stand the test of time. A good piece of work will be able to pass the test of history. There have been many immortal works. Some good works, even if they were attacked and overlooked for a time, will eventually be rediscovered. Isn't it true that many good works written during the early period after liberation have been reintroduced! It is not possible to bury in oblivion really good things, but the poor ones will surely be eliminated. This is true for people and also for literary and artistic works. Therefore, the vitality of work does not depend on the judgment of a handful of people. It is determined by the majority of people. Whether a work has great vitality is not determined by the subjective wish or the recommendation of a minority. We must believe in the justice of history and the fairness of the people. We must correctly look at our own works and views.

I also want to touch on the question of how to judge whether a literary or artistic work is good. I do not agree with the practice of mechanically making one criterion the most important and making another secondary. I believe that a real work of art unifies politics and art to a very high degree; in other words, it must combine ideology and art in one whole. Good literary and art criticism must start from the integration of the two aspects and make an in-depth, meticulous analysis of the work. This question also exists for theoretical, political and scholarly works. Theoretical, political and scholarly works with real vitality contain not only profound reasoning but also rich and colorful literary style. Many works by Chairman Mao and Lu Xun are read and reread hundreds of times because they have such charm--they are works of art with a high ideological and scientific level.

Fifth, on Intervening in Life and Portraying Reality

This is a special problem in literary and artistic creation. There is now a great deal of discussion of this problem. We must clarify this question through discussion and arrive at a basically correct, uniform view. Literary and art creation must intervene in life. This is a slogan transplanted from the Soviet Union in the 1950's. Can we still use this slogan today? I think so, but the problem is how to understand it. The most important thing about many issues is not the slogan or concept itself, but how it is understood. If by intervening in life we mean that works of literature and art should portray real life more positively, that writers should take the correct standpoint and apply the correct viewpoint in analyzing life, exposing and criticizing old things and promoting the development of new things in order to inspire, educate and guide the broad masses of people to struggle for a better life, then it is very good. If we understand it in another way--to mean being divorced from the Marxist world view and the guidance of the correct line and policies of the party, negatively and lopsidedly exaggerating the darker side, making people lose confidence in real life, and using works of literature and art to "intervene" in life in this manner, then it is wrong. If we equate intervening in life with opposing the party, that is even more wrong.

The Marxist theory of life and art states--and the history of literature and art shows--that literary and art works must portray life realistically. But this reality must be the reality of art and the reality of life. Literary and art works must typify and epitomize the reality of life itself in order to be of ideological and artistic value. Real phenomena in life are varied, detailed and complicated. What sense would it make if works of literature and art only portrayed meaningless things and trivialities of everyday life? Writers are allowed to portray everyday life, but they should select things with strong social meaning in the everyday life of a person. There are more complicated things and things with strong social meaning in the everyday life of a person. Literary and art creation must rise from ordinary daily life to a plane of life which involves more complicated things and things with a strong social meaning. This is the first gradation. There are also differences of degree in the social meaning of a more complicated life. Take, for example, the problem of love. Generally speaking, love cannot be divorced from society. Literary and art works can portray love. To oppose this is wrong. We can even say that the portrayal of love is a perpetual subject, or theme, in literary and art works, because even after 10,000, 100,000 or 1 million years, as long as there is humankind, there will be love. But to say that love is the eternal theme of literary and art creation is not very appropriate, because the more important social life determines love, and great changes in social life determine changes in the themes of literary and artistic creation. Therefore, there must be a second gradation, that is, we must rise to a higher social life with a more significant and general meaning, to human relations, relations between classes, to the varied forms of life and struggle in the development of society, and to the inner world of all types of people, and then analyze and dissect them to discover the souls of different types of people. We can find the most noble, most beautiful things in them, but there are also decadent, vulgar and ugly things in some souls. We must discover the most noble and beautiful things and extol and sing their praises in order to inspire people with these good examples and make them imitate and learn from them. This is what Stalin meant when he said writers should become the architects of the human soul and strive to mold the most beautiful, most noble souls. We must also expose, dissect and oppose ugly and vulgar things and warn people against them, make a clean break with and eliminate them. This is what we often call the function of progressive literature, proletarian literature and socialist literature in uniting and educating people and reforming society. This is also what we always emphasize as the great significance and positive social effect of literary and art works.

In this sense, although we cannot say that praising and exposing constitute the whole task of literature and art, we must point out that praising and exposing are both necessary. There were many things worthy of praise in the old society, but there were also many things that had to be exposed. There are a great number of things in the new society which are worthy of praise and there are many things that have to be exposed. In the future communist society, there will be many more things to sing praises of, but there will still be things to be exposed, because these things are inherent and objectively exist in society.

Is it necessary that all works praise and expose at the same time? Will singing praises alone be all right? Why not? A work might portray only one character, one good character, or two characters both of whom are good. For example, "Brother and Sister Reclaiming Land" is a truly cheerful story. I saw "Mending the Pot" and "Beating the Gong" in Hunan. They were very good. They featured one aspect of our life. I remember that in 1964 or 1965, during a joint cultural performance with the army, many short numbers of some companies were very good. Thus, singing praises alone is all right. Can we expose only? I think that as long as the work is well written it will be all right. One comrade mentioned Mayakovsky's "Meeting an Addict." I think that our comic dialogue

"Jia Da Kong" compares with "Meeting an Addict." Mayakovsky wrote a stinging satire on the question of meetings. The comic dialogue satirized the people who do phoney things, exaggerate and talk emptily. Both are very good. It is all right for writers to just expose, but the problem lies in how they write their works. Is it all right to write just comedy? There are many happy incidents in real life. Why can't we write comedies! And can we write tragedies? Why not! We just have to be careful that tragedies do not always remain tragic and hopeless to the point of giving people an apocalyptic feeling, making them think that the end of mankind is near. If we were to give such an ending to a tragedy, it would be contrary to reality. This type of tragedy runs counter to the development of history and is therefore not realistic. During the Northern and Southern dynasties, a writer named Yu Xin wrote "Fu Lamenting Jiangnan." This has been popular from generation to generation. In its "foreword" there are these two lines: "The way of heaven is such that vicissitudes never end and things never develop in the opposite direction even when they become extreme." According to dialectics, things are bound to develop in the opposite direction when they become extreme. Since he had been a citizen of a conquered nation for more than 10 years, he was sick at heart. He thought that the fate of the Liang dynasty could never be changed. Therefore, he concluded that the whole process of history was that things never go in the opposite direction even if they become extreme. Such pessimism is wrong. Thus, comedy or tragedy is not a question of essence but one of literary and art form.

The basic points we must pay attention to are: First, we must not arbitrarily regard accidental things as artistic reality, because artistic reality should be typical reality and essential reality. Second, we must not exaggerate temporary things as unchanging and permanent ones. We should reflect the dialectics of historical development. I believe that our socialist writers should do so whether they write tragedies or comedies, whether they depict the bright or dark side of society. Only thus can they create fairly successful works. When writers in the old society satirized the ugly and decadent things of society, they tried their best to depict the universal truth even if they employed the method of artistic exaggeration. They reflected the substance of society and history. Only thus could they write successful works. "The Government Inspector" is an example. Gogol employed a method of artistic exaggeration to depict some ugly things and profoundly expose the official circles of czarist Russia. The readers could see that it was very real. This is typical reality, essential reality--not the random combination and exhibition of particular, partial and temporary ugly phenomena.

Here, I would like to cite a letter of Lenin's. In 1914, Lenin received the novel "The Legacy of Our Forefathers" from a friend. He became very angry after reading it, and said: "My dear friend, I have just read the new novel by (Venechenko) that you sent me. It was absolutely absurd. It is all nonsense! It was just an excessive putting together of all kinds of 'sensational news' and the combination of 'despicable practices,' 'syphillis,' and the illicit obscene act of blackmail by means of exposing the private affairs of others (and taking the sister of the robbery victim as mistress) with the plaintiff doctor! All these things are full of hysteria and strange ideas and the illusion of the theory of setting up his 'own' organization of prostitutes." Lenin also said: "'(Yanlunbao)' thinks that this novel is trying to imitate Dostoyevsky and that it is not without its good points. I think there was imitation, but it was the worst imitation of the worst Dostoyevsky. Of course, 'sensational news' as described by (Venechenko) exists in individual lives. But to put all these together in this manner means the further sensationalizing of sensational events to scare himself and his readers and to make himself and his readers 'psychotic.'" Lenin's words are very stinging and witty. I think our comrades should pay attention to this problem.

As to how to evaluate the achievement of our literary and artistic creation over the past 3 years, I will comment on the novels, movies and dramas of the past 3 years according to my personal opinion. I think we can say that, generally speaking, in the past 3 years movies, dramas and novels have all made great strides. Some comrades talk about an unprecedented flourishing. I agree with this view. In general, the literature and art over the past 3 years have produced very positive effects, particularly the works that vigorously exposed the wrongdoings of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," including criticizing them for seeking special privileges and perpetuating miscarriages of justice. I believe the majority of these works are good. They are the contribution of the literary and art circles to our people and have the effect of pushing history forward. The proliferation of works exposing Lin Biao and the "gang of four" at this time reflects the special characteristic of our time. There are also a great number of outstanding works singing the praises of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generations. But some of them were unsuccessful or lacked maturity, or shall we say, did not have a very good social effect. This is not at all strange! We have been doing political work for several decades and have made a great number of immature and wrong remarks. You people think in terms of image, but we think logically. Are the products of your thought 100 percent successful or 100 percent perfect? Make your own assessment. We have many relatively good things, but also many erroneous things. I myself have made many wrong remarks.

What works of literary and art creation over the past 3 years are undesirable, unsuccessful and without positive social effects? I do not read much. You must yourselves make a study. Two months ago, I used my time for my afternoon nap and browsed through "If Only I Were Real." I expressed some opinions concerning this piece at a meeting. Today, I will again have a heart-to-heart talk with the author and you comrades. No, I think "discuss" would be a better word—or should I say, your criticism is welcome. I think the author is talented and has a bright future. On the question of how to treat young writers, we must not make the mistakes that we made in the past. We must not be sarcastic toward them, much less attack them. On this question, I also made mistakes in regard to some young writers before the Great Cultural Revolution. At that time, those comrades were talented but their works were quite immature and needed some help. But our policy toward them was wrong. Now, they have come back and become genuine writers. If these writers who are now middle-aged mention in their works that at that time there was an old fellow who made mistakes on their question, I would agree, because this is the truth.

I do not think the drama "If I Were Real" is mature enough at this point. It has quite a few shortcomings. My opinion might not necessarily be correct. Why do I say that it is immature? It is because I feel that the whole environment of the characters is unreal and not typical, and does not represent the reality after the third plenary session. Old Zhang is the last positive character to appear in the drama. His portrayal is, of course, a good one. However, he seems like an outsider, a liberator. He even smacks of a savior. And then, the drama blindly sympathizes with characters with which we ought not to sympathize. Are there people like Li Xiaozhang? Yes. In this drama, the young people working in the countryside tell all kinds of lies in order to get back to the cities. They have vulgar tastes and ideas. All they ever think about is getting back to the cities. To do so, they do all kinds of bad things. This does not reflect the Chinese youths' mental attitude and their sense of distinguishing right and wrong. After thinking it over, our young people will not agree with this portrayal. Why should a swindler like Li Xiaozhang occur? The drama attributes him to the unhealthy work style of cadres and further sympathizes with the swindler. That is why we say that the drama is unsuccessful.

This drama has been staged for quite some time and I was told that the response had been varied. We must analyze this question. This drama might be well received by some young people, especially young people who want to return to the cities, or families with children working in the countryside. Some other people in the audience truly thought it necessary to expose the practice of seeking privileges in leadership organizations. Viewed from this angle, this drama has produced a social effect and played a good role. However, what kind of social effect will this drama produce if it is staged for a prolonged time in its present form? This problem is worth considering. We must conscientiously and profoundly study the question of how our literary and art works can more accurately criticize our shortcomings and play a better role in uniting and educating the people. Actually, many people have expressed varied opinions on this drama. Of course, their opinions are not necessarily correct. But some of them are worth paying attention to. We support literary and art works which correctly expose and criticize unhealthy tendencies among cadres of the party and state. At the same time, we hope that the comrade writers will raise their ideological and artistic levels. We also hope that those who are engaged in literary and art creation will study together and profoundly discuss the problem of how to correctly understand and profoundly reflect our new times so as to promote the flourishing of socialist literary and art creation. As far as this play is concerned, I think this is easy to do. After this discussion, if the writer feels that it is not successful and should be earnestly revised, he can boldly speak out: "If the play is not successfully revised, I think it should not be presented. It can be temporarily suspended." Units which have presented this play and propaganda departments can also voice their opinions in order patiently and genuinely to help the writer. They should not refrain from speaking simply because they do not want people to think that by raising their opinions they are wielding a big stick. Raising opinions and wielding a big stick are different things. We do not have to wield big sticks, but can hold comradely discussions and raise our level of ideology and art. We should hold ourselves responsible to the people and the four modernizations. I hear that the writer is ready to make changes in line with people's opinions. We hope he will do a good job.

I must repeat: We should not regard plays which are temporarily not presented and published as poisonous weeds. We should not spread such news and form a public opinion that all these works should be attacked. Comrades must know that when Marx wrote "Das Kapital," he spent more than 10 years and revised it more than 20 times. It is also said that some chapters of the "Resurrection" by Tolstoy were revised more than 20 times before it was published several years later. In history, there are many such examples.

Sixth, Our Literature Has a Wide Range of Subject Matters

Why should we talk about this? Because, although the second, third, fourth and fifth points did not come down with a big stick, they might be erroneously regarded as "rules." Some comrades think that now it is difficult to carry out tasks. They think it is like doing things in the enemy's camp. Perhaps some comrades will say that the range of subject matter has been narrowed, that there is not much to write about and that they must switch to other fields. Therefore, I must explain why we have a wide range of subject matter and make a list of them.

We have a wide range of subjects. The first reason for this is that our country is actually one of the greatest. The history of the United States is not as long as ours and the U.S. proletariat has not yet made any revolution. Although the Soviet Union is larger than China, its history is not as colorful as ours. Our country is engaged in a magnificent cause, more magnificent and greater than any other previous cause.

The second reason is that our revolutionary history is one of protracted, arduous and epic struggles. All major imperialist countries in the world have bullied us. Starting from the old democratic revolution, our revolution has lasted for more than a century.

The third reason is that part of our ancient culture is very precious and deserves to be carried on. Our modern culture is also colorful and part of it also deserves to be carried on.

The fourth reason is that China is a country with a vast territory, a large population and dozens of nationalities. Each nationality has its unique culture. Our life is rich and colorful, and our history is splendid. There are countless subjects which reflect our history and present life.

Which specific areas should we write more about?

First, all nationalities in China are making concerted efforts to achieve the four modernizations and this is an area which greatly deserves to be portrayed. Literary and art works should guide people on how to live and should advance ahead of life. We should describe how workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, cadres, young people and women of all nationalities, as well as the compatriots of Hong Kong and Macao and the Overseas Chinese, devote themselves to the four modernizations and the activities of their inner world. Our work focus has been shifted for more than a year. If we still cannot write some scripts, plays, films and novels to reflect the realistic life of the four modernizations in the first year of the 1980's, will all of us not be ashamed? Should we not worry? It is no use for us to worry. It is you who should be worrying. Therefore, you must first of all pay attention to the construction of the four modernizations and the brave march toward them. Should we expose bad things as well? We should. There are various forces, tendencies, erroneous ideas and acts which disrupt the four modernizations. When you write about the four modernizations, you can vigorously expose the erroneous ideas and acts which hinder them. During the war of national defense, Stalin read the play "Front-line" seven times. This drama praised some things and exposed others. It exposed (Geerluofu) [2047 3643 3157 1133] and (Kelikong) [1356 6849 4500]. There were several typical examples of backward people in the play, but they were not enemies. The writer portrayed them as obstacles in the defensive war. We too have many obstacles in the four modernizations. Do we have any (Kelikong's)? We do, but we call them (Jia Da Kong) [0250 1129 4500]. We must describe our principal force and the way in which we remove our obstacles and overcome backward ideas. For example, when we criticize privilege seeking, we should aim at removing the obstacles to the four modernizations. Only when we do so can we really reflect the greatest reality.

Second, we have a revolutionary history of nearly 60 years under the leadership of our party. This period of history is very colorful and moving. It can be divided into seven or eight stages: The first stage is the first great revolution from 1921 to 1927, when our party was founded and we took part in the Northern Expedition. In the northern expeditionary army, there was a "female student army." Some of our elderly sisters were heroines of the Northern Expedition. Has anyone written about the iron army of Ye Ting? That would be a good subject. The second stage was the 10 years of the Red Army and the agrarian revolutionary war from 1927 to 1937. Have we thoroughly explored all the subjects concerning the Red Army? I have repeatedly asked old comrades to write revolutionary memoirs on the struggle in the Jinggengshan Mountains; only 2,000 to 3,000 men who were in the Red Army are still living. The third stage was the war of resistance against Japan from 1937 to 1945. There were many grand and spectacular stories of struggle during that stage. When we wrote about Zhao Yiman, we were talking about resistance against Japan by united front forces. Some other works talked about the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army and the struggles between anti-Japanese bases and KMT-ruled areas. However, these are still inadequate and we must write more about them. The fourth stage was the war of liberation from 1945 to 1949. Do we have enough works on this era? We planned to write about the three great battles, but we have not done so. These were the greatest battles in Chinese history and great spectacles in the wars of world history. During the 4 years of the liberation war, hundreds of millions of people took part in the battles and eliminated 8 million of the enemy. This was almost a small-scale world war. During this period, Chairman Mao's military theories developed to a new height. The fifth stage was the 17 years after the founding of the PRC from 1949 to 1966. Many works have been written about this stage. However, the themes are not yet exhausted. The sixth stage was the 10 years from 1966 to 1976. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," many works have exposed things during these 10 years. Have they exposed enough? I think they can go more deeply and describe more typical examples. They should write even more about the examples of the broad masses of people who fought bravely against Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years. The seventh stage was the 3 years since we turned chaos into order and carried forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors and forged ahead into the future from 1976 up to now. The eighth stage starts from last year, when we shifted our work focus. In these 60 years, there are still many themes which have not been explored.

Third, the 80 years of the old democratic revolution from 1840 to 1919 is also an era that deserves to be portrayed since even less of it has been explored. We only have a few works such as "Lin Zexu" and the "The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895." There are still many important events and personalities we should describe.

Fourth, we have a history of several thousands of years. There are many stories and legends of the struggles of the working people and of their major changes and transformations. There are also many heroes, thinkers, politicians, military strategists, historians, scientists, artists and literary men who played their roles in history. We must make an historical assessment to inspire our thinking and enrich our historical experiences.

Among these four eras, we should give priority to current affairs, but it is not a disgrace to write about the past.

What we have already mentioned are themes which reflect China's history and realistic social life. There is an even wider range of themes which reflect life in foreign countries that we are familiar with and which reflect the contacts between China and other countries. These can be presented in the form of myths, fairy tales, fables, folk legends, science fiction and other forms that will raise the level of people's consciousness and educate them in aesthetics and give them wholesome recreation.

There is such a wide range of themes. How should we help writers become familiar with and portray themes which the writers like and which society needs? I suggest that we should adopt the following measures:

First, we should help writers plan and design their works. The Ministry of Culture, the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and its subordinate associations, and the cultural departments and literary and art associations at the provincial and municipal levels should hold forums like this one. Of course, literary and art creations are different from industrial undertakings. The former is spiritual production conveyed by means of images and requires individual labor. We cannot force literary and art workers to engage in a mechanical collective design and rigid planning. However, if leading comrades, comrades doing practical work, and literary and art workers can meet frequently, make suggestions on what to write and on how to familiarize themselves with life, discuss how to write, put forward their opinions on planning and provide opinions for writers to refer to, this will be beneficial.

Second, we must provide all sorts of historical material. For example, if a writer wants to write about the Northern Expedition, the agrarian revolutionary war, the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, how can he start without historical material? I suggest that we gradually establish reference rooms or artistic and literary creation reference rooms. Writers can borrow materials or read them in the reference rooms.

Third, the propaganda departments, cultural departments and other departments can systematically introduce some typical personalities, some real-life stories and some reference materials. In the past, the literary and artistic workers found these themselves but they ran into difficulties. Last year I suggested that the Central Committee and every province and municipality provide artists and writers with 300 or 500 themes for creation every year. These themes should include model workers, advanced collectives and some particularly moving stories.

The last method is that cultural departments, propaganda departments, the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and all associations should hold a meeting like this once a year. They should talk about the ideological problems of creation and exchange their creative experiences. This forum has been dragging on far too long. Similar meetings should be held frequently. Each meeting should discuss an important subject although the meeting need not be as long. We should have more contacts and more ideological exchanges.

Seventh, It Is Necessary To Train and Temper a Huge Army of Literary and Art Workers Which Dares To Think and Act and Is Undaunted by Repeated Setbacks

The requirement for this huge army can chiefly be summed up in eight characters which mean: daring to think and act and being undaunted by repeated setbacks. At present, I believe that these eight characters are the most precious things. How can we achieve the four modernizations, create an epoch of great prosperity for our country's literature and art work, and launch a great, arduous undertaking never before tackled by our predecessors if we do not dare to think and act and are not undaunted by repeated setbacks? Our present contingent is too small. It is not a huge army but a small army. It is smaller than our army of scientific workers and much smaller than our army of industrial and agricultural workers. Our contingent of literary and art works suffered great damage in the past decade. Some comrades died because of nature's law, but others were persecuted to death. For this reason, our party has to pledge that it will resolutely stop the practice of indiscriminately attacking literary and art works, exaggerating their defects and labelling writers as counterrevolutionaries. (warm applause) We have said that if a writer's works contain shortcomings and mistakes, we can hold discussions and help him. In no way should we call a defective creation counterrevolutionary. This opinion is not just mine. It was mentioned in document No 11 of the central authorities. Our contingent needs to be expanded. In particular, we should carefully bring up middle-aged and young writers. Cherishing and training middle-aged and young writers is a lofty duty of the party committees, propaganda and cultural departments, and literary and art organizations at all levels. We must pay attention to several points so that our writers grow up healthily: First, we should never wield the big stick. When other people wield the big stick, we should courageously protect those who are beaten with it. Second, we should not put people on a "sedan chair." We must not forget how Lin Biao and the "gang of four" harmed the young people in the past decade. If the "gang of four" had not pulled certain people over and put them on a "sedan chair," they probably would not have committed such serious crimes. Therefore, we should adopt the Marxist method in dealing with young people. Lu Xun said that neither the method of killing a person by discrediting him nor killing him with a stick should be used.

We also have to adopt a series of methods to enable our contingent of literary and art workers to grow up well.

The first method is to continuously liberate our minds, as suggested by Comrade Zhou Yang. I agree with him. For literary and art workers, liberating the mind means that they should solve the general problems concerning the ideological line and, in addition, go deep into the special spheres of literary and art creation. I see three points in this connection: First, they must have a fine ideological character, that is, they must be faithful to the people and uphold truth at all times. They will have a high ideological level when they have this ideological character. In ancient times, there was a writer named Lu Ji. In his "Wen Fu," he said that a writer should "see things clearly on all sides and have an immensely broad mind." In other words, when creating a work, a writer must stand at a very high ideological level and think about places very far away. Second, he must have the courage to create a unique style and should not imitate other writers, because imitation is senseless. Third, his creative thinking should develop along with history and he should not lag ideologically behind historical development. He should not stand still and ponder the same question over and over when millions upon millions of people are engaged in the four modernizations, viz, why was I labelled a rightist in 1957? He can write stories about the 1957 campaign against rightists, but he should not stay there ideologically and keep looking back in dismay. If he does not catch up with the times ideologically, he will fall behind.

Here I want to add that some cadres fear that the policies of the central authorities might change. What changes have taken place during the past 3 years? There have been no changes in the ideological and political lines. The policy of rehabilitation remains unchanged. So does the policy of distribution according to work and the agricultural policy. That is to say, there have been no fundamental changes. Of course, there are minor and isolated changes. Changes are made under two conditions: One condition is that our instructions were imperfect and were rectified and amended, and this leads to changes. The other condition is that circumstances have changed, work has made headway and matters have developed, thus bringing about changes. For many years we had the idea that there could not be changes. "Why are there changes in the documents of the central authorities?" "Why is the formulation different from that of last year?" Our thinking should develop along with the development of new conditions. It is wrong if we do not analyze and say that "there are numerous changes." For many years, some of our comrades have given up the habit of reading books and newspapers every day. They do not think about the changes in daily life and the development of the situation. Following the downfall of the "gang of four," they still remember the stereotypes of the past. They ask: "Why are the old problems no longer mentioned?" Conditions have changed. History has developed. Our undertakings also change with each passing day.

The second method is to train our contingent, pay special attention to helping middle-aged and young literary and art workers grow up well, and encourage all writers to learn some Marxist literary and art theories and develop these theories in practice. This involves study and development. Marxism was born more than a century ago. It contains the rich literary and art theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao. Because of historical development, some passages in Chairman Mao's literary and art theory do not suit the present situation very well. As a whole, Chairman Mao's literary and art theory is brilliant. Throwing it away will not do any good. In particular, his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on

Literature and Art" played a tremendous role in history. It still serves as a guide to our work. There was Premier Zhou's theory as well. Particularly after the liberation, he carried out and developed Chairman Mao's line and theory in literature and art. Lu Xun also put forward some incisive literary and art theories, in addition to his achievements in literary and art creation. An idea crossed my mind. Is it possible to ask Comrade Zhou Yang to take charge of the work of compiling a book dealing with the basic Marxist knowledge of literary and art theories for use as a textbook for middle school and university students and amateur literary and art workers? Such a book would be excellent essential material for helping new China's writers of the younger generation grow up.

The third method is to closely combine assiduous study with a willingness to plunge into the thick of life. We cannot accomplish anything in literature and art without paying the price of hard work. Du Fu, one of our greatest poets in history, said: "He who reads ten thousand books can write as eloquently as if God was with him." It was not until after I had read the report "Creative Writing by Guo Moruo" submitted by the Guo Moruo Study Society in Sichuan that I discovered that Comrade Guo Moruo was able to memorize "Qian Jia Shi," a collection of poems of the Tang and Song dynasties, "Three Hundred Poems of the Tang Dynasty" and "The Book of Odes" before he was 20. I remember Comrade Xia Yan once told me a story about Comrade Mao Tun. He said that Comrade Mao Tun had a thorough knowledge of the "Four Books," the "Five Classics" and "Zi Zhi Tong Jian," and "Jiu Tong" by the time he was 20. When he applied for a job at the Commercial Press and was asked a question on "Jiu Tong," he answered eloquently. Thus, unless we study and work hard when we are young, we will not be able to write anything good. We must study and be willing to plunge into the thick of life. In the past, we indiscriminately required everyone to stay at selected grassroots units. Today, this practice does not seem quite appropriate. However, the orientation of plunging into the thick of life is still correct. We must go into the midst of the workers and peasants, get to know them well and learn from them. We must also get in touch with all kinds of people, understand them and penetrate their inner worlds. We must combine learning Marxism-Leninism with learning our cultural heritage, and combine study with the practice of plunging into the thick of life. In this way we can continuously upgrade and temper our world outlook and improve the quality of our creative writing. This is a lifelong task which cannot be accomplished unless we work hard and set strict demands on ourselves.

The fourth method is to energetically promote literary and art review and continuously improve the quality of our literary and art criticism. Actually, literary and art review and literary and art criticism are more or less the same, only "review" sounds less intimidating. According to the Marxist viewpoint, criticism is a weapon that can help our comrades and our cause to press forward. It is the same as washing our face, paying attention to hygiene and taking nourishment. Several years ago, we made a mess of criticism and self-criticism inside the party, the evil effects of which still have not been thoroughly eliminated to this day. There are two correct methods: First, we must not wield the big stick; second, we must not put people on a "sedan chair." In other words, we must not only oppose outrageous criticism, or the intimidating tactics Mr Lu Xun referred to, but also refrain from inappropriate praise. However, we did use too many adverbs and adjectives when we praised a certain piece of work. In making literary and art reviews, we should strive to reason things out in order to enlighten the authors as well as the readers and expound Marxist literary and art theories in the process. We must oppose oversimplistic and crude criticism and guard against hypocritical self-criticism. At present, there is the following state of affairs inside our party: We criticize others inappropriately and are not wholehearted in making self-criticism. We must apply the two-point theory to ourselves as well as to others. We cannot admit the strong points, achievements and contributions without also admitting the weak points, mistakes and problems. Some comrades are wrong in their methods of criticism and self-criticism. By way of a joke, we can say that they have two incorrect mathematical equations. Toward others, they use the following method of addition: 1 + (-1) = 0. In this equation, 1 is good and (-1) is not good. When the bracket is cancelled, you get zero. Toward themselves, they use a method of subtraction: 1 - (-1) = 2. Neither of these equations reflect the truth. We must temper this contingent of ours with the method of literary and art review. We revolutionaries must temper ourselves. The more we temper ourselves, the tougher we become. We must not lose our revolutionary fighting will every time we hear some criticism. We must grow up through repeated tempering.

Eighth, a Few Last Words on Our Hopes

Our party reflects and represents the aspirations of the people of all nationalities throughout the country and has set for itself the great goal of achieving the four modernizations. Will this great goal ever change? No, we keep telling ourselves, it will not change because it is the people's wish and an historical trend. No one can resist and change something that belongs to the people and to history. At present, there are indeed some remnants of the "gang of four" and lunatics who want to match their strength with our party, thinking that our party is no good and that they are the only capable ones. Are they capable? They cannot even look after their own affairs, so how can they look after the affairs of state? (laughter) As far as this trend is concerned, our comrades must not shilly-shally and waver in their conviction. The idea of achieving the four modernizations has taken deep root in the hearts of our 1 billion people. We are positive that we are going to build China into a modern, powerful socialist country. (applause) Naturally, we will still encounter numerous unforeseen difficulties and problems.

Our fundamental goal is to greatly enhance our material and spiritual wealth. The central documents, including the previously mentioned document No 11 and our future party constitution, all say that we must work for two civilizations, material and spiritual. These two civilizations are interrelated. Material wealth and civilization are the foundation and source of spiritual wealth and civilization, and spiritual wealth and civilization in turn promote the growth of material wealth and civilization.

On the question of the relations between literature and art and politics, Comrade Zhou Yang discussed this the day before yesterday. Comrade Deng Xiaoping also pointed out in his report that we should no longer say that literature and art must serve politics and are subordinate to politics. However, this does not mean that literature and art can be divorced from politics, or that writers can lack a sense of responsibility toward political matters. We must discuss and study this question and then write articles to state the facts clearly.

We now refer to politics as the political goals and general political tasks of a historical period. Now that our political goals are affirmed, we have a blueprint for the future of our socialist motherland. There should be three peaks in our socialist spiritual civilization, namely, the peak of ideology and theory, the peak of science and technology, and the peak of literature and art. Unless we have scaled these three peaks, we cannot claim that we have achieved the four modernizations. In this sense, the 1980's mark the beginning of our march toward the four modernizations as well as the beginning of the march by our literary and art circles toward a new height.

We are advancing along a rugged and rough course. We have a violent storm blowing above our heads, a precipitous cliff beneath our feet, all kinds of burdens on our shoulders and wounds of one sort or another on our bodies. Can we successfully scale the heights of ideology and theory, science and technology, and literature and art? Will any one of us fall behind or desert? I cannot answer these questions. All I can say is that, in view of the historical lessons, our party will never send packing any comrade who is loyal to the party, to the people and to the great cause. (applause) We have a long way to go and our road is full of hardships and dangers. We must walk hand in hand, as Lenin once said. Comrades of literary and art circles and people who are fighting for the great cause of the four modernizations, let us march forward hand in hand with one heart!

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CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

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[Article by Xie Wen [6043 2429]]

[Text] Class struggle and the principal contradiction in socialist society are two important political and theoretical questions related to the fundamental interests of the party and the state. A correct understanding of these two questions is an important basis for our party's formulating its line, principles and policies. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was the greatest turning point in our party's history since the founding of the PRC. One of its most outstanding contributions was that it made a scientific analysis of these two questions. Since then, following the policies of the 3d plenary session, the whole party has continuously deepened, enriched and developed its understanding of these two questions, and at the 6th plenary session the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" was adopted, which made more scientific and more complete expositions and provisions on these two questions. This shows that our party has insisted on combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Every communist and revolutionary must understand and master the correct viewpoint on these two questions and use it to guide his actions. Otherwise, he will not be able to keep a clear head and avoid making mistakes. In order to have a better understanding of the scientific expositions of the resolution on class struggle and principal contradiction, a brief review on the progress of our party's understanding of these two questions would be of some help.

We have now all unanimously agreed that the party's eighth national congress held in September 1956 was a great success. With regard to class struggle and the principal contradiction, the congress pointed out that the socialist system had been basically established in our country. Although we had to continue fighting to complete the socialist transformation, to eliminate the system of exploitation and to further root out the counterrevolutionary remnants, the principal contradiction in our country was no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, but the contradiction between people's needs for a rapid development of the economy and culture and the backward state of economy and culture which could not satisfy the people's needs. The main task of the whole people was to concentrate their efforts on developing the socialist productive force and realizing the industrialization of the state so that the people's daily increasing material and cultural needs could be satisfied. Although there was still class struggle and it was necessary to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fundamental task was protecting and developing the productive force under the new production relations. Needless to say, these viewpoints were correct. They pointed out the way forward for the socialist cause in a new period. However, after 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong gradually deviated from these correct viewpoints and changed the correct formulations of the eighth national congress. He magnified and made absolute the idea of class struggle existing in a certain sphere of the socialist society and held that throughout the whole historical period of socialism, the bourgeoisie would continue to exist and would attempt to restore capitalism, so the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie would be the principal contradiction throughout the socialist society, and thus, all our work should "take class struggle as the key link." He even put forth such erroneous viewpoints as "the focal point is to struggle against those party members in power taking the capitalist road." Erroneous ideology is the source of erroneous actions. Guided by his erroneous theory in class struggle and the principal contradiction, Comrade Mao Zedong then initiated the "Great Cultural Revolution." This "Great Cultural Revolution," which was domestic turmoil, and the exploitation and sabotage of the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques were responsible for the severe disasters suffered by the party, the state and the people of all nationalities.

In October 1976, in accordance with the will of the party and the people, the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee smashed the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique, thus putting an end to the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Normally, the erroneous theory on class struggle and the principal contradiction should have been gradually rectified after that, but actually it was not. As it was pointed out in the resolution, this, "of course, was partly due to the fact that the political and ideological confusion created in the decade-long 'Cultural Revolution' could not be eliminated overnight, but it was also due to the errors committed by Comrade Hua Guofeng in his capacity as chairman of the CCP Central Committee due to his adherence to 'leftist' guiding ideology." On the questions of class struggle and the principal contradiction, such errors were expressions of persistence in Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous theories formulated in his later years. The 11th National Congress of the CCP convened in August 1977 played a positive role in exposing and repudiating the "gang of four" and mobilizing the whole party and whole people to build China into a powerful modern socialist state. However, owing to the limitations imposed by the historical conditions then and the influence of these mistakes, this congress reaffirmed the erroneous theories, policies and slogans of the "Great Cultural Revolution" instead of correcting them. Thus, during the 2 years after smashing the "gang of four" to the convention of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party and state advanced with great difficulties. This clearly shows that, in order to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, it is necessary to resolutely bring order out of chaos and restore the true color of Mao Zedong Thought by correcting the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years.

The trend of history is irresistible and truth will eventually defeat falsehood. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in December 1978 boldly took on the historical mission of setting to rights things which have been thrown into disorder and, while resolutely and thoroughly exposing and criticizing the crimes of the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, began to conscientiously and comprehensively correct the "leftist" errors of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and earlier periods. The communique of the 3d plenary session pointed out: "In our country, there still exist a small number of counterrevolutionaries and criminal offenders who are hostile to and try to sabotage our socialist modernizations. We must never relax the class struggle against them or weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses have, in the main, come to an end. From 1979, the focus of the party's work should be shifted to socialist modernization." Although class status and the principal contradiction in our country were not specifically mentioned here, this problem was actually solved. That is to say, we should shift the focus of work to socialist modernization and stop using the slogan "take class struggle as the key link." This is entirely different from the appraisal and judgment of the 11th national congress.

After the 3d plenary session, our party continued to study the questions of class struggle and the principal contradiction. Under the guidance of the spirit of this plenary session, some theoretical workers emancipated their minds and went further into these questions. They offered many good opinions. In his speech at a meeting in March 1979, to discuss principles of theoretical work, while expounding on the four basic principles, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also expounded on the questions of class struggle and the principal contradiction. This speech greatly developed the spirit of the communique of the 3d plenary session. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "We do not support the magnification of class struggle. We do not hold that a bourgeoisie class exists within the party, or that a new bourgeoisie or other exploiting classes will emerge within the socialist society after the exploiting classes and the conditions for exploitation have been eliminated." He clearly pointed out here, that in our country, both the exploiting classes and the conditions for exploitation had already been eliminated. Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said: "However, we must realize that under socialism, there are still offenders and other evildoers who do harm to our social order and new exploiters like grafters, embezzlers, profiteers and speculators. These cannot be completely eliminated even over a rather long period of time. The struggle against them is different from the struggle between classes in the past (for they cannot be an overt and complete class), but it is still class struggle in a special form, or a continuation of past class struggle under socialism, in a special form. We must exercise dictatorship over these antisocialist elements." In this respect, a new concept was put forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping after summing up historical experiences. That is, class struggle under socialism "is class struggle in a special form, or a continuation of past class struggle under socialism, in a special form." It tells us that attention should be paid to the specific characteristics of class struggle under socialism. Instead of using "new bourgeois elements," Comrade Deng Xiaoping used "new exploiters." According to Marx, bourgeois elements are those who exploit surplus value, the basis for which is the change of labor force into commodities and their exploitation through the hiring of labor. In our socialist society, though we cannot say that there is no one who exploits others through hiring labor, in most parts of the country it is very difficult to openly or secretly hire a large number of workers to run a factory or an enterprise. Although we cannot say that there are no such new bourgeois elements, it is difficult for them to emerge. However, there are quite a few people who, through various means, especially through making use of the loopholes in our state management system and the weak links of our work in all walks of life, engage in various exploitative activities, such as seeking private gains at public expense, smuggling and evading taxes, grafting, embezzling, profiteering and speculating, and so forth. It is more appropriate to call them "new exploiters" than "new bourgeois elements." Referring to the basic contradictions and principal contradiction in our society, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "As to the basic contradictions, I think it is better to follow what Comrade Mao Zedong said in his article 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.' Comrade Mao Zedong said, 'In socialist society the basic contradictions are still those between the production relations and the productive force and between the superstructure and the economic base.'" "Of course, by merely pointing out these basic contradictions, the problems are not completely solved. We must go deeper with concrete study. But in view of our practice over the past 20 years and more, it is appropriate to put the question in this way. In regard to the principal contradiction in this period, that is, the main problem or the main task for the whole party and people in the present period, as the third plenary session has already decided to shift the focus of work to socialist modernization, this problem has actually been solved. Our level of productive force is very low and is far from being able to satisfy the needs of the people and the state. This is the principal contradiction. And to solve this contradiction is the main task for us today." Comrade Deng Xiaoping tells us that we must not only see the basic contradictions but also the principal contradiction in each period. Only thus will we be able to set the main task for different periods.

Our level of understanding continues to rise. Until the convention of the second session of the Fifth NPC in June 1979, our party did not have a deep understanding of the questions of domestic class struggle and the principal contradiction. The report on the work of the government published in the name of Comrade Hua Guofeng had been fully discussed by the party Central Committee and was a continuation and development of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. In regard to the question of class struggle it pointed out: "Practice shows irrefutably that in our country (except for Taiwan) the feudal and capitalist systems of exploitation have been abolished and the system of small-scale production has been transformed, through appropriate and reasonable measures favored by the vast majority of the people, and that the socialist system, having undergone rigorous tests, has become firmly established. As classes, the landlords and the rich peasants have ceased to exist. For historical reasons, the capitalists in our country constitute a part of the people. Our government adopted a correct policy of buying them out and successfully transformed capitalist industry and commerce. The capitalists no longer exist as a class. After nearly 30 years of struggle and education, most members of these classes who are able to work, have been transformed into working people earning their own living in socialist society. The masters of our socialist society are the socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals and those other patriots who support socialism. There are contradictions of one sort or another among them but no conflict of fundamental interests, and the building and growth of socialism is to their common advantage." "Of course, there are still counterrevolutionaries and enemy agents, criminals and political degenerates who seriously disrupt socialist social order, and new exploiters such as grafters, embezzlers and speculators. Remnants of the 'gang of four' and of the old exploiting classes including the few unreformed landlords and rich peasants will persist in their reactionary stands and carry on antisocialist activities in the political and economic spheres. What is more, class struggle at home is closely connected with class struggle abroad. For these reasons, there will still be class enemies of all kinds in China for a long time to come, and we must exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over them. Although they are few in number, we must under no circumstances relax our vigilance or lower our guard. Within the ranks of the people, the influence of bourgeois and feudal ideologies will continue for a long time. In face of these influences, we must engage in long-term struggle and education. While carrying out the four modernizations, boosting our productive force and raising labor productivity, we must continue to wage class struggle economically, politically and ideologically in correct ways so that 'it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.'"

What merits attention here is that in this report, in analyzing the classes in our country, Taiwan was not included. It only referred to the mainland, where socialist transformation was carried out. On the mainland, since the feudal and capitalist systems have been abolished, the landlords, the rich peasants and the capitalists have ceased to exist as classes. This is, here, made clearer than before. Then, where are these people now? The report affirmed that most members of these classes who are able to work, have been transformed into working people earning their own living in socialist society. Thus, the exploiting classes have been eliminated and the social position and nature of their members have also changed.

While discussing this problem, some comrades asked is it too early to draw such a conclusion? Their reasoning is if we say the landlords, the rich peasants and the capitalists no longer exist as classes, are there still the peasants and the proletariat classes, which were their opposing classes? If the bourgeoisie has been eliminated, is it right to continue the dictatorship of the proletariat? As a matter of fact, this problem was solved by Stalin long ago. In his report "On the Draft Constitution of the USSR" made in 1936, when talking about the change of class structure in the USSR, Stalin pointed out that, under the conditions in which the bourgeoisie had been eliminated and the means of production had been transferred to the state, the working class could no longer be called the "proletariat." It had become an entirely new class, which had abolished the exploiting system, owning the means of production jointly with the whole people and was the leading force of the country. The Soviet peasantry too was no longer a class of small producers who were exploited by landlords, kulaks, merchants, profiteers and usurpers, but an entirely new collective-farm peasantry which was emancipated from exploitation and based its work and wealth on collective labor, and its economy on collective property. In our country, after the socialist transformation of the means of production was basically completed, there was also a fundamental change in the structure of social classes. The workers, being the opposite of the capitalist class, were no longer workers who sold manpower and who were exploited, but socialist workers who have freed themselves from being exploited, owning the means of production jointly with the whole people and become a leading force in the country. The peasants, being the opposite of the landlords and rich peasants, were no longer the peasants in the period of individual economy or the "land to the tiller" period, but socialist collective peasants who had emancipated themselves from exploitation and based their economy on collective means of production. The concept of "the people" is one which is defined by a specific historical category. It varied in content in different periods of development in our country. Before the completion of the socialist transformation, workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie came within the category of "the people." Yet, after the completion of the socialist transformation, especially in the present period, we should admit that there are no longer the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, and that the workers and the peasants are no longer the workers and peasants in the original sense. "The people," as mentioned in the resolution, comprise all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism and patriots who stand for the unification of the motherland. This is fundamentally different from the period before the socialist transformation. As to the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin pointed out long ago that it was not only to abolish all exploiting classes, but also the differences between all classes. Therefore, after the exploiting classes and systems are abolished, the dictatorship of the proletariat still cannot be abolished. The abolishment of the exploiting classes and systems is only the completion of a part, an important part, of the historical mission entrusted to the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is simultaneously entrusted with the task of abolishing the differences between classes. In a certain sense, this task is a more arduous one than the abolishment of the exploiting classes and systems and will take a longer time to fulfill. At the same time, we should stress that when saying the exploiting classes are abolished, we do not mean that there are no more class enemies in our society. The "five elements" and the "two remnants," mentioned in the report delivered at the second session of the Fifth NPC are class enemies in our society. They take a hostile attitude toward the socialist system and, under suitable conditions, they will collude with each other and become a group force to attack our socialist system, our state under the people's democratic dictatorship and our party. This is why we should exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over them. We should, under no circumstances, waver in adhering to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The domestic class struggle is inseparable from the class struggle in the outside world. At present, there are class struggles internationally. In the north, the Soviet social imperialists are bent on subjugating our country, and in the south, the Vietnamese regional hegemonists are frenziedly continuing their anti-Chinese activities. Both of them are hostile to our country. In some other countries, though having established friendly relations with our country, the reactionaries in their ruling class still persist in their anti-Chinese stand. Their intelligence agencies continue to collect intelligence on us or train their future agents in our country. Besides, we should also pay serious attention to the bourgeois way of life and ideology which they spread through various channels to corrode our minds and to corrupt our social values.

Referring to the principal contradiction, the report of the second session of the Fifth NPC pointed out: "The present level of our productive force is very low and falls far short of the needs of the people and the country. The realization of the four modernizations by the end of the century, the raising of our present low level of productivity to that befitting a modern nation and the consequent transformation of those parts of our present production relations and superstructure which hamper modernization and the eradication of all old habits detrimental to it--this constitutes the principal contradiction to be resolved, the central task to be performed, by our entire people at the present stage. To perform this central task, we must persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat and in class struggle. But class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our country. In waging class struggle we must center it on, and serve the central task of, socialist modernization." This is identical with what Comrade Deng Xiaoping said at the meeting to discuss principles of theoretical work. The only difference is that it adds, that waging class struggle must center around the realization of the four modernizations and that those of our present production relations and superstructure which hamper the development of the productive force should be transformed. At the same time, it points out more clearly that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction.

At the rally to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PRC in 1979, Comrade Ye Jianying further pointed out, in his report delivered on behalf of the party Central Committee, that class struggle exists in a certain sphere. He said: "As classes, the exploiting classes in our country no longer exist, but class struggle continues to exist within a certain sphere." Some people ask, "Since the exploiting classes no longer exist as classes, why is there still class struggle?" Comrade Deng Xiaoping furnished an answer to this question in his report "On the Present Situation and Tasks" delivered in January 1980. He said: "These two aspects are all objective facts. Although we cannot say that all our present struggles against various counterrevolutionaries, evildoers and criminals who commit serious offenses and their gangs are class struggles, they are component parts of a class struggle."

Our understanding continued to develop with the progress of the situation. In December 1980, according to the new situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further developed the question of class struggle and the principal contradiction when he gave a speech at the central work conference. One of the most important points was to call our attention to "those who desire to see the world plunged into chaos." He pointed out now, in some places, a handful of people who desire to see the world plunged into chaos are using the method used in the "Great Cultural Revolution" to stir up new trouble. Some of them even clamor to launch a second "Great Cultural Revolution." In some places, a small minority of young people who went to support the construction of the border areas have stirred up new trouble; some illegal organizations and publications under the control of a handful of bad elements have emerged; some antiparty and antisocialist opinions have been openly published; some reactionary leaflets have been distributed and political rumors have been spread; the remnants of the "gang of four" have continued to make trouble. In some places, even such offenses as murder and arson, setting off explosions, committing robberies and thefts and rape, and abducting women to force them to engage in prostitution and the procuring of prostitutes have often occurred, and such criminal activities as smuggling and evading taxes, speculating and profiteering, offering and taking bribes, perverting justice for a bribe, drug trafficking and taking, and so forth have become more serious. Besides, serious violation of laws and discipline have often occurred, such as, revealing or selling state secrets, running counter to regulations by randomly giving awards, driving up prices to disrupt the market, and so forth. We must not take all this lightly and lower our guard. Some of these phenomena are the result of the activities of the counterrevolutionaries, some are the result of the counterattacks of the remnants of the "gang of four," some are the result of the sabotage of those who desire to see the world plunged into chaos, some are the result of the old practices of the remnants of the exploiting classes, and some are the result of the serious corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas. The nature of these phenomena, some of them belong to the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy and the others, to a certain extent are expression of class struggle among the people. This shows that, although class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society, it really exists and cannot be taken lightly. If we fail to take resolute measures in dealing with the above-mentioned problems, which are different in nature, and solve them promptly and in appropriate ways, they will continue to spread and will do serious harm to the political situation of stability and unity. Lacking a sufficient understanding of the gravity of these problems, some comrades have not taken strong measures against them or have even paid no attention to them. In this report, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave us a clear and definite answer: there is the influence and reflection of class struggle within the people. Because of the corrosive influence of feudal and bourgeois ideas, some contradictions among the people are reflections of class struggle to some extent. But we should not regard all contradictions among the people as reflections of class struggle, for it only exists within certain limits. This is different from what was stated in the past.

After these analyses, it is easier for us to understand the viewpoint of class struggle and the principal contradiction set forth in the resolution. We can also see that the exposition of these two problems by the resolution is a brilliant crystallization of the wisdom of the whole party and the whole people since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and a summary of the experience and lessons of our party and state over the past 20 years and more. Now let us see how the resolution expounded on these two problems.

On the principal contradiction, the resolution pointed out: "After socialist transformation was fundamentally completed, the principal contradiction our country has had to resolve is that between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of social production. It was imperative that the focus of party and government work be shifted to socialist modernization centering on economic construction and that the people's material and cultural life be gradually improved by means of an immense expansion of the production force. In the final analysis, the mistake we made in the past was that we failed to persevere in making this strategic shift. We must never deviate from this focus, except in the event of large-scale invasion by a foreign enemy (and even then, it will still be necessary to carry on such economic construction as wartime conditions require and permit). All our party work must be subordinated to and serve this central task--economic construction." Obviously, the basic spirit of this exposition on the principal contradiction is identical with what Comrade Deng Xiaoping said at the meeting to discuss principles of theoretical work and also with the formulation of the second session of the Fifth NPC. It is also identical with the formulation of the party's eighth national congress. This is an entirely correct formulation which is in conformity with the basic law of socialist society.

On the question of class struggle, the resolution pointed out: "Class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction, since the exploiters have been eliminated as classes. However, owing to certain domestic factors and influences from abroad, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions. It is necessary to oppose both the view that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out." This analysis and policy is also in conformity with the realities in our country and is very correct.

Some people ask: What does "within certain limits" mean, and why should we say this? The resolution pointed out: "We must correctly understand that there are diverse social contradictions in Chinese society which do not fall within the scope of class struggle." This means that in our society, there exist various contradictions and most of them do not fall within the scope of class struggle. Only a small part of these contradictions are within the scope of class struggle or are expressions of class struggle. This is also what "within certain limits" means. If we do not say this, it will be difficult for us to change the old idea which advocates that contradictions are ubiquitous at any time and in all matters. Without changing such an idea, although we say that the principal contradiction is not class struggle, the mistake of enlarging the scope of class struggle will be hard to avoid in our practical work. Some people suggested that the "certain limits" should be made more clear with a line drawn to show where class struggle does exist and where it does not. Obviously it is hard for anyone to do so, because things are different in different places. For example, there are much greater influences of bourgeois ideas in those places near Hong Kong and Macao than in other places in our country. How can we draw a line and set a framework for all localities to follow? What is important is to make concrete analysis of the concrete conditions, time and places, and then raise the problem that needs to be solved. Some comrades ask: In "class struggle may even grow acute under certain conditions," what does "certain conditions" refer to? We should say that it is also difficult to make rigid stipulations in this respect, that is, to state clearly under what conditions it can grow acute and under what conditions it cannot. This is because the domestic and international economic and political situation is always changing. As an example, last year some senior middle schools launched election campaigns. This was originally not a serious matter. But if correct policy was not adopted and the illegal publications and organizations arising from the campaigns were legalized, such election campaigns would have been launched everywhere and, as in the "Great Cultural Revolution," it would have led our society into another great disorder. The wording of "within certain limits" and "under certain conditions" is highly principled and flexible. At the same time, it is also very appropriate. We must be good at understanding and grasping it. If everything needs to be rigidly stipulated by the central authorities, it would show that we are far too lazy. The essence of these two formulations are precisely that they require us to use our brains and make concrete analyses of concrete problems. We must not keep ourselves in a state of extreme nervousness as we did before, and we should, under no circumstances, lower our guard and become careless. We must be careful in dealing with social and political contradictions. As an ant's nest can even destroy a dike, should we not be more careful? In short, we must take correct and appropriate methods in handling problems of class struggle, oppose both the view that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out. Only thus can the situation of stability and unity be guaranteed and socialist modernization be promoted.

To sum up, over the past 20 years and more from the party's eighth national congress to the 3d and the 6th plenary sessions of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have followed a zigzag course in understanding the problem of class struggle and the principal contradiction. In this tortuous course we had our bitter and costly experience and lessons. The lessons are dear, yet not in vain. We have finally scientifically understood the question of class struggle and the principal contradiction under socialist conditions and thus established a solid and reliable theoretical foundation for socialist modernization with a higher degree of democracy and civilization. This was hard-won. We must treasure this fruit, study it, grasp it and apply it in our practice. Meanwhile, we must continue to regard it as a science and continue the study of it, and in line with the new development of social practice, continue to enrich and perfect our understanding of it.

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UPHOLD THE IDEOLOGICAL LINE OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

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[Article by Li Renlin [2621 0354 2651]]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" is a great Marxist document full of the spirit of seeking truth from facts. The period from the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, which started to bring order out of chaos in an overall manner, to the 6th plenary session, which approved this "resolution," marked the restoration and carrying forward of our party's fine tradition of seeking truth from facts. Seeking truth from facts is the pith and soul of Mao Zedong Thought. Whenever our party adheres to the principle of seeking truth from facts, its revolutionary cause succeeds and makes progress; otherwise, it suffers setbacks and losses. So long as we adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, we will be able to continuously boost the socialist modernization cause of our country.

I

Seeking truth from facts, first of all, requires us to proceed from objective reality in doing everything and to make decisions on our work policies in accordance with actual conditions.

Whether one proceeds from objective reality or proceeds from subjective imagination or from "books" is the distinction between a materialist and an idealist. In the course of leading China's revolution and in fighting subjectivism and dogmatism, which had inflicted great losses on the revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly emphasized the tremendous significance of proceeding from reality in everything and of integrating theory with practice. He pointed out, "Making decisions on work policies in accordance with actual conditions is the most basic work method that every communist should always bear in mind." He gravely criticized the subjectivism and dogmatism that cut theory off from practice and called them a great enemy of the Communist Party and an indication of the lack of pure party spirit. For decades, it was precisely by adhering to proceeding from reality in formulating the correct lines and policies during various historical periods, that our party led the cause of our country's revolution and construction from victory to victory. It was also during that period that we enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism and brought into being the great Mao Zedong Thought. Moreover, the results of an examination of our party's historical mistakes have shown that the basic cause for these mistakes was our failure to proceed from objective reality and seek truth from facts, so that we divorced subjectivity from objectivity and cognition from practice.

In carrying out the party's policies and the directives issued from above, every comrade should also adhere to proceeding from reality to suit measures to the local conditions at the time. Only by doing so can he be said to be adopting an active attitude of being responsible to the party and the people and can he turn the party's policies and the directives issued from above into the actual actions of the broad masses. This is especially true when the directives from above do not entirely conform to the actual conditions in his unit or his locality, or when the actual conditions there have changed. At that time, he should pay more attention to following the principle of seeking truth from facts and apply the principle flexibly to suit the actual conditions. I have a deep understanding of this from my personal experience. After the breakout of the encirclement in the central plains, an act which shocked the whole nation in July 1946, in order to coordinate with the operation of the principal force against the enemy in the central plains, the party committee of the northeastern Hubei military area sent me to lead the Jianghan detachment back to the Dahong Mountains and Tongbai Mountains to carry out guerrilla war there according to the directive of the CCP Central Committee. In the beginning, I failed to take the changes in objective conditions into account and planned to exploit the experience gained during the war of resistance against Japan to rebuild and reestablish a number of small base areas. For this purpose, I left two companies along the way and told them to carry out guerrilla war separately. But as soon as the enemy found that our detachment had crossed to the eastern bank of the Xiang River, he rushed 40,000 troops of the regular army and peace preservation corps to encircle and attack us day and night continuously. Thus the two companies were soon destroyed separately by the enemy. Through 3 months of arduous fighting, we won quite a few battles, but the situation grew more and more serious, and for a time we lost contact with the higher authorities. At this juncture, we had to determine without hesitation whether and how we should carry out the higher authorities' directive on waging guerrilla war in the Dahong Mountains and the Tongbai Mountains. The leading comrades of the detachment conscientiously summed up the experiences and lessons drawn from the fighting in the past period and concluded after an analysis that the characteristics of the situation at that time were: 1) great disparity between the strength of the enemy and ourselves; 2) after our army had broken out of the encirclement, the democratic regimes we had set up during the war of resistance against Japan had been destroyed by the enemy, and having lost its bases, our detachment faced great difficulties; and 3) after we crossed the Xiang River, we had fulfilled our task assigned by the higher authorities by pinning down and attracting a large number of enemy troops and by coordinating with the fighting of the principal forces. At that time the principal forces of the enemy were concentrated in the areas north of the Changjiang River with weak military strength left in the areas to the south. Based on these characteristics of the situation, we realized that if we mechanically followed the old directive of the higher authorities and continued to apply the old methods we had used during the war of resistance against Japan, we would be pinned down in these areas as if imprisoned, and we might lose both the areas and our detachments. If we moved south of the Changjiang River, we would have a large space for maneuvering and would be able to wage guerrilla war on a larger scale. This would not only be more favorable for preserving our strength but would also enable us to achieve our goal of pinning down enemy troops. Therefore, the party committee of the detachment resolutely decided to move across the Changjiang River. Just as we expected, after we crossed the river, a good situation soon developed and we had a new opportunity. Later, we reported this to the higher authorities and were highly praised for our active attitude in carrying out flexibly the directive of the higher authorities issued by the Central China Office of the Central Committee and the party committee and military commands of the northeastern Hubei district. It was their opinion that this "flexible, resolute and courageous action will surely deal great blows to the enemy."

Our aim in emphasizing proceeding from reality is to implement better the party's policies and the directives of the higher authorities and to do revolutionary work better. This is a fundamental principle. By no means are we allowed to use proceeding from reality as a pretext for acting on our own and for not conscientiously carrying out the party's policies and the directives of the higher authorities. As a communist, one should be highly conscious and should firmly observe discipline in carrying out the party's policies and the directives of the higher authorities. No one is allowed to publicly oppose or feign compliance in public but oppose in private these policies and directives. Nevertheless, in carrying them out, one should closely proceed from the reality in his area and in his unit. These are two aspects of one problem. We should, first, resolutely carry them out, and second, find ways to carry them out better. We should never fail to correctly handle the dialectical relationship between the two aspects.

Since the third plenary session, the CCP Central Committee has formulated correct policies. In doing so, it has already taken into account the various conditions all over the country that differ in thousands of ways. Meanwhile, it encourages all localities to bring up problems in the light of their respective conditions and to solve them. Under the guidance of the correct line of the third plenary session, we are certain to achieve better results in all our work so long as we persist in proceeding from reality, suiting measures to local conditions, giving play to our strong points and avoiding our weak points.

II

The "resolution" tells us that, whether in the period of the new democratic revolution or of the socialist revolution and construction, we should emphatically analyze the particular and complicated conditions in our country under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in order to chart a correct path that suits China's conditions. This is the key to success or failure. This method of making an intensive study of the particularity of the contradiction and of making a concrete analysis of concrete conditions can be applied in all our work.

For many years, a conspicuous problem in building up the Capital Construction Engineering Corps has been how to build it up well by paying special attention to the characteristics of the corps under the guidance of the general principle for building up the people's army so as to make them give full play to the role of a shock brigade in socialist construction.

The Capital Construction Engineering Corps is a new corps organized and developed to meet the needs of developing the cause of our country's socialist construction. The construction policy of "combining labor with military affairs, being able both to work and fight, and regarding construction as the main operation of the corps," formulated by the CCP Central Committee, indicates the characteristics of the corps in a concentrated manner. A good deal of debate has occurred within our corps on how to build this corps well by proceeding from these characteristics. The focal point of the debate is whether we should adhere to the principle of regarding construction as the main operation and how to adhere to it. For a time, owing to their lack of understanding of the nature and tasks of this corps, and in addition, owing to the influence of the leftist ideology such as "taking class struggle as the key link" and the criticism of the "theory of productive forces," some comrades doubted and even opposed this principle. They held that everything should be done the same way as combat troops. To achieve this they threw the production command system into confusion and dismissed quite a few technical personnel. For a time, this tendency seriously obstructed the building of the corps and the corps' construction work. There were also a few comrades who denied that this corps was PLA in nature. They held that this corps should follow the ways of local enterprises and they overlooked the overall construction work and the corps' military and civil political quality. To counter these tendencies, the Party Committee of the Capital Construction Engineering Corps, under the benevolent guidance of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission of the Central Committee, proceeded closely from the reality in the corps, conscientiously studied ways to handle the dialectically unified relationship between the universality and particularity of contradictions and repeatedly unified thinking and summed up experience. Gradually the leading groups at all levels gained a clear understanding that the Capital Construction Engineering Corps, as a part of the PLA, must persist in the party's absolute leadership over the troops, adhere to Comrade Mao Zedong's thoughts and principles on building a revolutionary army, carry out the unified orders and regulations of the army, carry on our army's fine traditions, strengthen political and ideological work, and improve the troops' work style and discipline. If we divorce ourselves from these universal principles for the people's army, we will not be able to build this corps well. However, the implementation of the above principles must by no means be a mechanical word-for-word implementation. It should be based on the characteristics of the Capital Construction Engineering Corps, with construction work as their main task, and all their work should be centered on construction to ensure the fulfillment of construction tasks. To achieve this aim, we should respect the leadership of the departments concerned of the State Council and the local party committees, vigorously strive to master construction knowledge and technology, modestly learn from the good experience and work style of the civil construction enterprises and continuously raise our construction capability so as to build our corps into a vital shock brigade on the capital construction front. In the past few years, through making investigations and studies and summing up experiences in diverse respects, we have gradually found a series of measures and methods that suit the characteristics of the troops. For example, we have organized the troops in a relatively flexible structure instead of a uniform one. According to the principle of centralizing and unifying leadership and assigning administrative responsibility at various levels, the scale of a unit, the number of personnel and its structure vary according to the needs of the task. Concerning political work, we emphasize that it should be integrated with construction work, and we have adopted 15 concrete measures such as, political work should serve construction work and the work posts of the political cadres are mainly in the construction sites. In providing cadres for the units, we have proposed formation of leading groups at all levels composed of those who know construction work, those who know how to command troops and those who know how to do political work according to the party's policy. In conformity with the CCP Central Committee's requirements for making the cadre ranks revolutionary, better educated, professional and younger, we are gradually changing our cadre structure and increasing the proportion of technical cadres in it. Concerning administration and management, we have formulated 10 concrete measures that closely relate to the administration of construction. Concerning the training of the troops, we stress the soldiers' study of production techniques and cadres' study of production management. Concerning economic management, while teaching the soldiers and cadres to fix in their minds the thought of serving the people and to develop a communist attitude toward labor to make more contributions to the state, we also emphasize doing things conscientiously according to economic laws, and emphasize the establishment of responsibility systems so as to combine economic results, economic responsibility and economic interests and so as to mete out material rewards and change the state of affairs of "eating out of the same big pot." Though these measures and methods are not perfect, they suit the characteristics of the corps and the objective reality and are, therefore, effective in promoting the building up and the construction work of the corps.

As the "resolution" points out, "Comrade Mao Zedong further elaborated the law of the unity of opposites, the nucleus of Marxist dialectics. He indicated that we should not only study the universality of the contradiction in objective existence, but more important, we should study the particularity of contradiction, and we should resolve contradictions which are different in nature by different methods." These words touched our hearts when we learned of this viewpoint, which combines study with our practice in building up the Capital Construction Engineering Corps. In building the four modernizations today, people at all levels are faced with a series of major theoretical and practical issues. Their solutions cannot be found readymade in books, nor can we entirely rely on the higher authorities to provide us with readymade solutions of these problems. We can only find the concrete methods for their solution by adhering to the dialectics of universality and particularity and combining the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the major policies of the CCP Central Committee with the practice in our own unit.

III

In persisting in seeking truth from facts, it is necessary to overcome two wrong tendencies: One is manifested in overanxiousness for achievement and impetuous and rash advance going beyond the limits of the objective conditions, as in the high targets and huge projects in industrial construction, the premature transition to communism and the "transition through poverty." Obviously, this is the opposite of seeking truth from facts. Another is to feel helpless in the face of reality and fail to do what can be done if an effort is made. This is also the opposite of seeking truth from facts. As the "resolution" points out, while summarizing the experience and lessons of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong showed great profundity in expounding and enriching the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics. He stressed that the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge is the dynamic revolutionary theory of reflection and that full scope should be given to man's conscious dynamic role, which is based on and conforms with objective reality. Today, we are building the four socialist modernizations in a huge country with a great population and backward economic foundation, and we are faced with many difficulties. Nevertheless, we should adopt a positive attitude to energetically overcome them and strive for victory.

In the past few years, our corps has encountered many difficulties in implementing the policy of readjustment of the national economy. Along with the reduction of capital construction investment, some capital construction projects have been suspended and quite a few of our units are idle. Under such conditions, a few comrades have taken a passive attitude toward the readjustment policy. They only see the side of retreat but fail to see the side where advances are being made. They have exaggerated the difficulties and asserted that during the period of readjustment, the Capital Construction Engineering Corps can do nothing. They have even called the slogan "the Capital Construction Engineering Corps forges ahead in the course of readjustment" a leftist tendency. They believe that the lower the targets of their tasks the better, that the less work they do every day the better, and that they should feel at ease and justified in receiving compensation for being idle, because they have said that this conforms to seeking truth from facts. To counter these views, the leaders of the corps have gone to other units, the departments and commissions concerned in the State Council and various provinces and municipalities to gain an understanding of the situation, so that they can get to know sufficiently well the prospects for their tasks and the orientation of their readjustment during the readjustment period. Then they have repeatedly analyzed the situation, unified their understanding and emphatically made clear the following points:
1) The readjustment is a major decision of the CCP Central Committee, and it is not a passive policy of retreat but a positive policy of forging ahead. It is aimed at developing the national economy. The purpose of a partial and temporary retreat is to make a greater advance. We should adopt an active attitude toward readjustment. 2) With capital construction being reduced, we can still find work to do only if we look hard for it, for the adjustment does not mean to retreat in all directions. In some places there is retreat, but in other places there is advance. Some projects have been suspended, but some new projects have been started. Some industrial construction projects have been suspended, but projects of civil housing, municipal facilities and education and research construction have started and will be started. Therefore, so long as we promptly understand and adapt ourselves to this situation, it is possible for us to fulfill more tasks. 3) The key for the corps to forge ahead during the readjustment is to fix in its mind the spirit of being highly responsible to the people and countering difficulties in making advances. Of course, we are not going to fix high targets that are beyond the limits of objective conditions. Nevertheless, the present problem is that some units of the corps fail to give full play to their construction capacity and there is still a great deal of potential to tap. We should be aware not only of the fact that some construction units are idle because of shortage of tasks, but also of the fact that in many places there are still construction tasks for which enough people cannot be found. It is precisely because our country is in difficulties that we should redouble our efforts to do more work and consciously share the difficulties of the country by

contributing more to the country. Since the party committee unified its understanding, we have adopted a series of measures. We have reduced the number of personnel in the corps. In accordance with the needs of the readjustment of the national economy, we have shifted some units that were engaged in heavy industry construction projects to light industry, civil housing and higher education institute construction projects while vigorously trying to find tasks by every possible means. We have set up an independent accounting system throughout the corps so as to make every unit responsible for its own profits and losses. We have intensified economic management and increased economic results. We have energetically stepped up political work, training and education to raise the military and civil political quality and the technical standard of the corps. As we have aroused the enthusiasm of all personnel in diverse respects, we have achieved a production increase in the years of readjustment despite the reduction in the number of our personnel. Over the past 2 years, the construction and installation units completed 5.8 percent more projects in 1979 than in 1978 and 4.8 percent more in 1980 than in 1979, although they had reduced their personnel by 20 percent. The quality of their work improved remarkably. The net profits of these units totaled more than 83 million yuan in 1980, and they handed over 20 million yuan of it to the state.

Practice has once more taught us that proceeding from reality and respecting objective conditions by no means signifies being apprehensive of and helpless in the face of difficulties. Our emphasis on seeking truth from facts is aimed at correctly understanding the world so as to reform the world. Therefore, we should not distort the idea of seeking truth from facts by arguing in favor of the ideas of inertia upheld by cowards and sluggards. We often see cases of units which have nearly the same objective conditions but which differ greatly in the results they achieve in their construction and production, because the mental attitudes of their cadres and soldiers, particularly of their leading groups, differ and the efforts they make differ. Indeed, the results depend on the efforts people make on a given material basis.

Our party should forever adhere to Comrade Mao Zedong's ideological line of seeking truth from facts. In order to adhere to seeking truth from facts, the most basic thing for every comrade is to have a correct world outlook and methodology. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is both a scientific world outlook and a scientific methodology. We should respond to the call of the sixth plenary session and conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, especially its philosophy, so as to make our minds and work conform with science. We should carry on the party's fine tradition of criticism and self-criticism and, while reforming the objective world, incessantly reform our subjective world. We should also strive to go deep into reality to learn from the masses. In short, as long as we always adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, unify our minds, rally closely around the party Central Committee and work bravely and creatively, our four modernizations will surely prosper.

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WHY IS IT THAT MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT DOES NOT INCLUDE THE ERRORS MADE BY MAO ZEDONG IN HIS LATER YEARS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 36-38

[Article by Ma Qibin [7456 7871 1755] and Chen Dengcai [7115 4098 2088]]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" pointed out: "We must make a distinction between Mao Zedong Thought, a scientific theory formed and tested over a long period of time, and the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years." Why is it that Mao Zedong Thought does not include the errors he made in his later years? We can achieve an understanding from the following points:

1. Mao Zedong Thought is the product of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China. It is the theoretical synthesis of China's unique experience in its protracted revolution made by the Chinese communists with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative, in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. This synthesis has gradually formed and developed into a scientific system of guidelines befitting China's conditions. Lenin said: "Marxism requires of us a strictly exact and objectively verifiable analysis of class relationships and of the concrete features peculiar to each historical situation." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 24, p 23). The policies analyzed and adopted by Comrade Mao Zedong during the democratic revolution and the transition from new democracy to socialism and at numerous crucial moments in history, not only conformed to the demands of Marxism but also to actual conditions in China. Therefore, they were correct and could withstand the test. In contrast, the errors made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years were not the correct embodiment of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the actual conditions in China. After the establishment of the socialist system in China, the principal contradiction within the country was no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie but between the demand of the people for rapid economic and cultural development and the existing state of social production which fell short of the needs of the people. The "eighth congress" of the party had correctly analyzed this and pointed out the orientation for the development of our socialist cause and the construction of our party. However, Comrade Mao Zedong deviated from the resolution of the "eighth congress" and said, "The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the contradiction between the socialist road and the capitalist road, these no doubt are the principal contradictions in our

society at present." This was divorced from actual conditions in China and ran counter to Marxism. From then on, Comrade Mao Zedong's errors in theory and practice regarding class struggle in socialist society became more and more serious. During the socialist education campaign, he advocated putting the stress on rectifying the party persons in power taking the capitalist road. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," he said that capitalist roaders within the party had formed a so-called bourgeois headquarters inside the Central Committee. These erroneous theses were incorporated into the "theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" in which one class would overthrow another. Therefore, the resolution has pointed out that these erroneous "leftist" theses, upon which Comrade Mao Zedong based himself in initiating the "Great Cultural Revolution," were "obviously inconsistent with the system of Mao Zedong Thought, which is the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. These theses must be thoroughly distinguished from Mao Zedong Thought." ("Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC") These erroneous things are not the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China and they naturally cannot be included in the scientific Mao Zedong Thought, which has been tested for a long time in history.

2. Mao Zedong Thought is the summary of the correct theoretical principles and experiences of the Chinese revolution confirmed by practice. Comrade Mao said: There is only one kind of true theory, and "that is theory drawn from objective reality and then verified by objective reality." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 819) As a scientific theory, Mao Zedong Thought is the theoretical synthesis of the unique experience of the revolutionary struggle carried out by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Practical experience is the basis of theory and theory is the synthesis (or summary) of practical experience. The scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought is the summation of the correct theoretical principles of the Chinese revolution confirmed by practice and the objective truth which has been tested for a long time. The theories of Comrade Mao Zedong on the new democratic revolution, socialist revolution and construction, the building of the revolutionary army and military strategy, political and ideological work and cultural work and party building, and the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought or the stand, viewpoint and method embodied in these theses, are of universal significance and provide us with invaluable guidance. These boil down to three basic points. They are: seeking truth from facts, adhering to the mass line and relying on our own efforts. The summation of all these correct principles has been confirmed by practice and has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism. These scientific theories, which scientifically synthesized both the positive and negative aspects of the historical experiences of our party in leading the revolution and construction of the Chinese people for more than half a century, are the rational knowledge of the essence of things and correctly reflect the objective law governing the Chinese revolution and construction. They are the scientific achievements of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with actual conditions in China. As everybody knows, our party had taken a winding road and had suffered setbacks and defeats in the process of leading the Chinese revolution and construction. However, the party and Comrade Mao Zedong had not only been good at summing up the negative aspects of their experiences from the setbacks and defeats, but had also been good at drawing on past experiences, learning a

lesson from them and unremittingly developing their own correct theoretical principles. Comrade Mao Zedong constantly exhorted us: "Error is often the precursor of what is correct." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 803) Lenin also said: "Marxists who have made a mistake, and are making an analysis of their mistake, will help the working class to find the true road." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, pp 313-314) The emergence, growth and development of the scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought have scientifically summed up both the positive as well as negative aspects of the experiences of our party. Therefore, it can become the scientific guiding ideology of our party and the correct guideline for unifying the action of the whole party. However, as a scientific theory, Mao Zedong Thought definitely does not mean gathering together the correct things as well as the erroneous things of Comrade Mao Zedong. We should regard Comrade Mao Zedong as the representative of the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese communists. The errors made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years were neither the scientific abstraction of the essence of things nor the correct reflection of the objective law governing the Chinese revolution and construction. Therefore, they do not belong in unifying the thinking of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. As a result, they cannot become the scientific guiding ideology of our party or the correct guide for unifying the action of the whole party. Therefore, the theoretical viewpoints, situation analysis and political slogans made by Comrade Mao Zedong which have been proven by practice to be incorrect, and the erroneous policies and principles he adopted, are as a matter of course not included in the scientific theory of the Mao Zedong Thought. Naturally, Comrade Mao Zedong had also done correct things in his later years. For example, his outline of the strategy of the three worlds has increasingly been verified as correct in the struggle of the international united front against hegemony. It should belong to the correct theoretical principles of our party and become a part of the scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought. In the past, a view was prevalent which regarded Mao Zedong Thought as the aggregation of all the ideas and sayings of Mao Zedong himself. This view is not scientific, because there are correct aspects as well as erroneous aspects in Comrade Mao Zedong's personal ideas. Only the summation of theoretical principles and experiences which have been proven by practice to be correct should be upheld, and things which have been proven by practice to be wrong should be discarded. Based on this scientific definition of Mao Zedong Thought, the resolution has summed up the theoretical principles and experiences of the Chinese revolution which have been confirmed by practice to be correct. This is the correct conclusion arrived at from a scientific analysis of Comrade Mao Zedong's life as well as the scientific thesis reached by carrying out a conscientious summing up of the entire history of our party in the past. It embodied this ideological principle of upholding truth and rectifying error in our party. Mao Zedong Thought has emerged and established itself in the process of upholding what is correct and rectifying what is wrong. Upholding truth and rectifying error is the basic stand of dialectical materialism of our party. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the CCP Central Committee has upheld this basic stand, resolutely corrected the errors made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years and overcome the erroneous "two whatever's" policy which appeared after the smashing of the "gang of four," so that the scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought and the correct policies of the party could be restored and developed under the new situation.

3. Mao Zedong Thought has emerged and developed in the collective struggle of the party and the people. It not only reflects the wisdom and ability of Comrade Mao Zedong, but also the wisdom and ability of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries such as Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De. However, it takes Comrade Mao Zedong as its chief representative. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: Mao Zedong Thought "is a kind of theory which can only be created by the representatives of the Chinese proletariat, and the most outstanding and greatest among them is Comrade Mao Zedong." ("On the Party") In the long years of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong has represented the correct orientation of the Chinese people. He is "the person who pointed out the truth, upheld the truth and gave play to the truth." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 335) Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong became the representative of advanced ideas in this historical period of the Chinese revolution, and Mao Zedong Thought, which embodied the collective wisdom of our party, was generally accepted as the guiding ideology by the whole party. This was an inevitable historical development. The resolution pointed out: "Many outstanding leaders of our party made important contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought, and they are synthesized in the scientific works of Comrade Mao Zedong." This thesis conforms to the actual situation. Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific works are the record of the great triumphant struggle of the Chinese people under the leadership of our party and also the brilliant crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese communists with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative. However, Comrade Mao Zedong began to get arrogant in his later years. He gradually divorced himself from practice and from the masses, acted more and more arbitrarily and subjectively, and increasingly put himself above the CCP Central Committee. This steadily weakened and even undermined the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the party and the country. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," his personal leadership characterized by "leftist" errors in fact replaced the collective leadership of the CCP Central Committee and the cult of Mao Zedong was pushed to a frenetical degree. Therefore, during this period, Comrade Mao Zedong was not as good as before at giving play to and centralizing the collective wisdom of the party and the people. Naturally, for a time before the "Great Cultural Revolution" and during the initiation of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the CCP Central Committee not only did not prevent and correct the errors gradually made by Comrade Mao Zedong but also accepted and endorsed some of his erroneous advocations. The CCP Central Committee should also be held responsible in this respect, but Comrade Mao Zedong should bear the chief responsibility. Therefore, these erroneous theses which transgressed the Marxist and socialist principles made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years could not be called the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the party. These erroneous things were neither the inevitable product of the collective struggle of the party and the people nor the positive result of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with actual conditions in China. They caused great misfortune to the party, the state and the people of various nationalities and culminated in the "Great Cultural Revolution," a disaster which led to 10 years of internal disorder.

The resolution has made a realistic and appropriate assessment of the achievements and errors of Comrade Mao Zedong. As a scientific theory, Mao Zedong Thought, like the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, is an extremely thorough and precise revolutionary teaching. If we negate Mao Zedong Thought because of the errors he made in his later years, we will be completely wrong. On the other hand, if we uphold the errors made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years and adopt the "two whatever's" policy, we will also be completely wrong. Therefore, it is imperative for us to make a clear distinction between the scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought and the errors he made in his later years. We must neither diminish nor exaggerate the errors of Comrade Mao Zedong. What is more, we must not go to the extent of negating the achievements of Comrade Mao Zedong or negating Mao Zedong Thought. The resolution has made a realistic assessment of the achievements and errors of Comrade Mao Zedong and clearly pointed out that they were the errors of a great proletarian revolutionary. We hold that only by making this kind of distinction can we correctly uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought in the new Long March of socialist modernization, keep on enriching the theory of our party and guarantee that our cause will continue to advance along the scientific course of Marxism-Leninism.

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STRIVE TO BRING POPULATION GROWTH UNDER CONTROL

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[Article by Liu Zheng [0491 6927]]

[Text] One year has passed since the publication of the "open letter from the CCP Central Committee to all members of the CCP and the Communist Youth League concerning the control of population growth in our country." Last year, the vast number of party members, league members and cadres, actively responding to the call of the perty Central Committee, achieved encouraging results in the work of birth control. The natural growth rate of the population has been kept to around 12 per 1,000, although the number of people of marriageable and childbearing age has been increasing. However, there are still two problems concerning the understanding of the control of population growth which need to be solved in good time; otherwise, they will hinder the smooth progress of birth control.

I

The population problem will automatically be resolved if the economy is developed. Such an idea is, we think, extremely one-sided.

The population problem is the problem of whether population growth suits economic development. Fundamentally speaking, there are only two ways of solving the population problem in our country: one is to develop the social productive forces as fast as possible, modernize the national economy, increase material wealth and various social service facilities, and correspondingly promote the cultural and educational cause; the other is to bring population growth under control in a planned way, while adhering to objective laws.

Undoubtedly, primary importance must be attached to economic construction. Over the past 32 years since the founding of the PRC, we have achieved unprecedentedly great successes in national economic construction. But the level of development of the productive forces remains comparatively low and is still far from meeting the needs of the rapidly growing population. In order to solve the problem of arranging employment and improving the people's material and cultural life, we have to depend mainly on developing the economy. On the other hand, in order to speed up the transition of population development from a high birth rate, low death rate and high natural growth to one of low birth rate, low death rate and low natural growth, and hence consolidate its effects, we still have to depend on developing the economy.

But the role of population growth control absolutely cannot be overlooked or even negated. As we know, economic development led to the falling off of population growth in the developed capitalist countries of Europe and America; in other words, a spontaneous falling off of population growth came after high development of the productive forces and economic progress. The case of our country is quite different from theirs. With a backward economy and a large and rapidly growing population, failing to control the population in a planned way and lower its natural growth will hinder the improvement of the people's livelihood, the accumulation of funds for the state, and the realization of the four modernizations. In this sense, to control population growth is one of the important conditions for developing the national economy. Therefore, it is improper to overlook population control just because of the phenomenon in which the population growth steadily dropped in the developed countries following the development of the economy. Here, we must point out one thing, that is, the history of the developed Western capitalist countries has clearly shown that it has taken them more than 100 years to slow population growth to the present level, which is just a little bit above zero, following the development of the economy and the improvement of cultural and educational standards. In about 1870, the birth rate began to drop steadily in Western countries. From 1871 to 1980, the birth rate dropped from 35.4 per 1,000 to 12 per 1,000 in Britain, from 25.4 per 1,000 to 14 per 1,000 in France, from 39.1 per 1,000 to 14 per 1,000 in the German Democratic Republic and from 39.1 per 1,000 to 9 per 1,000 in the Federal Republic of Germany. The natural growth of population has steadily dropped, taking into account the death rate. At present, the natural growth of population is 0 in Britain, 3 per 1,000 in France and -2 per 1,000 in the Federal Republic of Germany. Why does it take so long for the birth rate and the natural growth of population to drop? First of all, this is because the development of the economy, unable to directly and instantly influence and change people's reproductive behavior, has to exert influence on the people's demand for control of the amount of children born through various channels. In a capitalist society, the integration of labor forces as a commodity and the means of production as capital has become more and more difficult. As the supply of labor exceeds the demand, workers find it hard to get jobs and thus they spontaneously constrain childbearing. So that their children can get jobs easily and adapt to the demand of capital for labor, workers have to try their best to enable their children to receive middle or higher education and master modern production techniques. This has made the rearing expenses of the labor force go up and has forced proletarian families to reduce the number of children they bear. Next, under the capitalist system, the development of the productive forces can only exert an influence on the reproduction of population in an anarchical way owing to the constraint imposed by the system of private ownership of the means of production. For the above reasons, the dropping is an extremely slow and painful process.

Our country is a socialist country based on the system of public ownership of the means of production. The socialist national economy has planned and proportionate laws of development that not only demand the development of the production of materials but also demand the planned regulation of population growth, so as to make the reproduction of human beings themselves and the production of materials consistent with each other and thus ensure the development of the social productive forces. The practice of population development in our country has shown us the following fact: As the population, which has grown too much and too fast since liberation, does not suit the economic development, and there is an acute contradiction between the planned development of material production and the anarchic growth of population, the state's difficulties in economic construction, employment arrangement and improvement of labor productivity have worsened. Only by bringing population development onto a planned track can we maintain the harmony between material production and human reproduction and give full play to the superiority of the socialist planned economy. If we pay attention only to developing the economy and culture, expecting the birth rate to fall spontaneously, then the existing difficulties we are faced with are bound to get worse and our country's four modernizations will be delayed. Therefore, to be divorced from the reality in our country and one-sidedly exaggerate the role of economic development in reducing population, or even to think that too much importance has been attached to birth control and that the "theory of population determination" has become prevalent--all such thinking is obviously incorrect.

It must be understood that economic development itself cannot change the inertia of population development. The population development or population reproduction is a continual and never-ending regeneration of population. The present total population and its age and sex composition, which are the result of the birth and death cycles of the population in past decades and will serve as the real basis for population development in the future, are bound by the objective law of their own operations. At present, the average life expectancy in our country is 68.2 years, and the childbearing period of women is 30 years or so. The women alive at present who have not yet reached childbearing age will certainly reach childbearing age in their turn to bear the second generation, and the latter will in their turn reach childbearing age 20 years later to bear the third generation. Such an inertial movement is an objective reality which will not change according to people's will. Just like the productive forces we are facing, the present state of population (total population and its sex and age composition) is also a historically established fact and cannot be chosen at our own will. For this reason, the inertial movement of population development will not instantly change along with economic development. But, the case is different for the childbearing rate of women and the number of childbearing women, since these factors can be regulated and controlled. The most important function of population control is to harmonize the relation between population and economic development through regulating the childbearing rate as well as possible based on the understanding of the inertial law of population development. Therefore, development of the economy can never be a substitute for, still less negate, the role of population control in solving the population problem.

Of course, in countries with a low level of productive forces, the cost of rearing the labor force is comparatively low. It is even lower if considered from the interests of the family. After growing up, a child can earn remuneration for labor as soon as it gets a job and thus add to the family income and guarantee its livelihood at a later age. However, if considered from the interests of a state, the rearing expenses not only include the outlay of the family and the individual but also the outlays of the state in promoting education, health services, cultural facilities, urban construction and so on--at present, the portion of these outlays accounts for about 30 percent of the overall cost of rearing the labor force. When people grow up to be the labor force, the state and the collective still must pay the cost of installing equipment for employment and in arranging employment for these people. Therefore, considered from the interest of the state and the overall situation, the bringing up of a baby from birth to employment costs quite a lot. If the population grows too fast, a great portion of the limited national income will have to be spent in rearing the general labor force and absorbing the new labor force into employment rather than in increasing the level of labor technology and equipment and raising labor productivity. This will be unfavorable to the realization of modernization as well as to rapid economic development. Therefore, it is a strategic task of overall importance to vigorously carry on planned control of population growth while developing the economy.

In short, we absolutely cannot set economic development and population control in opposition to each other. We can neither regard advocating economic development as an objection to population control nor population control as the theory of population determination. The practical experience accumulated over the past 30 years or more shows that great attention must be paid to family planning work and population control, with stress put on solving the population problem by means of developing the economy. Otherwise, not only will population growth get out of control but also the dislocation between population development and economic development will be more and more acute.

II

Shall we and can we carry on family planning as new situations emerge after various production responsibility systems have been practiced in rural areas? Some people say that it is no longer necessary to control population growth in a planned way and that more childbearing should be allowed as the rural economy has been turned over to individual farming on a household basis after implementation of the responsibility systems, such as that of fixing farm output quotas for each household and that of undertaking specialized tasks by contract. On the other hand, family planning measures which originally suited the production brigade system of unified farming and calculation of workpoints on the basis of work done no longer suit the management and administrative forms adopted after implementation of the production responsibility system. If we do not take some new measures, it will be hard to carry out family planning at the basic level and even harder at every household. Under such circumstances, the question of whether family planning will and can be carried out is raised.

In practicing various forms of the production responsibility system in rural areas, we just aim at keeping pace with the present developmental level of the agricultural productive forces in our country so as to help mobilize the initiative for production of a vast number of commune members and further boost the productive forces. The nature of the production responsibility system is fundamentally different from that of the individual agricultural economy in which land is the private property of peasants, and the implementation of the former will definitely not go against the basic socialist principle of planned regulation of the balance between material production and human reproduction under the guidance of the state. It is wrong to look down on the necessity of practicing family planning and systematically controlling population growth because of the implementation of the production responsibility system.

We should be aware of the favorable and unfavorable factors of the production responsibility system on the work of family planning. The favorable factors are: the production responsibility system fixes responsibility plots or fixed-output-quota plots for households, so, to bear more children will not help in obtaining more private plots or responsibility plots, and this will produce certain effects on restricting childbearing. On the other hand, the production responsibility system, which closely links output to the performance of the individual peasant, can eliminate the disadvantages of equal distribution according to the number of people. Hence, to bear more children will harm the improvement of a family's livelihood or even add to the economic burden of a family. Moreover, to bear more children will hamper women of childbearing age from engaging in production and thus reduce family income. All these factors will push commune members to consciously follow the party's call and practice family planning. The unfavorable factors are: In the first place, households with a bigger and stronger labor force will get more income and their livelihood will be improved as the production responsibility system is carried out. This will lead some commune members to consider bearing more children, especially more boys, as a fail-safe means to increase the labor force and the family income. Next, the rapid development of production and the common increase of commune members' income will create the economic conditions for bearing more children. Third, if we overlook the deduction of the collective accumulation fund, the implementation of the production responsibility system will affect the development of collective welfare, in particular the accumulation of the guarantee fund for households enjoying the "five guarantees" and other households in difficulties. This will surely push some commune members to bear more children so as to guarantee their livelihood in later years. Therefore, our task is to give full play to the favorable factors and constrain the unfavorable factors.

Our practice has shown that, under the new circumstances, detailed measures for the work of family planning which suit the production responsibility system can be worked out only if we proceed from reality and conscientiously sum up experiences. Successful experiences have already been accumulated in quite a few places such as Sichuan, Henan, and Tu County of Anhui Province. By and large, there are two basic points. The first is to closely link the work of family planning with the production responsibility system in relation to economic interest. For example, the contract system of "double guarantees" created in Tu County of Anhui P[illegible]ce, under which couples of childbearing age are required to follow the family planning requirement while signing production contracts. Material rewards must be granted to couples of childbearing age who bear children according to the family planning requirement and voluntarily bear only one child. In Sichuan and Henan, the fixed output quotas for family planning and responsibility plots have been linked together in favor of those families which bear only one child and in disfavor of those who bear more children. The second point is to bring the work of family planning under the post responsibility system of cadres. In provinces such as Sichuan, Anhui and Henan, various forms of the post responsibility system of cadres, which include the work of family planning, have been established and therefore strengthen the sense of responsibility of cadres at different levels in carrying out the work of family planning. Besides, since the implementation of the production responsibility system, many regions and units have also paid attention to properly handling the relations between the state, the collective and the individual. They have conscientiously promoted collective welfare on the basis of developing production and ensured the livelihood of old people in their later years with no children, eliminating their worries about guaranteeing their livelihood when they are sick or old.

All areas in which family planning was linked to the production responsibility system and brought under the post responsibility system of cadres have achieved good results in controlling population growth. In Tu County of Anhui Province, as new measures which conform with the new circumstances in the rural areas were taken, agricultural production was greatly raised and population growth was efficiently brought under control. In 1980, while suffering from serious calamities, the whole area still attained its highest level of total grain production, with a harvest of 3.2 billion jin or more, an increase of 13.6 percent over that of 1979. The natural growth rate of the population dropped to 7.29 per 1,000, 2.61 per 1,000 lower than that of the whole province. We should make the vast number of cadres and masses understand that the work of family planning cannot be slackened for any reason no matter what form of production responsibility system is adopted in the rural areas. On the contrary, new measures which suit the production responsibility system and ensure the realization of family planning should be taken to guarantee the implementation of the plan for population control. Otherwise, if there is a population explosion, the achievements of economic development in the rural areas will be cancelled to a certain extent. Therefore, we must not lower our guard in dealing with the problem of population control.

In order to do well in the work of family planning, we must strengthen propaganda and education, and make the vast number of cadres and masses understand that to constrain childbearing is advantageous to the state, the collective and the individual, so as to push them into making up their minds to play an active role in the work of family planning. What should also be emphasized is that the leading role of CCP members and cadres at different levels is very important--their function as models is actually a kind of invisible force which can make the broad masses consciously respond to the party's call to practice family planning.

More success will be achieved in the work of family planning and population control if only we actively conduct thorough and painstaking ideological and political work while supplementing it with systems and measures which are easily acceptable to the masses and conform to reality, and unremittingly sum up new experiences.

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WE SHOULD AS STRICTLY CONTROL THE USE OF CULTIVATED LAND AS WE DO POPULATION GROWTH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 43-46

[Article by Yi Zhi [2469 0037]]

[Text] Our country has a large population with little arable land and its wasteland resources suitable for agriculture are limited. However, the phenomenon of wasting land in construction undertakings in the urban and rural areas is very serious. This is an important matter which concerns the overall situation and the conditions of existence for the later generations of our nation. It is necessary to raise a loud cry: The leadership at various levels and the departments concerned, from the central authorities to the grassroots units, should as strictly control the use of cultivated land as they do population growth.

I

According to statistics, from 1957 to 1977, because land was used for urban and rural construction, cultivation was abandoned and land was left in a wasted condition owing to natural disasters; there was a decrease of 440 million mu of land throughout the country, that is, a decrease of more than 25 percent. Over the same period, there was an additional increase of 260 million mu of newly reclaimed cultivated land all over the country, resulting in a net decrease of 180 million mu of land, equivalent to the total area under cultivation in Sichuan and Guangdong Provinces and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. The average annual decrease of cultivated land was as much as the cultivated land of Fujian Province. Owing to the increase in population and decrease in cultivated land, during the past 2 decades, the average national per capita area under cultivation went from 2.59 mu to 1.57 mu, a decrease of nearly 40 percent. From 1957 to 1979, there was a net decrease of 290,000 mu of cultivated land in the outskirts of Beijing, constituting 27 percent of the former area under cultivation--more than the current total area under cultivation of Haidian district and Shijingshan district. During the past 3 decades, the average per capita area under cultivation in Liaoning Province, where industry is relatively concentrated, decreased from 4.8 to below 2 mu while that of Shaanxi Province, where industry is not too concentrated, decreased from 4.7 mu to 2.02 mu.

Over the past few years, housing construction and other urban and rural construction absorbed and used large tracts of land. What is especially noteworthy is that the oncoming force of rural housing construction is tremendous and some places have lost control over the use of housing bases and village bases, thus wasting large amounts of cultivated land. According to an investigation of some southern provinces, during the 3 years from 1978 to 1980, over 40 percent of the decreased cultivated land was used for rural housing. Over the past 2 years in some counties, 4,000 or 5,000 mu of land were destroyed for rural housing alone. Within a year some counties used more than 1,000 mu of fertile land for building houses and destroyed 3,000 or 4,000 mu of fertile land for making bricks. The village bases in the plains of the northern parts of the country were generally expanded during the past 2 decades, and some expanded by more than 50 percent or even 100 or 200 percent. At present, with regard to rural housing, in the northern parts of the country, every household has 80 or 90 square meters, while in the southern parts of the country every household has 70 or 80 square meters with the exception of specific households which have 400 or 500 square meters. In some localities, the practice embodied in the saying "when you are about to be married, you must pay special attention to first, houses; second, beds; third, your father-in-law; and fourth, your darling" has become common among the young people who are about to be married. There is also the argument that "collective land must be used by the collective, which must use it in ways people like." Some production teams hold that it makes no difference how much land people use, provided the diversified economy is run well. With money one does not have to worry about having something to eat. Quite a few peasants regard their private plots and the farmland assigned to them under a contract by the production teams as "their own land" and destroy it to build houses without authorization. Some people have even built manor-style "independent and unique villages" on farmland. Owing to a lack of respect for the decisionmaking power of the production teams, some of our cadres have adopted a laissez-faire attitude toward this practice of building houses by destroying farmland.

Land is the material base for the existence and development of mankind and also the important source of social wealth. Marx highly praised William Petty for saying: "Labor is the father of wealth and land is the mother of wealth." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 57) The cultivated land opened up by labor is the most fundamental agricultural means of production which has been used continuously by mankind generation after generation and the major source for clothing and food. It is closely linked with the material cycle and the exchange of energy of the whole natural world. At present, many countries in the world have attached great importance to cherishing cultivated land. China must even more treasure its land as dearly as gold.

China has a population of nearly 1 billion, but it has only 1.5 billion mu of cultivated land. The average per capita area under cultivation in China is analagous to 1/17 that of Canada, 1/8 that of the United States, 1/7 that of the Soviet Union, 1/3 that of France, 2/5 that of India and 2/7 of the world average. Among the countries which have a population of at least 50 million respectively in the world today, arranged in the order of average per capita cultivated land, China is listed only in front of Japan (0.7 mu) and Egypt (1.1 mu), ranking 24th in the world. Of the nearly 1.5 billion mu of cultivated land, 600 million mu are cultivated land with low yields, of which 300 million mu are hillside fields; 120 million mu are waterlogged lowland and saline-alkaline land; 140 million mu are sandy arid land; and 40 million mu are paddy fields with low yields. If this cultivated land with low yields is excluded, China has an average of 1 mu per capita of fertile or relatively fertile land. There may be some differences between the statistical figures of China's cultivated land and reality, but if these differences are deducted, the fundamental situation that China is a populous country with little arable land will still not be changed. What merits our attention is that after liberation, we cut into mountains for farmland, reclaimed wasteland by destroying grassland, built dikes to reclaim land from lakes, filled in ponds to create farmland and enclosed tideland for cultivation from seashores. However this cultivated land is relatively unproductive, but most land which was used for urban and rural construction is fertile and the greater part of it was vegetable plots on the outskirts of cities or villages. One of the important reasons why the supply of vegetables in cities was strained in the past few years is that large amounts of former high-yield vegetable plots on the outskirts of cities were used for other purposes and the newly cultivated vegetable plots are low in yield.

As is the case with waste in other material wealth of the construction undertakings, the serious waste of cultivated land is inseparable from the "leftist" mistakes in economic work. For a long time, we have set excessively high targets and big plans and have been overanxious for success. The capital construction projects were done on too large a scale, like a net that was cast too widely. They used cultivated land as much as they pleased without the slightest compunction. Some construction projects were decided on rashly and were started in a hurry. They were dismantled after being constructed and were constructed after being dismantled again and again and ended up by being scrapped. In farmland capital construction, we indulged in formalism and in ineffective projects of digging after filling up and filling up after being dug over and over again. The "old five small" and the "new five small" factories mushroomed everywhere with duplication in construction. With every "arbitrary repetition," large or small, in the construction undertakings, batches of cultivated land were almost ruined. In taking over the land, why could the construction units requisition the land in large quantities but use it in small quantities, or requisition it early but use it late, or requisition it but in fact not use it? Why could large quantities of cultivated land be used for other purposes based on the leaders' brief informal notes or on their word? Why could an enterprise leader advance a proposal to use cultivated land by a click of his fingers after he got off a jeep which carried him to the countryside? Apart from the imperfection of the laws to protect cultivated land, the above-mentioned improper practices were closely related to the one-sided stress on construction speed and blindness in expanding the scope of capital construction to the neglect of comprehensively balancing the national economy as a whole.

II

Some comrades are satisfied with our country being a country of vast territory and abundant resources, failing to see the significance of treasuring cultivated land. This mainly shows lack of a specific understanding of China's national condition. The area of China is 9.6 million square kilometers, which is equal to 14.4 billion mu. This is a substantial figure, but the area of the plains suitable for cultivation accounts for no more than 10 percent. The area of desert in our territory, the Gobi Desert, the highly frigid wilderness and stone forests is 2.5 billion mu, constituting more than 17 percent of the total area of the country. The area of high mountains and plateaus which are 3,000 meters above sea level and are not so suitable for the growth of crops makes up one-fourth of the total area of the country. The cultivated land of some countries in the world occupies a large proportion of the area of the territories of the respective countries. For instance, the proportion of cultivated land in the territorial area of India in Asia and Denmark, France and West Germany in Europe is above 30 percent, some even surpassing 50 percent, but that of China today is 10.4 percent. According to a survey, China has a total of 496 million mu of wasteland suitable for agriculture (of which 150 million mu is of good or relatively good quality), being mainly distributed in the northeastern and northwestern border regions and in the red soil, hilly areas of southern China. Reclamation of this wasteland is extremely difficult. Large areas of mountains, grasslands and lakes can be used to develop a diversified economy but are unsuitable for reclamation and cultivation. The past practices of cutting into mountains for farmland, reclaiming wasteland by destroying grasslands, building dikes to reclaim land from lakes and filling in ponds to create farmland have disrupted the natural ecological balance, and we have paid a high price for them. We must not repeat them in the future. Even if all the less than 500 million mu of wasteland suitable for agriculture is opened up, the average amount of cultivated land per capita will still be only around 2 mu, with the proportion of cultivated land in the country being less than 14 percent. One argument holds that China's cultivated land can be expanded to such an extent that it will cover 20 or 30 percent of the area of the country. This is groundless.

In the light of the experience of other countries, to better solve the problem of grain, the average per capita grain output must be over 1,200 jin. China's average per mu yield of grain in 1979 was 572 jin in terms of the area of cultivated land under grain. According to the calculations of some comrades, if the per mu yield remains unchanged, to reach the target of every person having an average of 1,200 jin of grain, they must have 2.1 mu of cultivated land. Thus the country must have an additional 500 million mu of cultivated land. However, this is hard to accomplish. If the area of existing cultivated land remains unchanged, to fulfill the target of the average amount of grain per capita reaching 1,200 jin, the average per mu yield must reach around 750 jin. This is also hard to attain.

The seriousness of the problem is that the several major plains where cultivated land is most concentrated are also the areas where population and cities are most concentrated. Therefore, they are also the areas where most land is used for other purposes by urban and rural construction. At present, in this fertile land, in quite a few communes and their subdivisions, the average amount of cultivated land per capita is no more than 1 mu, and it is continuing to decrease at a fairly rapid speed. Land is a natural resource that has no regenerative capacity. It will be 1 mu less when 1 mu of it is used. In these densely populated and narrow areas, the contradiction between the construction undertakings and agriculture in vying with each other in using the land has become more striking. Treasuring cultivated land in these areas has become a matter of special importance.

III

In the readjustment period, apart from resolutely implementing the policies of readjustment and strictly controlling the fresh expansion of capital construction projects, to economize on cultivated land, special stress should be put on controlling the use of cultivated land for the construction of urban and rural housing and the construction of small cities and towns.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, along with the implementation of policies and the rapid improvement of the rural economic situation, there was a sharp increase in the peasants' building of new houses. "Since we have had enough grain, we are going to build new houses. With new houses we will usher in the bride." This reflects the joyous feelings of the peasants and the new aspect of rural economic life. We must warmly support this change. But we must proceed from the reality that China has a huge population with little arable land, strengthen leadership and not take a laissez-faire attitude in this respect. In order to put an end to the practice of building houses by seizing cultivated land and to economize on land, the State Council specially issued a circular in April this year. We must teach the vast numbers of rural cadres and commune members to take the interests of the whole into account and to act resolutely upon the circular of the State Council. There are several millions of production teams in our country. If every production team uses only 1 mu of cultivated land for housing, there will be a decrease of several million mu of cultivated land throughout the country in a year and a decrease of several tens of millions of mu of cultivated land in a decade. It would be too dreadful to contemplate if things were to go on in this way. The housing problem must be solved, but not at the expense of the solution of the food problem. According to the experience of some regions, there are bright prospects for building houses in the rural areas by economizing on cultivated land, provided we strengthen leadership, make unified plans and a rational layout, choose rational building forms and building materials in ways suited to local conditions, popularize the construction of multistory buildings on the outskirts of cities and the densely populated and narrow areas and encourage the building of cave dwelling houses in the loess plateaus.

Since cooperativization, the party and the government have promulgated a series of documents on policy and decrees, clearly declaring that land transactions and the renting of land are prohibited and that the land owned by the production teams cannot be used for other purposes by any unit or individual without the examination and approval of the people's governments above county level. The so-called decisionmaking power of the production teams refers to the fact that the production teams have the power to make their own decisions concerning the management of production and the distribution of earnings in accordance with the party's policies under the guidance of state planning. The aim of our respecting the decisionmaking power of the production teams is to arouse the enthusiasm of the cadres of the production teams and commune members for being the masters of their own country and destiny, do a good job in production and various rural construction projects, and in no way does it mean recognizing that the production teams have the right to sell or rent the land without authorization. According to the stipulations of the state, the housing bases, private plots and private mountains assigned to commune members by the state and the cultivated land they contract from the production teams are all owned by the collective. The commune members only have the right to use it. They can neither rent, buy, sell nor transfer the land without authorization nor build houses and graves, open up mines and make bricks and tiles on the farmland assigned to them under a contract and on their private plots. Owing to the restrictions of natural conditions, if any production teams really have to use cultivated land for building houses, they must subject their plans to ratification. It is the bounden duty of every production team to teach the commune members to farm the land well and provide the state with more farm and sideline products. The excessive distribution of cultivated land by the production teams among the commune members for building houses will not only affect their commitments to the state but also interfere with self-sufficiency in grain, thus leading to the blind outflow of labor force and bringing difficulties to the state. Therefore, although the cultivated land of the production teams is collectively owned, how to use it is a matter that concerns not only the production teams alone but also the overall situation and our coming generation. The so-called argument that the "collective land must be used by the collective, which must only use it in ways people like" is unreasonable.

The construction of housing in cities and towns involves such complicated matters as the requisition of land and the renewal and removal of the former houses and residents. For instance, some households which have to move very often take the opportunity to raise some unreasonable demands in disregard of the overall situation, with the result that the housing construction projects cannot be put into operation for a long time. Some comrades do not enthusiastically take the initiative in overcoming these difficulties. When they think of building houses, they think of building them on the outskirts of cities by requisitioning cropland and vegetable plots. As a result, high buildings rise one after another on former vegetable plots on the outskirts of cities; the area of the city proper expands at a rapid rate with the agricultural population gradually becoming the population of the cities and towns while the old and wornout houses of the old city proper remain unchanged. This merits our study. In the light of China's conditions, whether to proceed from the planning of urban construction or to aim at the prospects of agricultural development, the building of houses in the cities and towns must take the transformation of the old city proper in the main and we must do our best not to use, or to use as little as possible, cropland and vegetable plots. In building new houses in the old city proper, it is necessary to put aside a large number of rooms to help settle the former households which have to be moved. Viewed from the angle of the construction units, it might not pay to do so, but from the situation as a whole, its economic effect is better than building new houses by taking over cultivated land.

The construction of small cities and towns is a matter of great strategic significance. Nevertheless, special attention should also be paid to treasuring cultivated land. In the past, some localities did not pay due attention to this. For instance, there was a town with a population of 70,000 on the north China plain, occupying 912 hectares of land. This was a great waste indeed. In arranging the layout of the small cities and towns and making overall arrangements for the cities and towns, we must proceed from the local actual conditions and not indiscriminately copy the patterns of the large and medium-sized cities. In doing so, we must have rational economic divisions and planned construction of the cities and towns as well as careful calculation and strict budgeting, and try our utmost not to use, or to use as little as possible, cultivated land. Construction should be carried out in a planned way. We must not rush headlong into mass action in an unplanned way and pull down and build houses at random.

IV

To stress economizing on land use, it is imperative to pay special attention to the enaction of laws, to the system and to the management.

More than 30 years have elapsed since the founding of the PRC, but we still do not have any complete set of laws to protect cultivated land. In the use of land, we have no laws to go by and it is hard to enforce decrees and to put an end to the malpractices in this respect. This is one of the important reasons for causing waste in cultivated land. The "decision on some questions concerning the acceleration of agricultural development" approved by the 4th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee required that a land law should be enacted and promulgated as soon as possible. We must firmly grasp this work and strive for an early promulgation and enforcement of China's first land law. If a complete set of land laws cannot be enacted for the time being, temporary provisions should be stipulated to cope with some urgent problems, thus enabling the various localities to have regulations to follow. The local people's congresses can also enact some necessary local land laws and regulations.

At present, the exploitation and utilization of China's land resources has not yet been strictly brought into line with the overall balance of the national economy. In measuring the economic effect of the construction undertakings, the utilization of land resources has not been taken into consideration. Despite large quantities of requisitioned cultivated land being left unused in the construction projects, people will be commended by the parties concerned provided the oil wells produce oil, the factories go into operation, the airports are available to users and the railroad or roads are open to traffic. At present, all of us are sorting the "leftist" ideas and checking the losses and waste in our past construction undertakings. People feel it is a pity about losses and waste in the funds, equipment, goods, and materials but they attach insufficient importance to the large quantities of losses and waste in cultivated land. Apart from the need for doing well the work of ideological education, one important thing to do is that we must, from the higher plane of system, take the rational use of land resources and the treasuring of cultivated land as an important content of achieving an overall balance of the national economy and measuring the economic effect.

At present, China has not had a powerful organ from the central authorities to the grassroots units to manage land resources. The units in the cities which need to use land can privately buy and rent land from the rural communes and their subdivisions without the permission of the urban planning departments. As regards some communes and their subdivisions on the outskirts of cities, if you give them money and goods and materials, assign their small factories unfinished products to process and help them arrange their surplus labor force, then they will rent and sell cultivated land to you. Some people call it by the fine-sounding name of "giving full play to the superiority of land" and "developing the integrated operations combining agriculture, industry and commerce." These illegal actions must be resolutely stopped. In our governments at various levels there is a need to set up powerful organs for effectively managing land resources. Judicial organs at all levels must accept and hear cases of illegal land transactions and other major cases of land disputes.

To stress economizing on cultivated land, besides adopting necessary administrative measures, we must learn to use economic means to manage cultivated land. Engels said: "Instead of eliminating land rent, the elimination of the system of private ownership of land means passing on land rent to society--although it is done in a transformed form." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 18, p 315) There is still differential land rent in a socialist society. This is general knowledge of political economics. We must improve the collective methods of land-using expenses in accordance with the principle of differential land rent and economically encourage the construction units to economize on land and use wasteland and poor land, restrict the use of land for other purposes, and particularly the use of good farmland and vegetable plots. Heavy taxes should be levied on land which is requisitioned but left unused, or requisitioned in large quantities but used in small quantities, or requisitioned early but used late, by the construction units. In the rural areas, in acting upon the same spirit, we must adopt proper economic measures to restrict the waste in cultivated land.

Beginning with fishing, hunting and primitive agriculture, our ancestors uninterruptedly opened up land and planted cereal crops. Our present cultivated land was opened up by our ancestors from generation to generation through all kinds of hardships and difficulties. We have no grounds for misusing and wasting cultivated land. In talking about people's responsibility for using cultivated land in a higher stage of society, Marx said: "They must pass on the transformed land to the later generation as good peasants do." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 875) We are dutybound to treasure every inch of the existing cultivated land for the sake of the four modernizations and the coming generation of our nation.

CSO: 4004/7

STUDY AND SOLUTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 47-48

["Methods of Thinking and Methods of Work" column by Lin Jiazhen [2651 1367 4631]]

[Text] There should not be any contradictions between studying problems and solving problems. Study is the prerequisite of solution and solution is the purpose of study. The two complement each other. The four modernizations are a great revolution in which a large number of new problems and new contradictions will emerge that require our study and solution.

However, some comrades often lay more stress on study and less stress on solution. Regarding large and small problems, they tend to put in a lot of effort in studying them. When talking about the significance of solving a problem, they present their views vehemently; when bringing the issue out into the open, they are full of righteousness; and at the mention of taking measures, they make a list of priorities, starting with A, B, C, D and so on. They are very lively when studying a problem, but become cold and lifeless after the study. They will study the work they are confronted with again and again, but no one is willing to carry it out, so no decision is reached after the study. By and by, new problems emerge before the old ones are solved and so the more they study, the more problems that emerge and simple problems become complicated ones. The masses cannot tolerate such a situation, but some leading comrades feel at ease and composed about it. The causes of these problems are the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the one hand, and the lack of a revolutionary sense of responsibility and of devotion to their work on the other. Some leading comrades have cultivated the bad habit of "making no comments as to right or wrong and taking a roundabout way when confronted with problems." Hanging on some comrades' lips, "study" has become a pet phrase for handling large and small problems. All problems, large or small, are studied over and over again, but actually they are neither "investigated" nor "studied." Thus, some very important problems, which require urgent solution, are left unsolved because of this drawn-out study. Even if some problems are really studied, there are no specific methods or measures proposed to solve them. The reasons are as follows: First, some comrades use study as an excuse for doing their work perfunctorily. They do not aim to solve practical problems, but use the problems to provide employment and to accommodate themselves. Second, the minds of some leading cadres are full of selfish ideas and personal considerations. They yield to and, out of consideration for the feelings of, and their relationships with, the persons concerned, are lenient in personnel matters. Because of this, not only do problems not get solved, but they become magnified and more complicated and conditions are created for the emergence and development of more problems. We cannot but worry about these comrades and we cannot help asking: "With such a work attitude and a work style, can our great cause of the four modernizations be realized?" Needless to say, people shake their heads at this phenomenon, because this can only be detrimental to the four modernizations.

"Study" itself is a very good word and studying is a work method we communists should energetically propagate. Studying means dissecting problems and making an overall analysis of problems, point by point and from outside to inside. Through profound and meticulous study, we can have a clear idea of the crux of a problem, grasp the essence of a problem, have a clear understanding of the various characteristics of the nature of a problem and its contradictions, and propose the methods and measures for solving a problem. Only in this way can we "suit the medicine to the illness," and can the "illness" be cured when the "medicine" is taken. Particularly in regard to problems that require collective study, we must hold appropriate meetings to discuss them in a democratic manner. At these meetings we must actually discuss the problems. After discussion, a decision must be reached. Once a decision is reached, it must be carried out. After it is carried out, results must be achieved.

Of course, it is not necessary to hold a meeting for the collective study of every problem. For instance, some specific problems that do not involve the line, principles and policies of the party must be completely decided by the leading personnel concerned. It is not necessary to hold a meeting for collective study. If we are to study every small problem together, then small problems will become large problems and the solution of key and important problems will be affected. If we do things in this way, we will lose more than we gain.

Solving and studying problems should be taken as a whole. If we only study problems but do not solve them, then there will be no sense in studying problems. If we only try to solve problems but do not study them, then we will get bogged down in the impracticality of acting blindly, problems will not be solved, or even if they are solved, they will be solved unsatisfactorily. Therefore, when we study a problem, we must have a solution in mind, and such a solution must be based on study. Studying problems can only promote our perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge. Through studying problems, we can find methods and measures and create excellent conditions for solving these problems. But to transform knowledge into action and to apply methods and measures properly, we must rely on solutions.

Studying and solving problems are not easy matters. It will not do to rely on empty talk. In real life, we meet various problems. Some of the problems might be easily solved, but some are rather difficult. No problem is difficult to solve so long as we adhere to our principles, develop our party's excellent tradition and style of seeking truth from facts, get involved in problem solving, do solid work, evaluate our work afterward, and even do work individually.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee has, according to the principle of seeking truth from facts, carried out meticulous study and appropriately solved the problems left over by history and remedied unjust, false and wrong cases. This has not only brought the positive factors of various enterprises and undertakings all over the country into full play, but also laid an excellent political foundation for realizing the four modernizations. This work style of the party Central Committee has set an excellent example for us. All comrades who do leadership work should learn from the party Central Committee the spirit of conscientiously solving our problems and develop the work style of taking the initiative. In this way, we can be sure that we will realize the four modernizations.

At present, the general task of our party is to lead the broad masses of the people in carrying out the four modernizations by working energetically and wholeheartedly. To fulfill this task, we have to solve many problems, such as the problem of the party's style, the problems of the economy and the problems of reforming the system. These problems can be found within various fronts, including industry, agriculture, science and technology. To some extent, the attitude toward these problems reflects the attitude toward the four modernizations. Whether these problems can be solved has a direct bearing on whether the four modernizations can be realized. So every party member, especially every comrade who does leadership work, is required to adopt a strict scientific approach and foster an excellent style of seeking truth from facts, enhance his devotion to revolutionary work and his sense of responsibility, do his best to shorten the process of unnecessary study when handling practical problems, reduce unnecessary and ineffective work, concentrate his time and energy on really solving practical problems and raise work efficiency. This should be the consistent style of every communist as well as the attitude every communist should take in regard to his work. We must know that an ideal state of the four modernizations cannot be accomplished in one move. There certainly will be pitfalls. It is impossible to avoid them, it is useless to wait, it will not do to hesitate. The only way is to bend over and do solid work, find solutions through study and seek advancement through solutions.

One practical action is far better than a hundred abstract programs. Every party member and every leading cadre should regard the realization of the four modernizations as his own duty, create an urgency for realizing the four modernizations and study and then solve one practical problem in his work at a time. They must not only be able to start and finish their work, but also be good at starting and finishing their work. They must do their best to solve the problems that can be solved directly, report to the relevant higher authority for instructions in solving the problems that cannot be solved directly and actively make suggestions and propose methods for solving problems. They must never pay attention to forms only. Nor must they handle public matters perfunctorily and get muddle-headed. Only in this way can their work be beneficial to the party's work and the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004/7

PAY ATTENTION TO SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF SUPPLYING MANUFACTURED GOODS TO THE COUNTRYSIDE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 inside back cover

[Article by Han Jinduo [7281 6855 6995]]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party's various economic policies for the countryside has been conscientiously implemented. We have developed diversified economy and collective production, and the commodities produced in household sideline production have increased. The countryside has supplied more and more agricultural and sideline products. The total purchase value of agricultural products of Sanhe County, Hebei Province, was 11.19 million yuan in 1978, 17.828 million yuan in 1979, which was a 59.3 percent increase over that of 1978, and 19.35 million yuan in 1980, which was an 8.5 percent increase over that of 1979. The state has utilized much money in purchasing agricultural and sideline products. In addition, the free market in the countryside is brisk. Therefore, the peasants have a lot of money in hand. By the end of 1980, each peasant in this county had an average of 33 yuan, 31 percent more than the amount each peasant had in the previous year.

There was a marked increase in the peasants' purchasing power. To circulate the money in the countryside, we must supply manufactured goods to the countryside. That is, the state must use manufactured goods in exchange for the agricultural and sideline products of the peasants. Agricultural products and manufactured goods must be arranged in such way that they are like two-way traffic, one coming up, the other going down. If the state only purchases agricultural and sideline products instead of supplying manufactured goods to the countryside, or if it only supplies limited manufactured goods to the countryside, there will inevitably be a surplus of money in the countryside and the danger of soaring prices.

According to statistics for 1980, the percentages in the purchase volume of manufactured goods supplied by the state-run wholesale enterprises of Sanhe County through the supply and marketing cooperatives were as follows: sugar, cigarettes and wines 62 percent; textile goods, knitwear, daily-use merchandise and stationery 45 percent; and metals, electrical appliances and chemicals 41 percent. The percentages by item were: bicycles 50 percent, sewing machines 51 percent, soap 54 percent, thermos bottles 43 percent, clocks 48 percent, cotton blend trousers and blouses 45 percent, sweat shirts and pants 40.5 percent, polyester fabrics 22.3 percent, grade-A tobacco 31 percent, transistor radios 27 percent, and electric meters 42 percent. The population ratio between the county seat and the countryside is approximately 5:95, although the people in town earn a little more than those in the countryside and although some peasants sell their goods in town, on the whole we can see that the commodities supplied to the countryside is not in line with the population ratio. It is even more so in the variety of designs, sizes and colors of commodities.

The increase in retail volume of commodities in the countryside and the increase in purchasing power are out of balance. In 1979, the retail volume of commodities in the rural areas of Sanhe County increased by 10 percent over that of the previous year, while purchasing power increased by 26 percent; in 1980, the retail volume of commodities in the rural areas of Sanhe County increased by 6 percent, while purchasing power increased by 37.75 percent. Because of the great differences between these percentages, the peasants had a great deal of money in hand. To stabilize the market and prices, we must supply large quantities of well made and inexpensive manufactured goods to the countryside in order to circulate money in the countryside.

Therefore, we must solve the following three key problems:

1. We must improve the present system of supply and marketing of the countryside commodities to make the supply and marketing cooperatives which are responsible for production in the countryside and for supplying the means of subsistence, so that they will have enough manufactured goods on hand instead of merely relying on commodities supplied by the state-run wholesale enterprises. At present, the supply and marketing cooperatives do not have enough goods on hand because the supply of many commodities is intermittent owing to shortages. It is even more difficult for the supply and marketing cooperatives to get such commodities as bicycles, sewing machines and transistor radios of certain brands, which are in short supply in various places.

2. We suggest that party and government leading organs grasp the work of supplying manufactured goods to the countryside in the way they grasp the work of purchasing agricultural products. From now on the situation in the countryside will continue to improve and the availability rate of commodities will continue to increase. There will be an increase by a large margin in the purchase volume of agricultural and sideline products and a large amount of money will inevitably be channeled to the countryside. If the problem of supplying manufactured goods to the countryside is not solved well in conformity with the above case, a large amount of money will lay idle in the countryside and this will create a dangerous situation. Therefore, party and government leaders at all levels must attach great importance to and energetically grasp the work of supplying manufactured goods to the countryside and solve the problems that may emerge in supplying commodities.

3. To circulate money and stabilize prices in the market, we must energetically develop the production of manufactured goods on the one hand, and reduce the stockpiling of commodities on the other. The problem as of now is that commodities are being stockpiled by state-run enterprises, while the localities are in urgent need of these commodities. Only by reducing the stockpiling of commodities and making them available to the localities to provide marketable commodities to the consumers in the countryside, can the target of circulating money and stabilizing prices be attained.

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END

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19 January 1981

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No. 21, 1 November 1980

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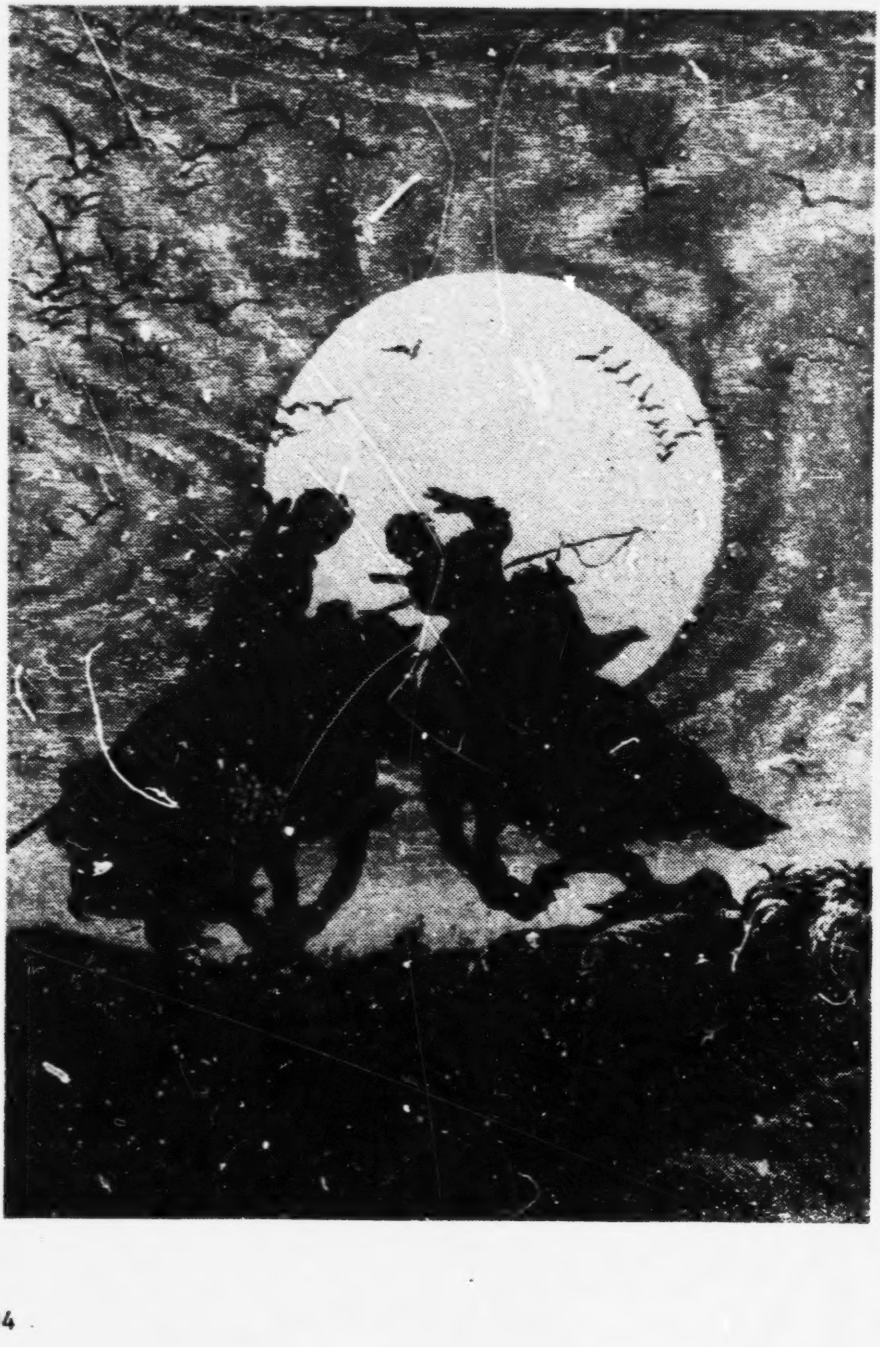
OUR LIVES ARE FULL OF SUNSHINE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 inside front cover

[Colored woodcut by Ba Chongwen [1572 1813 2429] (Mongolian) and Xing Anfu [6717 1344 1133]]



CSO: 4004

EMANCIPATE THE MIND, PROMOTE REFORM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 2-4

[Commentator's article]

[Text] Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party congress, every step we have taken in our advance and every victory we have gained has always been preceded by the emancipation of the mind. Can we now say that we have adequately emancipated our minds? Of course not. History is constantly advancing; conditions are constantly changing, and new tasks are constantly being placed upon us. In this sense, the emancipation of the mind is an infinite process. The reform of the leadership system of the party and the state is a new task confronting us. This task again places new demands on us in terms of emancipation of the mind.

Historical experience and present conditions both indicate the importance and urgency of the reform of the leadership system of the party and the state. Logically speaking, the socialist system is the most superior social system in human history. It ought to bring great happiness to the people. Yet in our country, because the superiority of the socialist system has not been fully realized, the people are not leading an affluent life. That is an evident fact. If we go by old conventions, maintain the status quo and refuse to introduce reforms, there will be no way for the socialist cause to advance smoothly. It is only through reforms that we can constantly improve the institutions of our party and state, mobilize all positive factors and achieve the great cause of the four modernizations. The reform of the leadership structure is an important matter bearing on the fate and future of the party and the country. A great majority of our people are in favor of this reform, yet there are also some people who cannot fully understand its significance and who resent it. Due to the influence of the erroneous line in the past years, "leftist" ideas have become a force of habit for some people. These ideas seriously restrict their minds and stifle their thinking. In abstract discussion, they might reluctantly agree to reforms. Yet when it comes to real action to institute reforms, they go into a tantrum, claiming that this cannot be changed or that cannot be changed, or even warning that "there is no way you can do it." We must fully realize that there are still considerable ideological obstacles to the process of reform.

Judging from the present situation, those who fail to understand the rationale for reforms and who resent them are mainly those whose minds are ossified and those who lack a profound understanding of the new situation and new problems. These are two different sets of circumstances.

The first type of people are those who not only completely fail to understand the actual conditions but also refuse to go down to the masses to heed their opinions. They feel shocked by the word "reforms" and are alarmed as soon as they hear the word. For example, we demand that the leadership group's average age be lowered and that it be professionalized. We want a large number of leading cadres who are old and weak to recede to the second line, resign or retire. This is actually required by the objective conditions. However, some people look at this as singling out the veteran cadres for attack and making life difficult for the veteran cadres. They just refuse to see the present condition of our contingent of cadres. In many localities the number of leaders in a unit or department is enough to form a "squad," while in some units leaders can even form a "platoon." Moreover, some of the cadres are very old. They are weak and sickly and lacking in energy. They are occupying certain positions without being able to perform any function. They just refuse to face the fact that this situation has caused our organs to be ineffective and lowered the efficiency of our work, thus making them incapable of meeting the requirements for the building of the four modernizations. How can we go on without changing this situation? When we ask some veteran cadres to recede to the second line, we are asking them to be advisers to middle-aged and young cadres, thereby enabling them to play their role better; and when we arrange for those veteran cadres who cannot keep pace with normal work to retire and rest, we are making it possible for them to continue to enjoy political prestige, live a well-off life and enjoy their remaining years. How can anyone consider this making life difficult for the veteran cadres?

The second type of people cannot bear to part with old experiences and old methods. They lack a feeling for newborn things, are obsessed with things of the past and adopt old methods as a matter of habit. For example, for a period of time after liberation we did a good job of separating the party from the government. After the slogan of "centralized power" was pronounced, separation of party and government was changed into the party committee's monopoly of power under the guiding thought of strengthening the centralized leadership of the party. Thus, the party committee takes charge of even the minutest matter and is plunged into routine daily affairs, losing track of its most important task--"the party's self-management." When the task of rectifying this shortcoming and implementing the separation of party and government was put forward, some people thought that this amounted to doing away with the leadership of the party. Little did they realize that the separation of party and government not only enables administrative leaders to have power and responsibility and the working departments to play their role, but also enables party workers to concentrate their energy on studying and implementing the party's line, principles and policies and strengthening their education of party members and supervision over administration. This is precisely strengthening, not weakening, the party's leadership.

Nostalgic people also show their bias by their special feelings for the 17 years preceding the "Great Cultural Revolution." In their eyes, all the work done in those 17 years was perfect. Therefore, some people believe that if we change to the methods of those 17 years, everything will be all right, and if we do anything in excess of what was done in the 17 years, then it is tantamount to "heresy." Surely we did achieve much in the work we did in the 17 years preceding the "Great Cultural Revolution." However, after 1957 our party committed grave errors on many questions. "It takes more than one cold day for the river to freeze 3 feet deep." The "Great Cultural Revolution" was not a sudden occurrence. If we look at the great catastrophe in those 10 years, we will notice that many errors had already germinated before the "Great Cultural Revolution." A qualitative leap only happens after a gradual quantitative accumulation. The "Great Cultural Revolution," a grave overall error which brought about great disaster to the people, was only the continuation and development of 17 years of errors. Based on this situation, the party Central Committee has formulated a series of new policies since the third plenary session of the Central Committee. They are totally new policies which differ from those implemented both during and after the "Great Cultural Revolution." If we are content with merely liberating our minds from the 10 years of catastrophe, yet dare not liberate ourselves from the errors of the preceding 17 years, our minds will still be ossified. This proves one thing: the emancipation of the mind cannot be completed at one attempt. When our minds have been emancipated on one question, we can still be conservative on another; when we have been emancipated during a certain period of time, we can still be conservative at another time. Therefore, if we really want to be promoters of reform, we must continuously emancipate our minds and adapt our minds to the changing conditions.

Without the emancipation of the mind, it will be impossible to discover the faults of the leadership system of our party and state. For a long time, although we have admitted that there are shortcomings in certain links of the state system, we have only conceded that they have nothing to do with leadership organs of the party; or we have only conceded that specific rules and systems have defects but that the political system as a whole is faultless. This has brought about a misconception: it seems that our system of political management is already perfect and no improvements can be made. The truth is exactly the opposite. Our socialist society did not just drop from the sky. It emerged from the womb of a semifeudal and semicolonial society. Although we have undergone a democratic revolution and have completed the task of democratic revolution in politics and the economy, the attention we paid to the criticism of feudal autocracy in the ideological realm has been insufficient. Due to the fact that our country has a history of more than 2,000 years of feudal rule and that the feudal ideology and system were relatively well developed, these have influenced our party. Particularly because the majority of our cadres are of small producer origin, they are heavily stamped with the mark of feudal thinking. In addition, for many years we have been propagandizing and implementing things which are feudal in nature as socialist thinking. We have totally muddled up the theoretical delineations. Therefore, the defects in our system of political management result mainly from the influence of feudal autocratic thinking and not capitalism. Such practices as the concentration of power in the hands of one person, bureaucratism, the patriarchal system, the system that only one person has the say, life tenure of cadres in leadership positions, the concept of clan and rank and various kinds of privileges are feudal burdens that have been inherited from thousands of years ago. Therefore, one important aspect in the present efforts at emancipation of the mind is to strive to liberate ourselves from the influence of feudal autocratic thinking. Some people think that by thus saying we will slacken our attention to overcoming bourgeois thinking. This is, of course, a misconception. What we are talking about here is the question of which ideology has influenced our system of political management. As to what nonproletarian ideological influence to overcome in the realm of consciousness, this will differ according to the person, area and department in question. Some must take the elimination of remnant feudal thinking as the main task; some must take criticism of the influence of bourgeois thinking as the main task, while some must deal mainly with overcoming the small producer mentality. In short, we must adopt a scientific attitude and conduct concrete analysis. We must not do things at one stroke.

The present reforms that we are enforcing in the political system constitute an arduous task. The situation is complex, and a great many aspects are involved. We are encountering both the difficulties created by the 10 years of catastrophe and defects created by history. We really have a whole heap of problems. Some people picturesquely describe the existing problems as a basket of crabs, each one holding up another, each one influencing another. This is very appropriate. When dealing with problems we cannot be too harsh or too lenient; we cannot be too hasty or too slow. We must solve these problems practically in a planned and measured manner. The most important method is investigation and study. Without investigation and study we cannot talk of emancipation of the mind and initiating reforms. Study and investigation not only pertains to conducting in-depth analysis of existing problems but also includes the exploration of plans for reforms. We must allow the expression of different views and conduct various kinds of experiments. By comparing various plans we can choose the best to implement.

For the last 30 years we have been experimenting with socialism. We have accumulated much experience, both positive and negative. However, on the whole we are lacking in experience. We must seriously sum up past experience in accordance with reality and humbly study the advanced experiences of other countries. On the basis of summing up experiences, we must seriously understand the new conditions, meticulously analyze new problems and resolve new contradictions in a down-to-earth manner in order to constantly improve the socialist system in our country. Therefore, we can also say that the emancipation of the mind means constant study and investigation, summing up of experience and lessons and gaining new knowledge about new conditions and new problems.

Discussion that is not based on investigation and study will only be irresponsible talk or even rumormongering. The reason why some people commit errors, aside from factors traceable to their personal character, is that in most cases the problem lies in their consciousness; that is, their subjective consciousness is divorced from the objective world, and their thinking does not conform to objective reality. We must conduct investigation and study on all matters, go down to the masses and consult them. Thus, we can minimize or eliminate errors of subjectivism, one-sidedness and superciliousness. However, many comrades are just used to planning and signing documents in their offices. Their feet just refuse to get motivated. Not only are they unfamiliar with the newly emerging changes, conditions and problems in the areas or departments under their jurisdiction, but they also forbid other people to conduct investigations and expose contradictions in their areas or departments. Once someone exposes problems existing in their units, they feel very uncomfortable, as if that someone is pulling the scab right off their sores, and they proceed to spread an atmosphere of dissatisfaction or even engage in suppression and attack. Obviously, that is out-and-out bureaucratism and despotism. Let us consider for a while: Can such people do their job well? Can we depend on these people to introduce reforms?

Comrade Mao Zedong once called upon our leading cadres to go down to the masses for investigation several times each year. This is very important. We are now at a critical moment of historical change. To make our thinking adapt to the development of the situation, we must have a firm grasp of reality and a thorough understanding of the prevailing conditions. We ardently hope that leading comrades at all levels will bear the present and the future in mind, devote more energy to seriously conducting investigation and study, further emancipate their minds, promote reforms and give impetus to the healthy growth of the reform of the leadership system of the party and the state.

CSO: 4004

IT IS IMPERMISSIBLE TO REPLACE THE GOVERNMENT WITH THE PARTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 5-8

[Article by Jing Dong [0079 2739]]

[Text] From the experiences and lessons of past years, especially the 10 years of turmoil, we realize that, in order to avoid the overconcentration of power and too many concurrent duties and to insure that party committees at all levels can concentrate their energies on important party affairs and that all levels of government can exercise their authority as state administrative organs, we must not lump together party and government work or substitute the party for the government. Today some of the principal leading persons of the party Central Committee no longer hold leading posts in the State Council. In general, the number one men of various provincial, municipal, autonomous region, prefectural and even county party committees also do not concurrently hold government posts. No doubt this is beneficial to strengthening party leadership, establishing a perfect and efficient system of work for government at all levels and changing the practice of substituting the party for the government. This is an important policy decision for reforming the party and state leadership system.

Ours is the ruling party, the only ruling party. The constitution of our country clearly stipulates: "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China." The concept that our party must exercise leadership over the state has long been engraved on the minds of the people of the whole country. In order to accomplish the general task of the four modernizations in the new historical period, we must uphold the four basic principles—the core of which is party leadership. The party's leadership over the state must be consolidated and strengthened; it must never be weakened. Any idea or practice of weakening party leadership is exceedingly wrong and must be resolutely opposed.

The question is: How should our ruling party exercise its rule and improve its leadership? Although we have kept party and government setups separate from the top down since our party took over the helm of the state, the problem of substituting the party for the government has always existed to a greater or lesser extent. In the early 1950's it was said that we must "centralize power on major issues and decentralize power on minor issues" in order to combat decentralism. Later this became one of the principles of party leadership. In practice the following state of affairs developed: All power was centralized in the hands of the party committees. The party committees took everything upon themselves. Everything had to be decided by the party committees, and the people's governments at various levels were unable to fully exercise their authority. During the 10-year turmoil this problem became even more pronounced. In order to usurp party and state power, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques first "kicked aside the party committees to make revolution," wiped out the party committees at all levels, did away with party leadership and paralyzed the party organizations. After wielding considerable power, they wanted to build a world of the "gang of four" and exercise feudal fascist dictatorship. Thus, they substituted the gang for the party and vainly attempted to grab hold of all power in the name of strengthening centralized party leadership. They defied the party's leader. Party committees at all levels, particularly the first secretaries, also unwarrantedly grabbed too much power. For some time the party and the government became integrated, with party and government affairs being handled by the same group of persons and the same setup. After the downfall of the "gang of four," the situation underwent a great change. Party and government powers which had been usurped by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were put back in the hands of the party and the people. The battered party and administrative organs were restored and suitable leadership changes made in party and administrative units at various levels. On the whole, the party and the government each has its own organizational and personnel structures. In actual work, however, the problem of substituting the party for the government is still quite common and serious. Party committees running things on behalf of the government is still a common practice. Many things which are within the functions and powers of the government have to be approved and handled by the party committee secretaries. It is like this not only in party-government relations but also in specific business departments, enterprises and establishments. This situation must be changed.

Substituting the party for the government has many drawbacks. First, it is not conducive to the strengthening of the party's work and leadership. Because of the heavy tasks shouldered by the party, party building should be strengthened. However, due to the fact that the party committees are bogged down in administrative work and routine matters, the work of the party is not put in its rightful place on the agenda. At present, quite a few problems exist in the work of the party. For example, in some localities and units the party's political, ideological and organizational lines are not effectively carried out; the activities of the party organizations are unsound; ideological work is weak; the party's work style is unhealthy; the role of the party organizations as a fighting bastion and the exemplary role of party members are not properly developed, and so on. The causes may be numerous, but they are inseparably linked with the long-standing practice of the party not minding its own affairs. Second, it is not conducive to administrative departments exercising their own functions and powers and giving full play to the enthusiasm of the administrative personnel. Because the party committees are taking administrative work into their own hands and directly meddling in administrative affairs, the administrative departments cannot properly exercise their functions and powers. Although many administrative personnel are fairly familiar with the situation and are well versed in the profession, what they say usually does not count. Third, the overconcentration of power will easily lead to the patriarchal system and bureaucratism. If all powers are inappropriately and indiscriminately put in the hands of the party committees and the party secretaries, especially the first secretaries, the situation in which a handful or an individual decides everything is bound to arise. Even if the leading persons of the party committees are democratic in work style and will listen to others, they cannot tackle everything well, because they have too much on their hands and because their knowledge, ability and energy is limited.

Our party is the governing party, but it cannot take the place of the government. Our country is a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The workers, peasants and intellectuals and all patriotic personages who support socialism are the masters of the country. They manage affairs of the state through organs of state power--the people's congresses. The people's governments at various levels are executive bodies of the organs of state power. Their authority can only be exercised by government workers elected by people's congresses at various levels. The masses can effectively exercise supervision over the people's governments at various levels through people's congresses of corresponding levels. This is our country's basic system of letting the people run affairs of the state. Although our party is the ruling party, we cannot just leave the party committees to exercise the power of state administrative organs. Instead, party members who have been elected to state organs must work hand in hand with nonparty persons to carry out the party's line, principles and policies and do government work well. Moreover, our party is the vanguard of the working class. It only forms a small portion of the working class, which in turn only forms a small portion of the whole people. Our party has more than 38 million members, but this is not much compared with the population of the whole country. Our socialist cause is the undertaking of the masses. It must rely on the masses and give full play to their enthusiasm. If the party were to take the place of the government, then the people's congresses, the standing committees of the people's congresses and the people's governments would all become ornaments existing in name only, and letting the masses become masters of the country and run affairs of the state would be out of the question. If the practice of substituting the party for the government is not changed, perfecting and improving the political system of people's democracy in our country will be just so much idle talk, and our party will be divorced from the masses. This is very dangerous.

Some people ask: If the party represents the interests of the masses, why can't the party committees exercise administrative power on behalf of the masses? This question is not difficult to answer. It is true that our party's program, line, principles and policies represent the interests of the masses, but this does not mean that the party can take everything into its own hands. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "A basic principle of Marxism-Leninism is to enable the masses to know their own interests and unite to fight for their own interests." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1261) Affairs of the people should be handled by the people themselves. The party only sets the example and leads the way. It is the propagandist and the organizer. The party's program, line, principle and policies must be repeatedly publicized to the masses so that they can be correctly understood, accepted and translated into action. It is the fine tradition of our party to spread propaganda among the masses and get the masses organized. Our party was without power at first. By publicizing its positions to the masses, it won the wholehearted support of the masses. The masses willingly and gladly followed the party to carry out the most adruous struggle and won victory in the revolution. Our party must never discard this tradition now that it is in a ruling position. Every proposition of the party must be based on the opinions of the masses and thoroughly publicized to the masses in order to get their support. Sometimes things have to be written down in the form of law by organs of state power, thus becoming the will of the country, and then carried out by the state administrative organs. No matter how good our party's propositions are, if they are not accepted by the masses as their own business, we will get nowhere forcing them through. Moreover, our party's propositions are not always correct. They have to be examined by the masses. If the party committees take everything into their own hands and have the final say, it means that they do not have faith in the masses and do not believe themselves capable of persuading and mobilizing the masses. This is bound to lead to trouble. Actually we have already encountered quite a lot of trouble and wasted a lot of time. We have had enough of this and should not do it any more.

Some people think that since, "of the seven sectors--industry, agriculture, commerce, study, the army, the government and the party--it is the party that exercises overall leadership," the party must take care of everything or it will not be able to make its leadership felt. This view is wrong. It is in terms of political leadership that we say the party exercises overall leadership. To exercise leadership in every field of work, primarily political leadership, the party must have a correct theory, put its line, principles and policies on the right track, be loyal to the working class and the whole people, maintain close ties with the masses and have the determination and ability to make the masses believe that it is correct. The party members and cadres must take the lead and set an example. The party committees should not directly engage in specific administrative and vocational work. The party should exercise overall leadership, but it should not take everything into its own hands. Letting the party take everything into its own hands does not mean strengthening party leadership. Numerous facts show that if things which should be grasped by the party committees are not given proper attention or are completely ignored, whereas things which should be handled by administrative departments are left to the party committees--so that everything is decided by the party committees, the secretaries are in charge of all work and the party committees become bogged down in daily administrative chores--party leadership will be weakened rather than strengthened. The party must play the leading role in every field of work, but it must not grasp specific administrative work. The party may appear to be in charge of a lot of things and to have great power in its hands if it grasps specific administrative work, but it is only detracting from its position. In this sense, substituting the party for the government actually means substituting the government for the party, that is, replacing party leadership with the grasping of specific administrative work.

What should the party committees do if they do not directly take part in administrative work? In a word, the party should take care of its own business--the line, principles and policies. During the 10-year turmoil our party was badly ravaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." How to eliminate the influence of the ultraleftist line ideologically and organizationally and build our party well is an important issue which has a direct bearing on the success or failure of the modernization program and on the destiny and future of the state. At present, the tasks shouldered by our party are very heavy. For example, many new circumstances and questions in the four modernizations have to be studied; the work of spotting, training and promoting middle-aged and young cadres must be grasped firmly and well; the rectification of party organizations and education of party members urgently demand attention; bureaucracy must be resolutely overcome, and the unhealthy practices in the party's work style must be rectified as quickly as possible; and so on. Only when these tasks are attended to and successfully accomplished can our party restore and raise its prestige among the people of the whole country and give full play to its leading role. Some comrades think: Now that there are no more political movements, the party committees will have nothing to do if they do not take charge of administrative work. These comrades get so used to substituting the party for the government that they forget the work of the party. They hold leading posts in the party, but they only busy themselves with administrative affairs and do not grasp the work of the party. What we must do now is to make the party committees disentangle themselves from administrative affairs and concentrate their energies on party affairs. Of course, this does not mean that the party committees should wash their hands of administrative work. Major policies still demand their attention. They must not only look into questions involving major policies but must grasp them earnestly and well. It is particularly important that they go deep into the realities of life, make investigation and study, find out how the party's line, principle and policies are carried out and promptly solve major problems in this regard. At the same time, the party committees at all levels must also examine the work of the government's leading party groups and the work of party organizations in the government bodies. They must give full play to the role of the government's leading party groups, the role of fighting bastions of party organizations in government bodies, as well as the exemplary vanguard role of party members. Only by doing a good job of these party tasks and through the concerted efforts of the party organizations and party members of administrative departments and comrades outside the party can we do our administrative work well. If the party takes care of its own business and the government also has power in its hands, we will be able to achieve great successes in our work.

Party committees taking everything into their own hands has in fact become a system of leadership. This practice is not easy to change. It requires the concerted efforts of people at the higher and lower levels and of the party and the government. To begin with, leading departments at the higher levels must pay attention to this matter. As long as those at the higher levels draw a clear line of demarcation between party and government affairs it is easy to make the lower levels do the same. If those at the higher levels make no distinction between party and government affairs and assign work all in one package, party and government affairs at the lower levels will be jumbled together. As far as the party and the government are concerned, the important thing is that the party committees must let go and must not take everything upon themselves. The party committees at all levels may issue orders to the party members, cadres and masses, but they should not do so when it comes to matters within the jurisdiction of the administrative personnel. Corresponding changes should also be made in the method of conducting meetings. Meetings involving administrative matters should be conducted by administrative departments. Not all meetings have to be convened by the party committees and attended by the responsible persons of party committees. No doubt, administrative work should be conducted under the unified leadership of the party committees. However, the administrative departments must shoulder their own responsibilities and must not leave everything to the party committees. They should independently and conscientiously carry out work which is within their jurisdiction. There is no need to ask the party committees for instructions all the time or invite party secretaries to attend every meeting and give speeches. Due to the long-standing problem of substituting the party for the government, people tend to think that if the secretary does not put in an appearance it means that there is no leadership from the party, or that the party committee does not attach importance to the matter.

Our party has been at the helm for more than 30 years. It has accumulated a good deal of experience in the handling of party-government relations. Based on the Marxist principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, we must sum up our experiences and lessons with the spirit of seeking truth from facts. This is essential for improving and strengthening party leadership, giving full play to the functions and powers of state administrative organs and speeding up socialist modernization. Lenin pointed out as early as 1922: "It is necessary to draw a clear line of demarcation between the functions and powers of the party (and its Central Committee) and the Soviet Government and to boost the sense of responsibility and initiative of the functionaries of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet organs. The task of the party is to exercise overall leadership over the work of all state organs rather than to interfere with their work too frequently and on an irregular basis, often over minor details, as is now the case." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 221) After more than 30 years of practice, we now have an intimate knowledge of this matter. We all feel that it will not do to substitute the party for the government and that immediate steps should be taken to rectify this practice. Of course, this has to be done in a systematic and planned way, and some problems still require careful consideration. We must emancipate our minds and free ourselves from old conventions, old habits and old methods.

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ON THE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE OF SOCIALIST ENTERPRISES

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[Article by Jiang Yiwei [5592 0001 5517]]

> [Text] Editor's Note: Reforming the leadership structure of enterprises is an important component of the reform of the economic management structure. Comrade Jiang Yiwei's article advances some views and problems in this respect for our study and discussion.

Reform of the Economic Management Structure Must Be Carried Out Together With Reform of the Leadership Structure Within Enterprises

Reform of the economic management structure is an important content of China's present economic reform. What this reform mainly refers to is how to change the form and method of leadership of state organizations over national economic activities of the whole country based on objective economic laws. The practice and theoretical exploration of the last 2 years have demonstrated that the key to this reform lies in the correct handling of the relations between the state and the basic economic units. We must proceed from the establishment and expansion of the decisionmaking power of enterprises. The reason for this is quite simple: as the socialist economy is still a commodity economy, socialist enterprises inevitably must also possess the general characteristics of commodity producers. They are the basic units of the national economy, as well as the basic units directly engaged in production and circulation activities. They must possess relative independence and be able to develop independently on their own initiative under the unified leadership of the socialist state and must also possess independent economic interests. Only thus can each enterprise become a dynamic organism, give full play to its positive enthusiasm and develop into a powerful force of the national economy.

Socialism is incomparably superior to capitalism in that it practices public ownership and puts an end to the phenomenon of the exploitation of man by man. The working people become the masters of production, work for their own interests and can therefore bring their great enthusiasm and creativity into play. The basic feature of the socialist economy is the implementation of the principle of socialist democracy in the economic sphere. Giving play to the ability of an enterprise to maintain its independence and keep the initiative in its own hands under the unified leadership of the state is precisely the concrete embodiment of socialist economic democracy. However, the initiative of an enterprise in the final analysis still derives from the initiative of the working people. Therefore, merely expressing the principle of socialist economic democracy as the ability of an enterprise to maintain its independence and keep the initiative in its own hands is not enough. It must at the same time embody the ability of an enterprise to genuinely practice democratic management and enable the working people to actually run their own affairs before the boundless wisdom and creativeness inherent in the people can burst forth.

The thinking of Marx and Engels on the integrated body of free and equal producers should become the theoretical basis for the socialist economic management structure we are building. Marx pointed out: "The nationwide concentration of means of production will become the national basis of society composed of integrated bodies of free and equal producers, and these producers will consciously engage in social labor in accordance with their common and rational plan. This is the humane goal of the great economic movement of the 19th century." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 454) Engels said: "By far the most important decree of the Commune instituted an organization of large-scale industry and even manufacturing which was not only to be based on the association of the workers in each factory, but also to combine all these associations in one great union; in short, an organization which, as Marx quite rightly says in 'The Civil War,' must necessarily lead in the end to communism." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 333-334)

According to the aforementioned concept of Marx and Engels of economic organization under public ownership, the two main points are: One, each enterprise should be an integrated body of free and equal producers. In other words, an enterprise should be democratically managed by its production workers. Two, the whole national economy should be a great union composed of many equal, independent, integrated bodies. The combination of these two levels embodies the high degree of democracy manifested in the socialist economy after the implementation of public ownership.

The reform of the present structure in China, which has established as the point of departure the giving of greater decisionmaking power to enterprises, recognized the relative independence of enterprises and promoted the voluntary association of enterprises, is essentially a development of the aforementioned concept of the "great union." With the decisionmaking power of enterprises firmly entrenched, what follows is the inevitable solution of the problem of who will exercise and how to exercise this power. This will involve the leadership structure within each enterprise. No doubt the principle of socialist democracy must also be implemented in each enterprise, so that it can become an integrated body of free and equal producers before it can combine internally and externally to form a comprehensive management system which embodies socialist economic democracy.

The Present Leadership Structure of the Enterprise Cannot Adapt to the Demand for Reform

The leadership structure of an enterprise is the basic unit of social economy. Take a production enterprise, for example. It not only directly develops productive forces but also directly gives expression to certain production relations. The leadership structure of an enterprise is the core of that enterprise's organization. It must, on the one hand, cater to the objective demand of organizing productive forces and socialized large-scale production, and on the other hand it must also play the role of safeguarding certain social production relations.

Historical experience has shown that to carry out effective management in a modern enterprise the leadership structure of enterprises can roughly be divided into three functions and powers--the policymaking power, the order-giving power and the supervisory power. The policymaking power is the power to make decisions regarding the orientation, policies and certain important measures of production management of the enterprise. The order-giving power is to provide administrative guidance in the production management of the enterprise based on the policy decisions already determined. The supervisory power is to carry out all-round supervision of the policymakers and order givers of the enterprise in order to safeguard the rights and interests of the owners of the enterprise. These three powers not only must stand apart but must also condition each other before the rights and interests of the owners of the enterprise can be protected and the efficient management required by the enterprise can be guaranteed at the same time.

In capitalist enterprises these three powers are in the hands of the capitalists and their agents. The policymaking power and supervisory power are generally exercised by a board of directors composed of representatives of the capitalists (shareholders), or the policymaking power is exercised by a board of directors, the supervisory power is exercised by a supervisory committee set up for that purpose and the order-giving power is exercised by the manager appointed by the board of directors or the supervisory committee.

The leadership structure of socialist enterprises still can and also must make distinctions between policymaking power, order-giving power and supervisory power. The only difference is that all of these three powers belong to the working people.

What the leadership structure in our country practices at present is the responsibility system of factory director and the system of workers congresses under the leadership of the party committee. Regardless of the problem in actual practice, from the point of view of an analysis of the structure itself the three powers still stand apart. The policymaking power is exercised by the party committee of the enterprise, the order-giving power is exercised by the factory director (or manager), and the supervisory power is exercised by the workers congress. Experiences over the years have proved that there are many contradictions in the implementation of this structure, and judging from the orientation of the reform in the future there will be even more problems.

First, an enterprise is an economic organization and the party committee is a political organization, and the organizational systems of the two are different in character. Socialist economic construction should be led by the political party of the proletariat. This is an unshakable principle. However, party leadership does not necessarily mean that we must adopt the form of administrative leadership to bring it about. Experiences over the years have proved that, as a result of the party organization becoming the supreme policymaking organ of the enterprise, many defects have appeared. In some enterprises, all matters large and small must be decided by the party committee, the unified command role of the factory director (or manager) is weakened and the efficient management needed by modern enterprises is affected. The party committee frequently replaces scientific management with political movement and obstructs improvement in the management level of enterprises. At the same time, because the party committee is stuck with administrative affairs, it can no longer attend to the business of the party, and in fact the leadership role of the party in politics is instead weakened.

Proceeding from the country as a whole, the leadership of the party over economic work is manifested mainly in the formulation of the line and important policies and principles, but the concrete implementation of the line, policies and principles of the party must be carried out by means of the state administrative system. Reform of the structure in the future must recognize the relative independence of enterprises under the unified leadership of the state, and in the management of enterprises the state must also mainly employ the method of economic means and reduce the method of administrative means to direct enterprises. Under this condition, how can the party committee directly manage the enterprise from within? The 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee called for the conscientious solution of the phenomenon which makes no distinction among the party, the government and the enterprise and which replaces the government with the party and the enterprise with the government. This is a correct and important policy decision for overcoming the defects in the structure of our country. If the policymaking power of an enterprise is still exercised by the party committee and the party committee is in fact part of the head of the economic organization of the enterprise, then this kind of organizational composition will determine that the phenomenon which makes no distinction between the government and the enterprise cannot be overcome.

Second, a major defect in the existing economic management structure is the direct management of enterprises by the state and the fact that enterprises become a branch of the state administrative organization. As this type of organizational system runs somewhat parallel to the organizational system of the party, it is organizationally convenient for the basic-level party organization to assume direct leadership over the enterprises, as they are basic-level economic units of the state. The reform of the structure in the future will be to firmly establish the decisionmaking power of each enterprise. Each enterprise should have relative independence under the unified leadership of the state economic policy, economic legislature and economic planning and should no longer be a branch of the state administrative system. Under this plan, the party committee of an enterprise as the head organization of a relatively independent enterprise is definitely inappropriate.

As an economic organization, an enterprise must base its activities on objective economic laws, and its form of organization must correspond to the objective demands of economic developments. Following the development of the economy, the segregation of enterprises because they belong to different departments, trades and areas must inevitably be broken and free association formed on the principle of specialization and cooperation. The exercise of policymaking power by the party committee of an enterprise under a certain local party organization for these multiprovincial and multitrade joint enterprises is obviously impractical.

Third, because the party committee and the enterprise are organizations of a different character, for many years there has been no clear definition of the question of economic responsibility. The party committee exercises the policymaking power but assumes no clear-cut economic responsibility for the results of enterprise management. The factory director (or manager) can assume responsibility, but he has no power to make decisions. This abnormal phenomenon of "power without responsibility and responsibility without power" is precisely the inevitable outcome of the mixing of these two organizations of a different character. The reform of the structure in the future must regard an enterprise as a relatively independent commodity producer and express the relationship between it and the state as that between rights and obligations; moreover, this relationship must be affirmed by the state in the form of laws. Every registered enterprise approved by the state has a "legal" status in law and must in its legal capacity assume economic responsibility and legal responsibility for its own management. If the party committee exercises the policymaking power, it certainly should also assume this legal responsibility. This obviously is unsuitable.

Fourth, democratic management is the basic feature of the socialist enterprise. To carry out democratic management we must implement the principle of democratic centralism in enterprises. To implement democratic centralism organizationally we must build the function and power of democratic centralism into an internal link directly connected to the organizational system.

The party organization itself is an organizational system of democratic centralism within the framework of party members. The party congress is elected by the whole body of party members, and it in turn produces the party committee and party committee secretaries to form the collective leadership on a democratic basis within the party. However, can we implement the democratic centralism of the party within each enterprise? Obviously not. The democratic centralism of an enterprise can only be established by the participation of all the workers of an enterprise, so that the enterprise becomes an integrated body of free and equal producers as envisioned by Marx and Engels. The existing leadership structure regards the workers congress as a democratic organization of each enterprise and the party committee as a centralized policymaking organization. Democracy and centralism cannot constitute an intrinsic link of the organizational system. Therefore, they also cannot effectively carry out democratic centralism within the enterprise.

Fifth, the workers congress is a very good innovation in democratic management of enterprises tried out in China. For many years the use of this organizational form has played a positive role in developing democracy and arousing the enthusiasm of the workers to run their own affairs. However, this role is still very limited.

Based on the existing structure, the workers congress has been called the organ of power of the enterprise. What actual power has this organ of power? In general, it should have supervisory power. Practice has proved that, as a mass organization, objectively it is very difficult for the workers congress to carry out effective supervision. In form, the factory director (or manager) must prepare a work report at regular intervals to be presented at the workers congress, but the important policies are always decided by the party committee. The factory director (or manager) is only an executive, and those things which the workers congress can supervise is also very limited. Therefore, it is not at all unusual for the following situation to arise: "The party committee makes the calls, the factory director makes reports, the representatives raise their hands and the trade unions play an insignificant role." This kind of democratic management cannot fully arouse the enthusiasm of the workers to run their own affairs. This condition is not the result of who has done well or who has not done well but the result of the inherent weakness of the structure itself.

Sixth, any modern enterprise must have a strong and powerful centralized command for routine production management, or in other words, it must practice the system of one-man leadership. This is the objective demand of socialized large-scale production. Such writers of Marxist classics as Marx, Engels and Lenin long ago made an extremely positive scientific analysis regarding this point.

The policies of a modern enterprise may be made collectively, but their implementation must be subordinated to a centralized command. In the past we criticized the "system of one-man leadership." This is significant if taken in connection with the policies on important issues. The transition of the capitalist enterprise from monopoly management to partnership management must still adopt the form of a board of directors to carry out necessary democratic policies. No doubt it is even more necessary for our socialist enterprise to adopt this democratic form, and we cannot allow one man to have the final say. However, in routine production management we must at any rate still practice the system of one-man leadership in the implementation of policies and let the factory director (or manager) be in charge of the centralized command.

In the factory director responsibility system under the leadership of the party committee, policies are made collectively by the party committee, and command is centralized within the factory director. Regardless of whether the exercise of policymaking power by the party committee is suitable or not, the principles of making policies collectively and one-man leadership are correct. In the past there was also the formulation of "the division of work with individual responsibility system on the part of the factory director under the leadership of the party committee." The routine work of an enterprise was handed to the director and several deputy directors, who divided the work and individual responsibility; it was not centralized under the factory director. In policymaking, some of the enterprises also did not give play to the collective role of the party committee but allowed the party committee secretary to make the decisions by himself on all matters both large and small. This in fact took the shape of "the system of one-secretary leadership." Consequently, policies were undemocratic or command was not centralized, and this perverse method was completely incompatible with the objective demand of socialized large-scale production of a modern enterprise.

The democratic centralism pursued in enterprises is centralism based on democracy. The person exercising centralized command has position and power as well as responsibility and is responsible to the organ making the democratic policies.

However, in a rational and effective responsibility system he can only be responsible to a single authorizing organ. If he has to be responsible to multiple leadership organs, it will be difficult to define his responsibility. Under the existing leadership structure, the factory director (or manager) not only must be responsible to the party committee but must also be responsible to the workers congress. This kind of multiple responsibility system also reflects the confusion in organizational construction.

From the above we can see that the factory director responsibility system and the workers congress system under the leadership of the party committee not only have numerous contradictions in the structure itself, but, judging from the orientation of the reform of the economic management structure in the future, will also pose more difficulties in adapting to the needs. Therefore, while reforming the economic management structure we must at the same time study and solve the question of the internal leadership structure of enterprises.

Strive To Improve the Leadership Structure of China's Socialist Enterprises

There is a general character as well as an essential distinction between socialist and capitalist enterprises. This distinction is due mainly to the differences in production relations. This is also the case in the leadership structure of enterprises: rational organization of productive forces and catering to the needs of socialized large-scale production have their common aspect. However, because of the differences in ownership systems, the socialist leadership structure inevitably will have its own unique character.

Based on the practical experiences of the past and the summing up of the orientation of structure reform in the future, we may summarize the leadership structure of socialist enterprises as developing democracy, unifying command and carrying out all-round supervision. The concrete method should be to allow the workers congress and its standing organizational structure (such as the management committee) to exercise the policymaking power in each enterprise, so that the workers of the enterprise can really be the masters of their own affairs and run each enterprise as an integrated body of free and equal producers. On the basis of democratic policy decisions, the factory director (or manager) should be allowed to exercise the order-giving power, and a strong and powerful democratic command system headed by the factory director (or manager) should be established in order to implement the policies and deal with the routine work of production and management. The party committee of each enterprise should carry out all-round supervision. It not only must supervise the workers congress and its standing organizational structure, but must also supervise the factory director (or manager) and cadres at various levels to guarantee that the economic policies and decrees of the state are implemented in the enterprise, so that the unity of the state and the independence of the enterprise can be correctly integrated.

This kind of leadership structure can be described as a factory director (or manager) responsibility system and an organizational system of democratic centralism composed of the workers congress and the factory director (or manager). Since the party committee remains outside this organizational system, the question of not distinguishing among the party, the government and the enterprise does not exist. However, as the vanguard of the proletariat, the party organization has the responsibility to teach the party members exemplary action, lead the workers in observing economic policies and decrees of the state, safeguard the socialist character of an enterprise and carry out all-round supervision of the conditions of actual implementation within each enterprise.

Will this kind of leadership structure weaken the leadership of the party over enterprises? Convention and habit have always maintained that the policymaking power is primary in leadership power and that the supervisory power is secondary. This interpretation is lacking in scientific analysis. Of the three powers regarding enterprise management, the policymaking power is undoubtedly the most important to a capitalist enterprise and provides it with absolute independence. Therefore, the capitalists must exercise the policymaking power by means of a board of directors composed of their own representatives. However, because of the increasing demand on the part of the administrative management of an enterprise for specialized knowledge and experience, capitalist enterprises have no alternative but to draw on some specialists by having them join their board of directors. For the sake of reconciling class contradictions, they even practice a so-called "workers participation system" to draw on a small number of workers' representatives to join the board of directors. Consequently, there has appeared a tendency toward the separation of ownership power and management power. For the sake of safeguarding the interests of capitalist ownership, the capitalists of some enterprises have also begun to develop the role of supervisory power. Consequently, the supervisory committee of some enterprises has greater power than the board of directors.

Socialist enterprises must also have independence, and enterprises should also have the right to make their own policies. However, socialist enterprises have only relative independence under the unified leadership of the state. The policies of an enterprise can only be made to a certain extent within the framework of the unified policy, principles and decrees of the state and must also be under the guidance of the state plan. To guarantee the unified leadership of the state, the supervision of enterprise activities has become a major issue. The experiences of such countries as Yugoslavia have also indicated that this type of supervision has become even more necessary after the implementation of economic structure reform and gives greater decisionmaking power to enterprises. Between enterprises and the state there are certain contradictions as regards partial interests and overall interests and immediate interests and long-term interests. Only if the party organization keeps the interests of the proletariat and all the people in mind and educates the whole party and all the workers to correctly handle these contradictions can the unity of the state and the independence of enterprises be in complete accord.

If the party organization does not directly take part in the concrete policymaking and routine administrative work of enterprises but exercises the power of all-round supervision, it can more objectively and actively give play politically to its leadership role over enterprises. Relying on the prestige of the party and the exemplary action of the party members, the workers congress and the leading members of enterprises must certainly also listen to and respect the views of the party committee on important matters. Even so, if serious differences develop between a workers congress and a party committee, the party committee of this enterprise can still put things right by means of a party committee at a higher level or the leadership department concerned. Therefore, the exercise of supervision by a party committee will certainly not weaken the leadership of the party; instead, it is only in this way that the political leadership of the party over the work of an enterprise can really be strengthened.

If the above principle can be established and this new type of leadership structure implemented, it is also necessary to correspondingly solve a series of concrete organizational measures. For example: How can we organize the workers congress and fix its authority and responsibility? Should there be a standing organizational structure under the workers congress in larger enterprises? Should we set up the usual kind of standing organizational structure or some special committees, such as a salary and welfare committee and a personnel examination and appointment committee, to deal democratically with problems workers are most concerned about? How should the factory director (or manager) be selected? Should he be elected or should he be recommended by the higher organ or party committee and appointed after consideration by the workers congress? Should the relationship between the factory director and deputy directors be that of the leader and those who are led, and should the deputy directors be appointed by the factory director? Based on the aforementioned structure, to regard the trade union as the standing organizational structure of the workers congress is obviously not quite suitable; then what active role can the trade unions play in enterprises? In the association of one enterprise with other enterprises to form various types of companies or integrated bodies, how do we establish the leadership structure of these companies? How do we establish the leadership structure of such basic-level units as branch companies, branch factories and workshops within an enterprise? Is there any necessity to adopt the election system for leading members of laboratories and workshops? Should the personnel who belong to the command system and carry out the policies of the factory director also be nominated or appointed by the factory director? All these questions still require further study, and after testing at selected points they should be defined by such laws as the "enterprise law" and "company law" promulgated by the state, subjected to practice and perfected constantly before they can finally become a new type of leadership structure with a distinctive Chinese style for socialist enterprises and create useful experience for building socialist economic democracy.

CSO: 4004

THE QUESTION OF THE SOCIALIST UNIFIED MARKET

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 14-19

[Article by Su Xing [5685 2502]]

[Text] Since the reform of economic management got under way, economic workers and theoretical workers in economics have placed heavy emphasis on research on the question of the market. This is really a question of the utmost importance. On the face of it, this is a question of distribution, but in fact it is a question which is concerned with the complete fulfillment of social reproduction and with the expansion of social reproduction. That is to say, it is a question which pervades all aspects of the national economy. In this article I am concerned only with the discussion of a few tentative approaches to the question of the socialist unified market.

1. The Flow of the Means of Production Is Included in the Socialist Unified Market

At the end of the 1890's, Lenin initiated a debate with the populists in which the main point at issue was whether or not capitalism in Russia was capable of development. The populists held that capitalism could not develop because there was no market. Lenin said that it was capable of development and that it was, moreover, developing at that moment, since the very nature of capitalist development consisted of the creation of its own markets. What Lenin actually said at the time was: "When the commodity economy first appeared, the domestic market appeared as a consequence. The domestic market was the product of the development of this commodity economy, and the exact degree of the social distribution of labor determined its level of development. The domestic market steadily expanded as the commodity economy turned from products to the work force. It was only as a consequence of the work force being transformed into a commodity that capitalism was able to spread to all aspects of the country's production, relying principally for its development on the expansion of the means of production, which held an increasingly significant position in the capitalist society." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 47) From these remarks of Lenin, we see that, first, the domestic market appeared at the same time as the commodity economy, and that, if there is a commodity economy, then there will be a market. Second, the more exact the distribution of labor becomes, the more the commodity economy develops and the more the market expands. Third, the capitalist market takes the employment of labor as its base and depends principally on the development of the means of production. This debate resulted in victory for Lenin and defeat for the populists. The reason for this was that Lenin's hypothesis was in accord with the reality of the situation in Russia, while the hypothesis of the populists was not.

As all comrades who have read his "On the So-Called Market Question," "The Development of Russian Capitalism," and other relevant works will be aware, in the process of stating the form of the market Lenin used Marx' basic tenets relating to reproduction as his weapon throughout these works. This fact gives us great encouragement in our research on the question of the socialist market. According to Marx' basic tenets of reproduction, social production may be divided into two main types: the production of the means of production and the production of the means of subsistence. The means of production and the means of subsistence may both be traded in the same market. Only when they have undergone exchange can material compensation and value compensation be obtained for the two main types of social production. Despite this, throughout the long period of our investigations into the question of the socialist market, we have never been willing to admit that the means of production are a commodity. This has caused the unified socialist market to become incomplete and divorced from Marx' basic tenets of reproduction. If this problem is not resolved, it will constitute an obstacle to our thorough investigation of the question of socialist reproduction.

The source of the viewpoint which denies that the means of production are a commodity lies in Stalin's book "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR." Before the publication of this book, a debate had also been raging in Soviet academic circles as to the existence or nonexistence of commodities under the socialist system, but it appears that no one engaged in the discussion made a distinction between the means of production and consumer goods. The foundation for the hypothesis which denied that the means of production were a commodity was in fact Stalin's definition of a commodity, namely, that "a commodity is that kind of goods which may be sold to any purchaser, and after its sale the owner loses his right of ownership over the commodity, while the purchaser in turn becomes the owner of the commodity and may resell or store the commodity or allow it to depreciate." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 578) From the beginning, everyone reversed this definition as if it were only writ, and scarcely anyone doubted it. Only in 1957, in China, did someone suggest that the transference of the right of ownership could not provide an indication of what was or was not a commodity, and maintain that "this new definition does not appear to be a development of Marx' classic definition; on the contrary, this new definition is incapable of explaining correctly what a commodity is." (Comrades Nan Bing [0589 0393] and Suo Zhen [4795 4176], ECONOMIC RESEARCH, No 1, 1957) I believe that a reappraisal of this definition of Stalin's is required if we are to conduct a thorough investigation of commodity production with an economy based on the system of ownership by the whole people.

I concur with the view which holds that Stalin's definition does not reflect the true nature of a commodity. Marx and Lenin both put forth definitions of a commodity, maintaining that a commodity is a dual entity, possessing both use value and value, and that its most fundamental relationships are those relationships which arise, in a mutually interdependent manner, when the producers of commodities treat their own labor as equivalent to the labor of humanity as whole. From the point of view of legal rights, in the exchange of commodities the right of ownership has been transferred. This kind of transfer is not the same as giving gratis, or rendering dues, and is not a one-sided affair, but rather a mutual transfer of possession. On the level of principles, it works on the premise of exchange at equal prices. Marx said: "The social intercourse or social relations between two owners of private property creates the mutual nature of transfer, that is, the two-sided relations of transfer. In other words, transfer constitutes the relation between two owners of private property." ("A Critical Commentary on a Book by James Muller," cited in "Collected Translations in Economics," No 4, 1979) However, Marx did not use the transfer of right of ownership as a criterion of a commodity.

No special difficulties arise if, instead of setting out from Stalin's definition, we work on the basis of the real facts, admitting that the means of production exchanged within an economy based on the system of ownership by the whole people are also commodities. This is because, first, that kind of economy possesses the dual nature of commodities, namely, use value and value. Second, the labor which produces these commodities also possesses a dual nature, namely, concrete labor and abstract labor. Third, the value of this group of commodities is determined by the length of working time required of the society, and fourth, the value of this group of commodities is also expressed as price. If the means of production are not commodities, whence do all the above phenomena arise? Moreover, they are transferred independently of man's will, whether we choose to admit that this is so or not. I do not entirely agree with such statements as "causing the means of production to play the part of commodities" or "turning the means of production into commodities." This way of putting things may easily be misinterpreted to mean that we can, at will, cause something to play the part of a commodity or turn something into a commodity, or, equally, not do either of these things. In reality, the means of production have been commodities right from the beginning. We simply did not admit it and also did not treat them as playing the part of commodities in our policies. Now that we have admitted that the means of production are commodities, this does not mean that there has been some kind of change in their basic nature, but simply that our understanding has changed so that it is more in accord with objective laws.

To admit that the means of production are commodities is to admit that the flow of the means of production is included within the unified socialist market. Thus, the matter has been cleared up on the theoretical level. Our understanding of the socialist market is thus in closer accordance with objective reality. In practice, we will also be able to carry out conscious and bold systematic reforms.

As to why commodity production continues to exist within an economy which is based on the system of ownership by the whole people, opinions vary at the moment. However, a unanimous conclusion may be arrived at through academic discussion. Even if a unanimous conclusion cannot be reached, this would not be particularly important. This controversy is of an international nature, and up to now scarcely a single country has arrived at a unanimous view.

2. Concerning the Structure of the Socialist Unified Market

The characteristics of the socialist unified market, just as the name implies, are that it is socialist and that it is unified.

Apart from the products of the socialist state-run economy and of the collective economy, there are a few products of the individual economy at present being exchanged in China's markets. Can we say that all of these are subsumed in the socialist market? I believe that we can.

Generally speaking, whether we speak of the markets of capitalist countries or the markets of socialist countries, all the commodities flowing in the market are the products of economies under different systems of ownership. Once they have reached the market, these commodities, produced by economies having different ownership systems, become completely equal entities, and "in this respect there is no difference whatsoever between commodities produced by capitalists and commodities produced by independent workers, by workers communes or by slaves." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 24, p 429) The crux of the problem is to ascertain the system of ownership of the economy producing the commodities which make up the dominant part of the market. The nature of the commodities which dominate the market can determine the nature of the market. Eighty or 90 percent of the commodities circulating in China's markets are produced by the socialist economy; obviously the market may be said to be socialist.

Now, what kind of structure does this socialist unified market have? In his speech to the eighth party congress, Comrade Chen Yun gave the following summary: "This market of the socialist economy is not the free market of capitalism, but rather the unified market of socialism. In the socialist unified market the state market constitutes its dominant part, but within a certain scope it also contains a state-guided free market. This free market is under state guidance and complements the state market; thus, it is a constituent part of the socialist unified market." It has been proved in practice that these inferences are in accordance with the real state of affairs in China. What is regrettable is that, after the inferences were made, things were not done in complete accordance with them. For a long time an attitude of discrimination was adopted against the free market, and while Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the rampage, some areas treated it as a capitalist road in order to obstruct it and wantonly do away with it.

It goes without saying that a planned market includes the means of production and consumer goods distributed according to a plan. But what is included in the free market (or unplanned market)? First of all, there is the country fair trade. Apart from this, we should also include the mutual exchange of commodities at negotiated prices, after their plans have been completed, between enterprises, departments and regions. Among these commodities are consumer goods, as well as the means of production. This kind of exchange of commodities was formerly illegal but is now lawful.

The planned market and the free market can coexist for a long period during the stage of socialism. For more than 20 years the free market has been opened up when it had been shut down, has been shut down when it was open, has reopened when shut down again, or has operated covertly when it appeared to be closed down. Throughout this period it was impossible to close it down completely, which proves that it is an objectively and independently existing economic base. The following factors are involved in this base:

First, since there exist economies under different systems of ownership, and because commodity production takes place in all towns and villages, the commodities are of innumerable varieties and cannot all circulate through the single medium of the planned market. If the flow of goods is to be speeded up, the number of channels through which they may flow must be increased, and the free market can be used to play a complementary role.

Second, the most significant difference between the planned market and the free market lies in their prices. In this respect the two markets are able to regulate each other. When there are market imbalances of supply and demand, in order to stabilize prices in the planned market the state must relax the restrictions on prices in the free market so as to regulate supply and demand. When supply and demand in the planned market approach each other or are in a state of balance, prices in the free market will fall back again and may even go below those in the planned market. When this happens the state should step up purchasing, regulate free market prices and guarantee production.

Thus, the planned market and the free market are not two completely isolated markets but constitute a single unified market.

At present four kinds of prices are in existence in China's market.

(1) Fixed prices: The prices fixed by the state for important commodities and labor are related to the national economy and the people's livelihood. These include, for example, purchasing prices for important agricultural products, the producer prices of important raw and processed materials, fuel and sources of motive energy power, as well as standard prices and fees for the railroads, the national airline, postal services and important waterways, etc. Changes in these prices must be approved by the relevant departments.

(2) Floating prices: These are of two types. The first are those prices which have a unified fixed price as their upper limit but which are permitted to float in a downward direction. The second type consists of those prices which have a fixed unified price as their median standard but which are allowed to fluctuate, within certain limits, above and below this price. Floating prices include producer prices, wholesale prices and retail prices. When floating prices for commodities are put into effect, labor must be distributed according to the limits of authority of the prices administration, and proper approval must be sought.

(3) Negotiated prices: These are the prices negotiated by both buyers and sellers. Among the commodities whose prices are now negotiated are three kinds of agricultural sideline products and small industrial commodities. There are also one or two agricultural products which may be put on the market when sales to the state have been fulfilled. The negotiation of prices for some of the industrial means of production has also, in fact, begun.

(4) Country fair trade prices: The prices of all commodities permitted by state policy to be marketed at country fairs are negotiated by the buyers and sellers and may freely increase or decrease.

I maintain that the first two types of prices belong to the category of planned prices and that these planned prices constitute the planned market, while the second two types of prices should be placed in the category of unplanned prices, and unplanned prices compose the free market.

Whether they are planned or unplanned, all prices must conform to the law of value.

Previously we have discussed the questions of the spontaneous nature of the law of value and the conscious use of the law of value. In fact, these are problems of the relationship between an objective law and the subjective dynamic role of men. The law of value is not transformed by man's will; it cannot be eliminated by men, nor can it be limited by men. If one understands it and gives expression to it in price policies, then one can consciously use it to regulate production and distribution. On the other hand, if one does not understand it and is unable to give expression to its demands in price policies, it will nevertheless still regulate production and distribution of its own accord.

Planned prices require stability. But it is not the case that stability does not require adjustment. By means of frequent small adjustments, carried out in an active way, large adjustments over which we have no control may be avoided. The fact that the present scale of adjustments is relatively large is the result of the accumulation of contradictions over many years. Once prices have been through this process of adjustment, they still need to be adjusted. Some changes and adjustments are based on the present state of supply and demand, and some must be based on the relations between supply and demand over a long period. Price adjustments are not only increases with no decreases but can be either increases or decreases.

Unplanned prices possess spontaneity, but they are also a sensitive indicator of change. They can put out signals of changes in the relations of supply and demand, reminding us to make conscious use of the law of value and to adjust planned prices in a planned way.

3. In Order To Expand the Socialist Unified Market It Is Necessary To Develop the Social Distribution of Labor

The market is the category of the commodity economy, and the basis of the commodity economy is the social distribution of labor. If we wish to expand the socialist market we must develop the social distribution of labor.

In China's old society the distribution of labor was not advanced. After the founding of new China, following the development of industrial and agricultural production, the social distribution of labor underwent expansion. However, under the influence of the self-sufficient small-scale peasant economy ideology, all the regions were required to set up independent economic systems. Industrial enterprises aimed at being "small and complete" or "large and complete," agriculture stressed self-sufficient production, and this caused severe limitations to be imposed on the social distribution of labor. These conditions were not favorable for the expansion of the socialist unified market.

The development of the social distribution of labor covers many aspects.

First of all, there is the development of the distribution of labor between industry and agriculture and between rural and urban areas. The distribution of labor between industry and agriculture is very closely related to the distribution of labor between rural and urban areas. "The development of the commodity economy is in fact the separation of each industrial department from agriculture." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 19) In the wake of this separation there emerges the process of the transformation of the agricultural population into an urban population. Even in the advanced capitalist countries this process has still not yet come to an end. For instance, the increase in the proportion of urban population between 1950 and 1975 was from 64 percent in the former year to 77.6 percent in the latter year in the United States, from 35.8 percent to 57.6 percent in Japan, from 70.9 percent to 83.3 percent in West Germany, from 77.9 percent to 84.4 percent in Britain, and from 55.4 percent to 73.4 percent in France. In societies in which the exploiting class holds the position of dominance, the process of separation of urban and rural areas has exacerbated the antithesis between the two areas. However, from the point of view of the development of the social economy, this is a great advance. Marx maintains that "the basis of all labor distribution which is advanced, and which uses the exchange of commodities as a vehicle, is the separation of the urban and rural areas. The whole history of economics in society may be summarized as the fluctuations of this separation." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 390) In the view of the Japanese themselves, one of the reasons for the rapid postwar development of the Japanese economy was in fact urbanization. They believe that the concentration of 57 percent of the total population into 2 percent of the country's area was one factor in their economic development.

For a long time the proportion of commodities among China's agricultural products remained stagnant, and the amount of grain purchases by the state accounted for only about 20 percent of total output. An important reason for this was that the productivity of agricultural labor was low. Since the productivity of agricultural labor did not increase, there was no more commodity grain which could be supplied to the urban areas, and if the agricultural population moved to the cities, they were forced to return to the countryside. Have we not already learned our lesson from the two large-scale migrations of peasants into the cities and two cutbacks of staff and workers? However, considering the problem from the long-term point of view, the productivity of agricultural labor will always need to be further increased. If the productivity of agricultural labor could be doubled (raising the average grain output of each able-bodied worker from 2,000 jin to 4,000 jin), it would be possible for the average number of people supported by each able-bodied agricultural worker to be increased from the present 3.23 to 6.5, and a marked change would occur in the economic structure of industry and agriculture and of urban and rural areas.

China has a large number of able-bodied workers, and for quite a long time to come a fairly large proportion of them must be employed in rural areas. All channels should be opened up for them, and they must carry on many kinds of operations and be involved in enterprises at the commune and production brigade levels. However, following the increase in the number of people who can be supported by an able-bodied agricultural worker, even more people will be required to move into the cities. Compared with the rural areas, there are more opportunities for employment in the cities, and according to the industrial classification of capitalist countries the second and third classes of industry are carried on mainly in urban areas.

In China's large cities of more than 1 million inhabitants, of which there are many, housing, transportation and supplies of goods and materials, as well as the available land and water, are all under a very considerable strain, so these large cities cannot be further expanded. On the other hand, medium-sized and small towns should be founded and developed in a planned way. Especially important is the founding and development of new towns in the interior and along the borders. At present this matter is receiving careful consideration within capitalist and socialist countries. Whatever their future destiny may be, in the socialist stage at least, these towns will always be political, economic and cultural centers. Lessening the distinction between urban and rural areas does not mean making the towns emulate the rural areas, nor that everybody is to return to the countryside; rather, it means, most importantly, raising the standards of economic and cultural life in the rural areas. And this can only be achieved with the encouragement and assistance of the urban areas. Present-day life offers proof that it is relatively easy to develop these rural areas which are close to cities, while it is very difficult, on the other hand, to raise the standards of economic and cultural life in villages situated in poor, out-of-the-way rural areas far from the cities.

Second, there is the development of the distribution of labor between departments and within departments. As Marx has said: "Supposing there are only four different production departments, then a very large portion of the goods produced by each person within these four departments will be produced for his own use. If there are several thousand production departments, then each person may produce his entire output of goods in the form of commodities. His total output of goods may be exchanged." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, p 203) This explains how it happens that the relations between the labor distribution of departments and the expansion of the market are so intimate. In investigating the question of the market, Lenin started out from the social distribution of labor. He said: "The social distribution of labor is the basis of the commodity economy. As the processing industries and the mining industries become separated from each other, they each further split up into several very small departments. Each of these departments in turn carries out an exchange of the commodities which have special characteristics, from among those which it produces, with all the other production departments. In this way the development of the commodity economy causes all the independent industrial departments to increase in number. The tendency of this kind of development is to form specialized industrial departments for the manufacture not only of each product but also for the manufacture of every part of each product and to form specialized departments not only for the manufacture of each product but also for every operation required to make these products into genuine consumer goods." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 17) From 1899, when Lenin wrote "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," to the present day, there have been great developments in the distribution of labor, in both industry and agriculture, between departments as well as within departments. In industry, not only have a large number of new departments made their appearance, but they have become more specialized. Through the specialization of products, spare parts, industrial skills and basic technology, the socialization of production has attained a new level. In agriculture, some agriculturally advanced countries have already achieved regional specialization. There have also been wide-ranging developments in the specialization of enterprises. More than 99 percent of U.S. agricultural products now pass through commercial channels, and the farmers themselves also buy back from the market a large proportion of processed foodstuffs; these are the results of specialization. In China the former "large and complete" and "small and complete" production methods in industry and the self-sufficiency of production in agriculture greatly limited the distribution of labor between departments and within departments and did not help the expansion of the market. At present we are going about the reorganization of industry on the principles of specialization and cooperation, establishing base areas for grain and for other agricultural and sideline products on the principle of suiting measures to local conditions, as well as setting up base areas for animal husbandry. These measures will further expand the distribution of labor between departments and within departments, raise the proportion of commodities, and thus bring about the steady expansion of the domestic market.

Third, there is the distribution of labor between regions. China is a large country, vast in territory and with a huge population, and as such it should establish its own independent economic system. Of course, this economic system should not be shut off from the outside world; it needs to develop a wide intercourse with world markets and must also enter the world market. However, it is neither desirable nor necessary for every province and municipality within the country to set up its own independent economic system. In the past there was a time when every province and municipality was putting the emphasis on setting up its own independent economic system, unilaterally striving for self-sufficiency in products, splitting up the unified market into many fragments, and severing economic relations formed in the course of history. Practice has already afforded us proof that this is detrimental to the development of the socialist economy.

Everybody is in favor of the recent emphasis by the party Central Committee on encouraging strong points and avoiding weaknesses and on bringing into play the superiority of each area. In fact, these measures are equivalent to the development of the interregional distribution of labor. Each province and municipality in China has different natural resources and a different economic structure, just as each has its own strong and weak points. If every province and municipality encourages its strong points, then not only will the provinces and municipalities be able to speed up their development, but the development of the national economy as a whole will surely also be speeded up. This is because the national economy is formed by the economies of the provinces and municipalities.

If the superiority of each province and municipality is to be brought into play, it is first of all necessary to develop the unified socialist market, allowing high-quality goods at competitive prices to be on sale throughout the country. In general, provinces and municipalities should not implement protectionist policies. At present, if the production of certain low-quality goods with high production costs is able to continue as before, this is more often than not because of the implementation of protectionist policies that limit competition from high-quality goods which have low production costs. This way of doing things cannot go on forever. From the point of view of an individual province or municipality, the following should be considered: If there are products which it is cheaper to purchase from other provinces or municipalities than to manufacture locally, then it may not be absolutely necessary to manufacture them. Conversely, you should start to produce goods which are cheaper to manufacture locally than to purchase from other provinces and municipalities. Only then can you be considered to be striving for economic results.

In summary, then, we should develop the social distribution of labor and, on the basis of the social distribution of labor, vigorously develop the commodity economy. In this way the socialist market for a population of nearly 1 billion people can in truth become the world's largest domestic market.

CSO: 4004

QUERIES ON THE QUESTION OF THE PRODUCTION STRUCTURE--SEEKING THE ADVICE OF COMRADES LIAO JILI AND GAO YISHENG

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[Article by Hu Fengji [5170 6646 0679]]

[Text] I have greatly benefited from reading the article by Comrades Liao Jili and Gao Yisheng entitled "Turn Our Country's Production From a Heavy Structure Into a Light Structure" (carried in RED FLAG No 16, 1980). However, there are some questions that I would like to ask the writers.

1. Distinctions between the heavy and the light structures of production:

The writers set the 4:6 ratio as a criterion for determining whether the structure of production is light or heavy. Where the total output value of heavy industry accounts for 40 percent or less of the combined total of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, it is a light structure. Where the former exceeds 40 percent, it is a heavy structure.

The problem is: What provides the basis for this ratio? Is it scientific to use given proportions in the total output value of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry as a yardstick by which to judge whether or not the production structure is rational?

Historically speaking, before 1975, except for a few years (1958 to 1960), the total output value of heavy industry always represented a proportion of less than 40 percent. Based on the criterion set by the writers, it was thus a light structure. However, this could not be taken to mean that the proportions represented by agriculture, light industry and heavy industry in the past were in harmony. In fact, in a concrete analysis of historical experiences the writers based their arguments on the too rapid or sudden expansion or contraction of these proportions and not on the 4:6 ratio. I think that it is right for us to use the too rapid or sudden expansion of the proportion of heavy industry as a way to analyze lessons from the past concerning the structure of production. But it is hardly convincing to set the 4:6 ratio as a criterion.

2. Are the proportional readjustments called for by the writers possible?

In 1978 the proportions of our agriculture, light industry and heavy industry were, respectively, 27.8, 31.1 and 41.1. The proportions that the writers demanded for a light structure were: the growth of agriculture from 27.8 percent to 28 percent; the growth of light industry from 31.1 percent to 32 percent; and a cutback in heavy industry from 41.1 percent to 40 percent or less.

Is such a ratio put forward by the writers rational? Is this possible? No. I think that this runs counter to the objective trends of production growth.

1) It is not realistic to demand an increased proportion of agriculture. As the writers said, "changes in the production structure are a result of the development of different sectors at different rates of growth." However, can we envision a growth rate of agriculture exceeding that of industry? In summing up past experiences, the writers envisioned an annual growth rate of 4 percent for agriculture. Unless the growth rate of industry is lower than 4 percent, the proportion of the total output value of agriculture cannot possibly grow. The writers also mentioned a corresponding increase of 8 percent in the annual growth rate of light industry. If such is the case, with an increase of just a little more than 1 percent in the annual growth rate of heavy industry, the growth rate of industry is still higher than that of agriculture, given 1978 as the base. Moreover, with the growth rate of agriculture standing at 4 percent and that of light industry at 8 percent, the annual growth rate of heavy industry can never be 1 percent. Therefore, as far as the trends of development are concerned, the proportion of agriculture is likely to shrink. Facts have also proved this to be the case. After 1 year's adjustment, agriculture showed a rare growth rate of 8.6 percent in 1979, but the proportion it represented still dropped to 25.5 percent from 27.8 percent in 1978. (The total output value of agriculture in 1979 stood at 158.4 billion yuan, while the combined total output value of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry was 617.5 billion yuan.) ("Communique of the State Statistical Bureau," RENMIN RIBAO, 5 January 1980) Can we negate the effect of 1 year's adjustment just because of a drop in the proportion of the total output value of agriculture? Obviously we cannot. A drop in the proportion of the output value of agriculture does not clash with the accelerated development of agriculture. These are two different problems.

2) It is also difficult to bring about an increase in the proportion of the combined total output value of agriculture and light industry. If agriculture and light industry are to grow at rates envisioned by the writers, raising their proportion in the total output value of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry would call for confining the annual growth rate of heavy industry to below 6.2 percent. If it exceeds 6.2 percent, the proportion of heavy industry is likely to grow and exceed the original 41.1 percent. I believe that, with the growth rate of heavy industry in a given period lower than that of light industry, its reduced proportion in industry is necessary. However, a growth rate lower than that of agriculture and light industry combined is uncalled for and improper.

The growth rate of light industry in 1979 was greater than that of heavy industry, but the proportion of heavy industry still rose to 42.3 percent from 41.1 percent. I believe that this slow growth of the proportion of heavy industry is normal and compatible with the law of expanded social reproduction.

Under normal circumstances the relative growth rates of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry should be: a higher growth rate for heavy industry than for light industry and a higher rate for light industry than for agriculture, or a higher rate for light industry than for heavy industry and a higher rate for heavy industry than for agriculture. It is unrealistic to demand a higher growth rate for agriculture than for light industry and a higher growth rate for light industry than for heavy industry. Given a lower growth rate for agriculture than for heavy industry, the proportion represented by heavy industry in the total output value of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry will rise, even given a higher growth rate for light industry than for heavy industry.

I think that it is not a bad thing if, instead of expanding rapidly or abruptly, heavy industry grows steadily, as it did in 1979. If we insist on reducing the proportion of heavy industry from the existing 42.3 percent to below 40 percent, then the growth rate of heavy industry is not only lower than that for light industry but also lower than the combined total output value of agriculture and light industry. Such an approach is not in order.

Therefore, in my opinion, what the writers set as ideal proportions for agriculture, light industry and heavy industry--28:32:40--are not ideal and not compatible with the laws of production growth. Only when the proportion of heavy industry stands below 40 percent is it a light structure. If this is the case, then the appearance of a light structure is hardly possible.

Besides, an analysis to determine what constitutes a light or heavy structure is based on the classification of industry into light and heavy industries. But there is no fixed standard for judgment. At present, classification is based only on the department under which an enterprise is placed. Changes in the departments placed in charge, such as a switchover from the machinery department and the chemical department to the light industry department where the control of television and chemical fiber industries is concerned, are always followed by changes in the proportions of light industry and heavy industry. In fact, these changes are not really changes in the structure of production. Because the determination of a light or heavy structure is affected, to a certain extent, by a free adjustment of the relations between the department in charge and the enterprise under it, classification can hardly be accurate. How does one analyze the structure of production as far as the form of something concrete is concerned? What is the basis of classification? These are points worth studying.

Generally speaking, I hold the view that in the current period of adjustment and for a certain period of time to come it is correct and necessary to accelerate the development of agriculture and light industry and make light industry grow faster than heavy industry. But the proportions of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry sought by Comrades Liao Jili and Gao Yisheng and their arguments must be further studied.

CSO: 4004

LETTER OF COMPLAINT FROM READERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 p 21

> [Text] Editor's Note: Due to an editorial oversight, this magazine carried in its No 16 issue this year an article entitled "There Is No Gold That Is 100 Percent Pure," which contained plagiarized passages. In order to draw a lesson therefrom and get rid of plagiarism, we publish here the letter of complaint from the readers.

Comrade Editor:

After reading the No 16, 1980, issue of your magazine, we found that the article entitled "'There Is No Gold That Is 100 Percent Pure' and Something Else" by Liang Change was a case of plagiarism. Its third passage was basically copied from the article "We Cannot Overlook an Otherwise Perfect Piece of Jade Just Because of a Single Flaw," published in GUANGMING RIBAO on 13 February 1980 (written by Gan Feng).

Half of Gan Feng's article of over 1,000 Chinese characters was copied by Liang Change with passages reproduced in their entirety. For example, the following passages were reproduced by Liang Change without changing a single word: "To find a really talented person is like attempting the impossible...." "Strange to say, it is a case of looking for talent and not sons-in-law...." "We must not 'let a single tree leaf block our view and lose sight of Mount Taishan.' Similarly, we must not be blind to an otherwise perfect piece of jade just because of a single flaw," and so forth. What is noteworthy is that the same mistake appeared in Liang's article when a quotation from Wang Chong's words, "Soup for the gourmet must leave something to be desired," was erroneously given by Gan Feng as "Soup for the gourmet must leave everything to be desired." Since the evidence is in black and white, it cannot be denied. It is really inconceivable that a party magazine has become involved in a serious case of plagiarism.

Such a practice must be criticized and stopped. We have a letter for Liang Change which we ask you to please hand over to him.

With best wishes,

Several students of the Philosophy Department, the Chinese People's University
19 August 1980

CSO: 4004

INDEPENDENT THINKING AND CREATIVE WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 22-25

[Article by Jin Wen [6855 3080]]

[Text]

I

Independent thinking is the right as well as the responsibility of every revolutionary. Of course, after going through the painful years in which "ten thousand horses stand mute," it is not easy to talk about independent thinking. However, at a time when we are carrying out our new Long March, independent thinking is vital to the individual, the party and the whole nation. This is a topic which we should study conscientiously.

We are now in a new era in which the realization of socialist modernization is the basic task. As distinct from the previous revolution, we are now building a new world instead of destroying the old one. This new world should not appear only as an empty concept, nor should it remain at the scaffolding stage. It should appear as a grand mansion which is rich in content. We are actually building this mansion through our many reforms from the economic base to the superstructure. Whether we are referring to our country or to the world as a whole, socialism is still at a stage of experimentation. Although there are many experiences and precedents both within and without the country which we can follow, there is no readymade blueprint for us to follow in building socialism according to national conditions. As we turn our underdeveloped socialist society into a modernized and highly democratic and civilized socialist power, neither the leftist line of the "Cultural Revolution" nor the simple solution of restoring the methods before the Cultural Revolution will suffice. Many of the pathways have to be explored by ourselves, and some systems have to be reformed. Reform means the elimination of the old and establishment of the new. We have to reform our national management system, economic management system, leadership system as well as the cadre system. These backward links and structures which are obstructing the four modernizations should be eliminated or changed. Systems and institutions favoring and promoting the four modernizations should be set up. This cannot be done by sticking to the old ways. This requires the bringing forth of new ideas. It is only through blazing new trails that the nation can develop and the country can make progress. Only then can the blueprints of the four modernizations be realized. Our age is an age of creativity. Our work is creative work.

Where does creativity come from? It comes from independent thinking. According to Marxist epistemology, man is differentiated from animal mainly by his subjective initiative. This includes his dynamic role in knowing the world and actively changing it. Furthermore, the dynamic role of knowing the world is the precondition for the dynamic role of changing the world. Independent thinking is part of the thinking process of actively knowing the world and finding out ways of changing it. Knowledge is sought through the study of objective reality. If this is real knowledge and penetrating insight, it can add new pearls to the collective wisdom that humanity has already acquired. This will become creative work. To be sure, not every kind of independent thinking can be creative. However, creative thinking is always the product of independent thinking. People often talk about the limitations to an individual's knowledge. It is said to be limited by factors such as one's experience, intellectual level and scope of practical experience. This is true and definitely represents a shortcoming. However, since each individual is placed in a specific sphere and has specific experiences, he can be in touch with things which no other person can experience. This makes it possible for him to know things more deeply and acquire knowledge which no one else can have. This is the strong point of an individual's knowledge. It goes without saying that the effects of this strong point depend very much on the extent of independent thinking. Anyone who can think independently and bring this strong point into play can produce creative thinking. If a person can bring this strong point into play and develop his own creative thinking, then he will have better knowledge of his own age and his whole profession. The achievements in his work will be more impressive.

Thus, it can be seen that we should not rely solely on the independent thinking of a few persons while the rest of the nation simply obeys the orders they have given. Therefore, the work of socialist modernization includes many aspects and links. The division of labor is extensive and varied, and the actual conditions differ in thousands of ways. The independent thinking of any individual or "small group of people cannot be" omniscient and omnipotent. Everything is the unity of generality and individuality. Generality and individuality are also undergoing constant changes. People should learn from each other, exchange experiences and communicate their knowledge of the generality of things. As for knowledge of the individuality of things, it can only depend on the research and investigation of the comrades directly in touch with such things. As the saying goes, "Those who stay near the river know the fish in it, and those who live in the mountains know the birds." Certain comrades are willing to exercise their minds and use their independent thinking to understand various situations and "individual cases." Such knowledge can in turn enrich our party's knowledge of the generalities. Furthermore, such knowledge is an indispensable basis for the formulation of correct lines and policies. Therefore, the leader cannot think for the masses, the superior for the subordinate and A for B. In fact, nobody can think for other people. Everybody should think "independently." Everyone has his own head, which is the thinking organ. It should be so used as to contribute to the socialist cause.

The independent thinking we are talking about is a category of the epistemology of dialectical materialism. It is different from mechanical materialism and subjective idealism. Therefore, independent thinking must be based on objective reality and must draw on all the true, complete and systematic materials. It must conform to the guidance of the scientific mode of thinking of dialectical materialism. It must be resolutely on the side of the people's interests. The knowledge thus gained should be able to stand the test of practice and be able to prove its validity. Only thus can accumulative results be produced. Otherwise, if everything is just based on abstract principles and anachronistic "frameworks," objective reality will only be replaced by subjective speculation. Furthermore, if individual interest becomes the focal point of one's thinking, it will only lead to unrealistic and erroneous conclusions. These will not have any accumulated results.

II

For a long time there has been a common practice to place the implementation of party policies and instructions from above in opposition to independent thinking. It was believed that the only thing to do was to follow the party's policies and the instructions of the higher authority. It was also held that there was no need for any independent thinking or any creativity. In actual fact, this is a confused viewpoint. It is true that the party's policy and instructions from higher authorities should be implemented. However, there are two ways of implementing such policies and instructions. One is to follow blindly and mechanically, while the other is to implement creatively.

For blind and mechanical implementation, independent thinking is definitely superfluous. For this method, all will be safe and sound as long as the party's policies and instructions from above are copied word for word and proclaimed without the slightest alteration. If the policies and instructions from above only outline the general principles, they will remain principles after passing through the many "transmission points." On the other hand, if the policies and instructions from above are concrete ones, they will be implemented regardless of local conditions and suitability. The task of the "transmission points" is to press the policies and instructions downwards regardless of suitability. It seems as though this method is very true to the party's policies and instructions from above. However, this is highly undesirable. As Stalin said, if our cadres "become routinists who aimlessly, blindly and mechanically implement instructions from above, then the work of our country and party will definitely be weakened." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol II, p 461)

On the other hand, independent thinking is indispensable for creative and dynamic implementation of the party's policies and instructions from above. This is because, first, even if the policy is correct, the results will be different if implementation is on the basis of thorough understanding rather than routine implementation which lacks understanding. The various correct principles and policies formulated after the third plenary session have been supported and implemented by the majority of cadres. Some comrades have really exercised their minds. They have a clearer and more thorough understanding of the historical background, objective reality, theoretical principles, prospects, new ideas and contents behind these principles and policies. In the course of implementing these policies they have opened up their minds. They not only carry out such policies resolutely but also supplement and develop them and make innovations. However, some comrades do not have independent thinking. They do not fully understand the rationale behind these principles and policies. They will waver at the first sign of problems. Of course, there is no example of creativity that one can specifically discuss. Second, certain policies of the party have more general and long-term implications. A more general and long-term policy will be more confined to the level of laying down general principles. It cannot be too specific and rigid, nor can it provide any detailed program for action. If an implementation plan is to be based on the integration of general instructions and a specific situation, it should be done independently by comrades from various local departments. Third, the correctness of any policy or instruction from above is relative. It is a unity of relative and absolute truth. Certain specific stipulations might not conform fully to the special conditions of a specific time and place. Furthermore, a policy which originally conformed to the specific conditions might become unrealistic. This is quite common. In such a situation, one must be good at differentiating the spirit of a policy from the letter of the law. The spirit behind the policy should not be violated, while the letter of the law should not be rigidly adhered to. If there is objective need for something to be done and the necessary conditions are available, it should be done with enthusiasm and initiative, even if the higher authorities have not set forth specific stipulations about it. There is no need to wait for the stipulations, policies and suggestions from above. If the suggestions and stipulations from above are found to be erroneous, positive suggestions based on sound justifications should be forwarded for rectification. Stipulations that are really not in keeping with the specific time and place can be and should be modified. Such stipulations should be suited to the specific conditions, so that results in conformity with the spirit behind the policy can be attained. It is beyond doubt that the most essential thing here is still independent thinking and creative labor. Our comrades should not let themselves remain in the psychological state of not daring to say one more word or take one more step. What is right should be done as long as it is beneficial to the four modernizations and the short-term and long-term interests of the people. However, there must be adequate investigations and democratic discussions. With the gradual unfolding of the reform of the state management system and economic management system, gradual rectification of the overconcentration of power, and gradual enlargement of local autonomy and enterprise self-management, it is even more important for our cadres to handle problems with independent thinking. At present, certain cadres crave for "red tape" in handling anything and desire to have the stipulations from above as detailed and rigid as possible. This is absolutely impossible and should definitely not be entertained. Therefore, from now on one should exercise one's leadership responsibility and handle everything with independent judgment. This should be restrained by the socialist legal system, under the guidance of party principles and policies and on the basis of actual conditions. It will become more and more difficult for those who merely pass on instructions from above to get by.

III

The proletarian parry is an advanced party which represents the orientation of historical development. In essence it is full of creativity. Why is it that certain comrades lack independent thinking? This certainly has its roots.

During the democratic revolution and the early years of the republic there was an atmosphere conducive to independent thinking. However, after the overextension of the antirightist struggle and the ungrounded antirightist drive of 1959, many comrades who have independent thinking suffered a lot. From then on the atmosphere for independent thinking went from bad to worse. When it came to the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" promoted their modern superstition extensively and carried out an obscurantist policy. Independent thinking was no longer a virtue but a "crime." According to their reactionary theory, the genius leader has keen insight into everything. What the rest of the people should do is "to follow." This fundamentally denied the necessity of independent thinking. Under their fascist tyranny, who could dare have any doubts about their "instructions"? Anyone who dared to say "no" would be dealt with without delay. Independent thinking was denied theoretically and attacked politically. Independent thinking thus became a "risk" and a "calamity." This state of affairs lasted more than a decade and could not help leaving a deep impression on the minds of certain comrades. It was believed that there was "peace" as long as one "followed instructions" every day. Such a historical misfortune remains a heavy burden today and obstructs the independent thinking of certain comrades.

Second, there is the defect of bureaucratism in an excessively centralized leadership and cadre system. The independent thinking of lower-level cadres became superfluous under the influence of excessive centralization, bureaucratism and patriarchism. As time passed, certain comrades became so used to following orders that they were unable to think independently. Due to the existence of a system of lifelong leadership posts for cadres and the lack of an effective supervisory and examination system, those who have a declining revolutionary willpower could be satiated with food and remain idle. For these comrades, as long as there was the lifelong system and a secure post to fall back on, there was no need for any independent thinking in order to get a high post and a handsome salary and live an easy life.

Furthermore, there is the problem of the force of habit, "conventions" and "stereotypes." Among our cadres, certain comrades have weathered many hardships and acquired much experience. Many of their valuable experiences are the product of independent thinking in the past, and these had positive effects on the revolutionary cause. Such past experience is still useful for our four modernizations today. What is beneficial today should be correctly absorbed, and what is harmful or outdated should be abandoned. In this way, past experiences will become the nutrient for today's independent thinking. However, if one is confined by one's past experience and refuses to exercise one's mind to try new things and explore new problems, and if one refuses to accept new ideas and methods, then past experience will become the burden which obstructs independent thinking at present.

Finally, there is no criteria to differentiate right from wrong and no standard for reward or punishment. Those who were willing to exercise their minds and who achieved remarkable results were often mocked and attacked. However, those who followed closely the instructions from above, took a cautious stand on every issue and did as little as possible, taking all credit for themselves but putting all blame on the higher authority, managed to get by successfully and received rapid promotions. The perennial popularity of the irrational practice of not giving due reward to merit and of failing to punish the guilty has worn down the spirit of independent thinking of many people.

The above-mentioned burdens have so laden certain comrades that they simply cannot take a single step on the path of developing independent thinking and carrying out creative work. These burdens not only weigh heavily on those comrades but also obstruct other people. Those who cannot think independently do not like other people to have independent thinking. The practice of "placing political labels" on or "bludgeoning" anyone who does not conform to the leftist line is, of course, uncommon today. However, one cannot say that it has disappeared altogether. Some people still exhibit the old habit of "placing political labels" on and "bludgeoning" anyone who shows independent thinking. This certainly has no effect on those who take a firm stand. But for those who still have a lingering fear, this has its deterrent effect. There are still cases in which comrades keen in their thinking and insight are ignored. They are considered ideologically untrustworthy and are barred from important posts in various organizations, whereas those who are obsequious and obedient are appreciated, trusted and given important responsibilities. In other cases, independent thinking is not objected to outwardly. However, proposals derived from independent thinking are often laid aside without being considered. All these are still strangling the creative spirit of the party and the nation. This problem must be conscientiously resolved in terms of ideology, organization, system and work style.

Independent thinking is not a problem of personal likes and dislikes. It is needed by the cause of the four modernizations and the development of the party and the nation. Independent thinking is a sign of strong dedication to the revolutionary cause and a sense of responsibility. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the third plenary session, the shattering of the spiritual fetters of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has given rise to more and more people with independent thinking. If everyone can further lay down his burden, clear away the obstacles and think independently, the whole nation can be full of vitality. The collective wisdom of the Chinese nation will certainly become inexhaustible.

CSO: 4004

LOOKING AT THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM FROM A HISTORICAL AND DIALECTICAL POINT OF VIEW—STARTING WITH A STATEMENT BY ENGELS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 26-29

[Article by Teng Wensheng [3326 2429 3932] and Jia Chunfeng [6328 2504 1496]]

[Text] In his letter written in August 1890, Engels answered (Otto Berni's) questions on socialism: "I believe that the so-called 'socialist society' is not immutable. Just like other social systems, it should be regarded as ever changing and transforming." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 37, p 443) Today, when we are transforming and improving our party and state systems and speeding up socialist modernization, it is very enlightening and a matter of educative significance to review Engels' famous exposition on socialist society.

The socialist system already has a history of more than 60 years since its establishment in the world. We have been pursuing the socialist system for 30 years or so in our country. However, the problem of whether we should regard the socialist system as a process which is ever reforming and improving or regard it as an immutable one has not been completely solved. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, our party, cadres and masses have summed up experiences of the past 30 years following the founding of the People's Republic and have especially drawn bitter lessons from the 10 chaotic years. We have deeply realized that our present leadership system of the party and state and other systems are manifestly imperfect and that there are a number of severe shortcomings and defects which should be conscientiously corrected. Carrying out such a reform is an objective need for bringing the superiority of the socialist system into full play and developing socialist modernization. However, some comrades are surprised to learn that we are planning to reform the party and state systems or have failed to understand why we should do so. Some even wrongly think that such an act will bring shame on our socialist system and hamper and negate it. Influenced by such a state of mind, they will not be able to become promoters of reform. To raise our consciousness and initiative in reforming and improving our party and state systems and to learn to look at the socialist system from a historical and dialectical point of view is a matter of vital importance to correctly understand the following relationships:

First, we should correctly understand the relationships between the basic political and economic systems of socialism and various specific systems.

Just like other social things and systems, socialism has its own process of historical development. Socialism, as the most advanced social system in human history, is characterized by its elimination of all kinds of exploitation. Socialism intends to eliminate not only exploiting classes but also class differences. Therefore, in the process of development of socialist society, a more complicated and more profound historical situation will inevitably occur. The establishment of the basic political and economic systems of socialism only marks the beginning, not the end, of the process of development of the socialist system. The establishment of the basic political and economic systems of socialism does not mean that problems concerning the specific political, economic and cultural organizational forms and management system under socialism have all been solved. The establishment of basic systems is one matter, but the establishment of specific organizational forms and a management system is another. In addition, the establishment of a series of specific systems which are effective and consistent with the basic system of socialism calls for a protracted process of struggle characterized by constant practice and incessant exploration, because there are no set rules concerning the specific organizational forms of socialist politics, economy and culture and management system that we can follow. Apart from that, we should not just pursue a single pattern. This was where our previous lesson lay. In other words, we oversimplified the establishment of the socialist system. After the establishment of the basic political and economic systems, we failed to expeditiously establish and improve various specific systems in accordance with the requirements of the basic systems. In some cases, although we adopted some specific systems, they were based mainly on certain patterns of foreign countries or on old practices followed during the special historical period of revolutionary war. They were not in accordance with the present objective reality of socialist construction. For instance, we pursued a leadership system characterized by overconcentration of power in the fields of politics, economy and culture. Such was also the case with our management system. This was one problem. Another problem was that a number of specific systems urgently needed by the development of the socialist cause, such as various concrete forms, procedures, institutions and systems which socialist democratic politics required and the rules and regulations for the selection, appointment, examination, supervision, reward, punishment, dismissal and retirement of cadres, were not established systematically and gradually over a long period of time. This caused our socialist system to be imperfect and incomplete and hampered the promotion of its advantages. Therefore, we should solve the two problems quoted above and do a good job of carrying out our reform. Of course, the basic political and economic systems of socialism need constant improvement and development in the process of practice.

Second, we should correctly understand the relationships between the improvement of the socialist system and the elimination of the pernicious influence of the old society.

The socialist system was not established in a vacuum. Its establishment cannot be separated from the social conditions and foundation of the old society. Ours was a feudal society with a history of more than 2,000 years which did not undergo an independent and fully developed stage of capitalism. Our socialism emerged from the womb of semifeudal and semicolonial society in old China. The tradition of feudalism has been deeply rooted in all spheres and all aspects of our social political life. Over a long period of time in the past we lacked a necessary and sober understanding of this problem. A number of comrades wrongly thought that we had established a brandnew socialist system after overthrowing the feudal political and economic systems and that the new system should have been immune from the pernicious influence of feudalism. Historical practice has told us that it is an unrealistic and leftist fantasy to regard socialism as a perfectly pure social system. Lenin said: Such an act "was actually tantamount to a fantasy of hanging the socialist world in midair." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, p 403) The establishment of the socialist system cannot or does not necessarily mean an immediate elimination of the pernicious influence of the old society and all social conditions which the feudal remnant influence relied upon for its existence. This pernicious influence will continue to exist over a fairly long period of time and corrode and adversely affect people's minds, including those of leading members. In addition, such ideological corrosion and influence inevitably will be reflected in and infiltrate the new system, because the new system was established and implemented by people. In the past, many comrades thought that the pernicious influence of the old society could only adversely affect people's minds, moral characters and work style but would not infiltrate the socialist system. Such thinking did not conform to objective reality. Through the practices of the past 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic and actual facts during the 10 chaotic years in particular, people have increasingly realized the harm brought about by the pernicious influence of feudalism to the leadership system of the state and party. We are now facing the problems of bureaucratism, overconcentration of power, patriarchy, the system of lifelong tenure for leading cadres and privileges in the leadership system of the party and state and cadre system, as well as drawbacks in the management methods used in the economic management system, such as "government-run industry, commerce and agriculture." Do these defects not fully reflect that the pernicious influence of feudalism has infiltrated our system to a certain extent? Our present efforts to eliminate the pernicious influence of feudalism are important and practical steps for reforming and improving our socialist system. Only through a process of constant elimination of the pernicious influence of the old society and self-regulation as well as self-renewal can the socialist system be developed and perfected.

Third, we should correctly understand the relationship between the perfection of the socialist system and the mastery of objective law.

The gradual perfection of the socialist system is closely connected with our increasingly enlarged understanding of the laws governing the development of socialism. The establishment of the basic political and economic systems of socialism has created favorable conditions for us to practically explore the laws governing the development of socialism. However, this does not mean that we already have a full and perfect understanding of the laws governing the development of socialism and that we no longer have an erroneous understanding of socialism. People's understanding of the laws governing society cannot be accomplished at a single attempt. Correct knowledge can only be arrived at after many repetitions and a series of setbacks. This is also the case with our understanding of the laws governing the development of socialist society. Socialism has a very short history in both China and the world. People's understanding of the laws governing the development of socialist society is still at an initial and primitive stage. Naturally, a socialist system established under such conditions cannot be a perfect one. Basically speaking, the perfection or imperfection and completeness or incompleteness of the socialist system is determined by its conformity to the objective laws governing the development of socialist society or by the degree to which it conforms to these laws. In over 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic we have suffered setbacks in our understanding and mastery of the laws governing the development of socialist society, from which we have drawn a bitter lesson. We have made mistakes mainly in the following two aspects: First, we failed to respect objective laws and frequently replaced objective laws with personal will and replaced the authority of objective laws with personal authority. Second, we took the practice of "taking class struggle as the key link" and "keeping politics in command of everything" as a unique and absolute "law" which governed the whole of social life. In so doing we gave up and pushed aside our exploration and study of the laws governing the development of socialist politics, economy and culture. The severe defects in our political and democratic systems and the management system of our economic and cultural undertakings are directly connected with our erroneous attitude and understanding of objective law. Our present efforts to reform the party and state systems precisely reflect the demands of objective law and our further understanding of the relationships between the perfection of the socialist system and the mastery of objective law. The practice of upholding socialism is absolutely consistent with our efforts to reform and perfect the party and state systems in accordance with the demands of the laws governing the development of socialist society. Only through efforts to reform and perfect the party and state systems can the great vitality and vigor of the socialist system be preserved. If we fail to do so and fail to change and actively reform those parts of our party and state systems which have been proved to be inconsistent with objective law, the practice of upholding the socialist system will become nothing but empty talk. In so doing we will distort socialism and hamper its prospects for development.

Fourth, we should correctly understand the relationships between the perfection of the socialist system and the absorption of all previous democratic and scientific as well as progressive factors accumulated by society.

The socialist system is different in nature from all exploiting systems. The complete negation of exploiting systems and the elimination of their remnant influence are the preconditions for the establishment and development of the socialist system. However, this does not mean that we should reject all progressive factors accumulated by previous societies, particularly capitalist society. Absorbing all progressive factors is an indispensable condition for the perfection of the socialist system itself. Lenin pointed out: "Whether socialism can be realized is determined by the way we combine the Soviet regime and the Soviet management institutions with the latest and most progressive elements of capitalism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 237) He added: "We cannot envisage socialism other than that which is based on the experience of the great capitalist culture." (Ibid., p 285) Lenin's remarks embody profound truths. The socialist economy is a unity of socialist public ownership and socialized large-scale production equipped with modern science and technology. We should not only utilize general economic laws applicable to any organized large-scale production of society, but also frequently assimilate and utilize a number of specific experiences, forms and means adopted by capitalist enterprises and countries in organizing and managing their modern production and developing and applying their science and technology. Only thus can we enrich and perfect specific forms and systems of our socialist economic and enterprise management. Socialist politics is democratic politics characterized by the fact that the people are masters of their own affairs. Over a process of several thousand years, democracy, as a historical phenomenon, has kept changing its forms right from its embryonic stage, with the ruling classes jockeying for position. In other words, democracy at different historical stages has been characterized by different nature, forms and extent. There is no doubt that socialist democracy has more varied forms, greater extent and wider popularity than capitalist democracy. However, historically speaking, capitalist democracy is a big step ahead of the feudal autocratic system in terms of development. Certain specific forms and processes of capitalist democracy were the results of the protracted struggle of the proletariat and laboring people against the bourgeoisie. They are useful in our efforts to develop socialist democracy, and we should on no account reject and abandon them. Particularly in a country such as ours, where historically the democratic tradition is slight and the autocratic tradition is deeply rooted, it is all the more necessary for us to make use of and assimilate the useful parts of the specific experience, forms and processes of capitalist democracy, including certain specific experiences for the management of state and social life. This is where our past lesson lies. In other words, we failed to sufficiently utilize and assimilate all the progressive factors of capitalist society accumulated throughout history. We even rejected them as historical rubbish and sewage. Now we should conscientiously draw a lesson in this respect, so that our socialist system will be gradually perfected in the process of assimilating the progressive factors of various countries in the world.

In the above passages we only discuss ideologically how to view the socialist system from a historical and dialectical point of view, so that people will raise their consciousness to reform and perfect the party and state systems. It is an extremely arduous and complicated task to reform and perfect the party and state systems. Apart from surmounting ideological barriers, we should make considerable efforts to remove various obstacles and unremittingly carry out investigation and study. We should also sum up historical experiences acquired at home and abroad and pool the wisdom and creativity of the masses, so that we can work out specific reform plans which conform to the actual situation and the interests of the people. This is, of course, work which requires painstaking efforts and creativity. However, as long as our cadres and masses emancipate their minds in their respective places of work, enhance their revolutionary vigor and carry out their work boldly and firmly, our socialist system will be gradually perfected, become more and more consistent with the objective laws governing the development of socialist society and increasingly enhance its advantages.

CSO: 4004

QUESTIONS OF REVOLUTION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES OUGHT TO BE DECIDED BY THE PARTIES AND PEOPLE CONCERNED--STUDYING WORKS BY MARX AND ENGELS ON THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR EACH NATION'S PARTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 30-33

[Article by Xu Junji [6079 0193 1015] and Wang Xingbin [3769 5281 2430]]

[Text] Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific communism, were the first ones to raise the great slogan "Working men of all countries, unite!" They urged the workers of various countries to carry forward the internationalist spirit and to support, cooperate with, help and learn from each other in the struggle against the international bourgeoisie and for the emancipation of mankind. Moreover, they also advocated letting the workers of various countries and their political parties decide and handle questions of revolution in their own countries independently. Marx and Engels always discussed and studied questions of theory and tactics concerning the workers movement with the socialists and leaders of workers parties of various countries by assuming an attitude of consultation on the basis of equality. They never imposed their views on others. Thus, they set a brilliant example for the international communist movement. We must study and discuss the principle and practice of self-determination for each nation's workers party as advanced by Marx and Engels and inherit and carry forward this fine tradition. This is of practical significance in correctly handling the relations between the communist parties of various countries and promoting the international communist movement.

The First International (the International Working Men's Association) was a united organization of the workers of various countries which adhered to the principle of democratic centralism under the leadership of Marx and Engels. The General Council of the association energetically promoted solidarity and ties between the workers of various countries and gave guidance to the branches and unions in these countries. At the same time, it attached great importance to giving full scope to the creative initiative of the branches in various countries, giving them the power of self-determination in mapping out tactics of struggle and in electing and assigning responsible persons. Marx and Engels sternly refuted time and again the slander concocted by the international reactionaries about the International's General Council issuing secret instructions to workers of various countries and telling them to rise in rebellion. They declared that the General Council was true to the principle of autonomy and sovereignty for all peoples, that it had no right to impose its will on others and did not intend to do so. Referring to the question of how the International Working Men's Association worked hand in hand with the workers of various countries to achieve the economic emancipation of the working class through the seizure of political power, Marx emphatically pointed out: "The means to the end should be a choice left for the working class of the country concerned to make. The International will not issue any orders on this question; it may not even make any suggestions." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 17, p 683)

After the 1870's Marx and Engels became the acknowledged leaders of the advanced workers in Europe and in the Americas. Leaders of various socialist parties constantly wrote to them about questions of theory and tactics concerning the movement. Marx and Engels always made suggestions and, in the capacity of ordinary fighters, discussed things with these leaders. In May 1880, Marx and Engels agreed to help the French workers party draw up a constitution at the request of its leader, Guesde. Guesde accepted the theoretical part of the program dictated by Marx but did not fully accept Marx' suggestions concerning the specific demands of struggle. Some inappropriate points were retained. Marx did not force Guesde to make amendments as Marx had suggested. He also opposed the idea of mentioning his name in a party program, maintaining that a party should avoid making the big mistake of relying on any single person. Summing up the relations between Marx and the workers movements of various countries, Engels pointed out: "Because Marx has scored such great achievements in theory and in practice, the most outstanding persons of workers movements in different countries all have faith in him. They all turn to him at the most crucial moments and always find his suggestions to be the best.... Therefore, Marx did not impose his opinions, least of all his will, on others. It was these people who came to him for advice. The special and exceedingly important influence that Marx had over the movement was built on this basis." (Ibid., Vol 35, pp 224-225)

It was the same with Engels. The more advanced his age and the higher his prestige in the international workers movement, the more he paid attention to treating the party leaders of various countries as equals and abided by the principle of letting each nation's party handle and decide its own questions of revolution independently. In the 1880's and 1890's some socialists in Russia repeatedly asked Engels to comment on the issues in the Russian revolution, but he always gave them to understand that he was not in a position to state his views and pass judgment on these issues because he knew very little about Russia's history and present condition. In April 1891 a Polish revolutionary asked Engels for his views on questions concerning his party. In his letter of reply, Engels said he had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Polish party. In 1893, when differences emerged within the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, Engels wrote a letter to the party's Executive Committee. In this letter he said that it was not his mission to interfere in the internal conflicts of this party and that he hoped the differences within the Hungarian party would be ironed out during the party's second congress.

It was not just out of modesty that Marx and Engels advocated letting each nation's party decide its own questions of revolution and assumed an attitude of equality in holding consultations with these parties. The important thing is that this shows the creative initiative demonstrated by the proletarian revolutionary teachers in the making of history and how they trusted, relied on and respected the masses. They always regarded historical activities as the cause of the masses, held that the emancipation of the working class could only be won by the working class itself through self-reliance and denied that there was any savior standing above the masses. Proletarians of all countries must support each other in their struggle for emancipation. However, victory in a country's revolution can only be won by its people under the leadership of the proletarian political party; it will not come as a favor from others. Proletarian political parties of various countries must learn from each other, absorb the successful experience of others and avoid making the mistakes that others have made. However, a party can only mold and formulate its own program, line and tactics in the course of struggle. The correct program, line and tactics of a party must be put into effect by its members and masses in the course of struggle. Similarly, an erroneous program, line or tactic must be recognized and rectified by the party members and masses themselves, not by anyone else. In January 1894 Engels wrote "The Future Italian Revolution and the Socialist Party" at the request of the Italian Socialist Party. In this article he pointed out: The principle governing the tactics of the proletarian political party as discussed in the "Communist Manifesto" is entirely correct, "but how to apply it to Italy's present conditions is something else. This has to be decided in line with local conditions and by the people living in the midst of such events." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 518)

Letting each nation's party decide its own questions of revolution independently is determined by the fundamental principle which combines the fundamental tenets of Marxism with the concrete practices of revolution in various countries. In order to do this, the proletarian political parties of various countries must carry out detailed investigation and study, understand the history and present condition of their country, proceed from reality and apply the fundamental tenets of Marxism to map out lines and tactics suited to their country's condition. The "Communist Manifesto" pointed out a long time ago: The practical application of the principles of scientific communism will depend everywhere and at all times on the historical conditions of the time. Due to differences in historical traditions, social system and economic development, the road and tactics followed by each country in its quest for socialism cannot be completely the same. Marx said: "The workers will have to seize political power and set up a new labor organization sooner or later.... However, we have never asserted categorically that the same across-the-board measure must be adopted in order to attain this goal. We understand that we must take into consideration the system, customs and traditions of different countries." (Ibid., Vol 18, p 179) Engels resolutely opposed pursuing a single pattern and tactic in the international workers movement. He said: "It is preposterous to try to make all countries adopt a unified form of movement." (Ibid., Vol 38, p 519) He admonished the socialists of all countries time and again that only by following its own specific and often tortuous path can a country mobilize its masses. Only the party and the masses who are engaged in their nation's revolutionary struggle can truly understand their country's condition. No international organization or individual far removed from these countries can fully understand the changing conditions there. Engels never considered himself to be a man with keen insight who knows everything. In November 1894 a member of the Armenian Social Party asked Engels to write a preface to the Armenian edition of the "Communist Manifesto" and to discuss his views on the country's revolution. Engels frankly replied that he was not in a position to make comments because he did not understand the Armenian language and knew nothing about the country.

In the process of combining the fundamental tenets of Marxism with the concrete practices of revolution in different countries, Engels greatly emphasized that it was impermissible to regard Marxism as an immutable dogma. Socialists of all countries must creatively apply and develop Marxism under the historical conditions of their own countries. Engels time and again sternly criticized the German socialists residing in the United States for "approaching Marxism from a theoretical and dogmatic point of view, thinking that they can cope with everything if they have learned it by rote. To them, this is a dogma rather than a guide to action." (Ibid., Vol 36, p 566) Engels also told the Russian socialists that he hoped they would ponder problems in the light of their own conditions as Marx did, rather than mechanically quoting his and Marx' words. It is only in this sense that the term "Marxist" has the right to exist.

Letting each nation's party decide its own questions of revolution is also a fundamental requirement of proletarian internationalism. Marx and Engels always maintained that workers of all countries should support each other and work in coordination in the struggle to oppose the international bourgeoisie. They also maintained that in an international union it was necessary to respect the self-determination and independence of each nation's party. Engels pointed out: "The emancipation of the proletariat can only be an international cause." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 87) At the same time, he also pointed out: "Anyhow, the proletarian international movement is only possible within the framework of independent nations." (Ibid., Vol 35, p 261) Engels also said profoundly: "An international union can only exist between nations. The existence of these nations and their self-determination and independence in the handling of international affairs is embodied in the concept of internationalism." (Ibid., Vol 39, p 84) Obviously, any argument which excludes national self-determination and independence from the connotation of internationalism is a betrayal of this principle.

Engels held that according to the principle of proletarian internationalism all workers parties of the international communist movement are equal and independent. Here the relationship between those who lead and those who are led, between those who command and those who are commanded, does not arise. No party has the right to order other parties about or to interfere in other parties' internal affairs. Engels once criticized some French socialists for posing as liberators of the world and thinking that they had the "right of primogeniture" to lead the international workers movement. He pointed out that this kind of chauvinistic idea had hindered the development of the movement. In making preparations for the setting up of the Second International, Engels again warned the leaders of the French Workers Party which sponsored the Paris International Socialist Congress: "Now, you must take care not to assume the posture of trying to give orders to the socialists of other countries." (Ibid., Vol 37, p 157) About the German party which then stood in the forefront of the international workers movement, Engels said: "It has no right to speak on behalf of the proletariat of Europe, particularly no right to make erroneous utterances." (Ibid., Vol 34, p 121)

As can be seen from the history of the international communist movement in the past 130 years and more, particularly in the more than 30 years since World War II, the revolutionary cause of the people can advance from victory to victory only when different proletarian political parties and socialist countries support each other on the basis of proletarian internationalism and uphold the principle of self-determination and consultation on the basis of equality. Otherwise, revolution will come to a standstill, go backwards or even meet with defeat.

The present state of the international communist movement is quite different from what it was when Marx and Engels were alive. At that time the movement was confined to Europe and the Americas. Now it has spread to all corners of the world. It is now much broader in scale and much richer in content, but the circumstances are also much more complicated. Thus, it is no longer necessary or possible to establish proletarian international organizations like the First, Second or Third Internationals. Under such circumstances, it is all the more necessary for the Marxist-Leninist parties of all countries to proceed from the specific conditions of their own countries, to apply and develop the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism and to independently and creatively formulate programs, lines and tactics in the light of their national characteristics. Only in this way can we push forward the vigorous development of the international communist movement. Thus, it is very enlightening to study again the important expositions of Marx and Engels on letting the workers parties of all countries decide their own questions of revolution independently.

Soviet social imperialism flaunted the signboard of "socialism" and wantonly trampled upon the principle of equality, independence and self-determination between parties of various countries. Relying on its economic and military strength, it stretched out its claws everywhere in a vain attempt to bring the international communist movement into the orbit of its quest for world domination. It brazenly declared: "Self-determination is not a part of party policy"; "It is only the mode and method of this party's relationship with other parties." As everyone knows, the principle of self-determination for each nation's party embraces not only the interrelationship between parties of various countries but also the right of every party to decide the line, principles and policy of each party in its revolution. If this principle of self-determination does not include the latter and each nation's party takes instructions from a certain foreign party or command center, is there any "self-determination" left? Moreover, the Soviet leadership clique even clamored that "in order to establish genuine self-determination the communist parties of all countries must maintain effective unity" with the Soviet Union; otherwise, "it would mean being at the beck and call of the class enemy." They declared that with its "unique" experience the Soviet Union "naturally becomes the beacon light of revolutionary movements throughout the world." They required the party and people of all countries to follow their baton, denied them their right to proceed from their countries' actual conditions in exploring and mapping out their road and tactics for the pursuit of socialism, and accused those parties which decided on their country's revolutionary road independently rather than following the Soviet pattern of practicing "anti-Sovietism" and "nationalism." Flaunting the banner of "proletarian internationalism" and under the pretext of "supporting revolution," they carried out infiltration and expansion everywhere and even sent troops to occupy other nations' territories and subvert other nations' governments. As proved by numerous facts, the deeds of the Soviet leadership clique have long betrayed Marxism and proletarian internationalism; they are typical of hegemonism.

During the period of the democratic revolution our party resisted erroneous ideas from the Communist International and from Stalin on more than one occasion. Based on the fundamental tenets of Marxism and proceeding from China's historical conditions, it found that the revolutionary road of establishing revolutionary bases in the countryside and encircling the cities from the countryside carried the revolution through to the end and finally won a nationwide victory. Since the 1950's our party has been waging a resolute struggle side by side with other Marxist-Leninist political parties against the big-nation chauvinism and hegemonism of the Soviet leadership clique. However, during the "Great Cultural Revolution" Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng banded together in their conspiracy to usurp party and state power and to drive a wedge into our party's relations with other fraternal parties.

They proclaimed themselves "the center of world revolution" and "the standard" and judged the nature of other parties—Marxist-Leninist or revisionist—according to whether they supported the "Great Cultural Revolution" and their ultraleftist line. They even said that "the road of Jinggangshan can take us everywhere," described the road of encircling the cities from the countryside as a "universal law" suitable for all countries and denied that each nation's party must set out from reality and select the revolutionary path suited to the conditions of its own country. After smashing the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, we repudiated their ultraleftist line, held the banner of proletarian internationalism higher than before and strengthened our unity with other Marxist-Leninist political parties on the basis of equality, self-determination and mutual respect. Based on our country's historical and national characteristics, our party is now assimilating the useful experience of other countries and is searching for our own road to socialist modernization by maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands. In international contacts and international activities, our party earnestly adheres to the principle of complete independence and self-determination for each nation's party and opposes any form of international center, any form of subordinate relationship and any interference in the internal affairs of other countries' parties and peoples, especially all expressions of hegemonism by Soviet social imperialism.

After studying the works of Marx and Engels on the principle of self-determination for each nation's party and reviewing the historical experience of the international communist movement, we now realize profoundly that the interrelationship of communist parties must be based on proletarian internationalism. Communist parties must support and learn from each other and at the same time uphold the principle of complete equality and self-determination. Questions of revolution in various countries can only be decided by the parties and peoples concerned. Any act of issuing orders to other parties and countries and interfering in the internal affairs of other parties and countries is a deviation from Marxism and is therefore incompatible with proletarian internationalism.

CSO: 4004

THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO HAVE YOUR OWN VOICE--COMMENTING ON THE ARTISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CREATIONS BY YOUNG WRITER FENG JICAI

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[Article by Huang Zexin [7805 3419 2450] and Fang Bojing [2455 0130 2417]]

[Text] Comrade Feng Jicai came on the literary scene after the smashing of the "gang of four." In late 1977 he published the long historical novel "Yihequan" (which he co-authored with Li Dingxing) and thus began to achieve fame. Later he wrote another long historical novel, "Magic Lamp" (Vol I), and a movie script with the same title. After that he focused his work on portraying contemporary life, publishing three novellas--"Going Astray on a Flower-Paved Road," "Ah!" and "Struggles Against the Cold"--and seven short stories, including "The Call of Justice" and "A Carved Pipe," making a total literary production of more than 1 million characters. Such achievements in a short span of around 3 years fully show that Feng Jicai is a hard-working and talented writer.

Famous Russian realist writer Dostoyevskiy once said that for a real artist "the important thing is to have something which I dare to call my own voice.... The important thing is to have a lively, unique and very personal voice. This voice cannot be produced from any other person's throat." Feng Jicai is a new writer; he is still in the process of developing his artistic expression. Yet the commendable thing is that he has already shown some unique characteristics. He makes us feel that he is a writer with his own voice: he has his own understanding of life and his own pursuit of art. He strives to portray the true features of the times with his unique artistic techniques.

I

When we say that the works of Feng Jicai have his own voice, we mean that this voice is expressed primarily in the originality and uniqueness of his artistic conception. The most important thing in art is uniqueness. Unique artistic conception is not only necessary for the portrayal of the rich and colorful real life but can also enhance the artistic charm of the works. No artist worthy of his name will never ape other people at every step. He would strive to open up new roads and break new ground in the realm of art. Feng Jicai has taken this positive and serious attitude toward artistic creation.

Those who have read "Going Astray on a Flower-Paved Road" must have felt that this novella, belonging to the category of the so-called "literature of the scarred," had its own outstanding profundity and uniqueness among works of the same category. The novella tells the story of a 17-year-old girl, Bai Hui, who plunged into the "Great Cultural Revolution" with "sincere and pure" revolutionary motives. After one criticism meeting, she furiously struck a female teacher who was considered to be a "diehard counterrevolutionary" with a stick. When the teacher fell as a result of the blow, she was a bit scared and disturbed. Later she got to know a young man named Chang Ming, who saved her life. Just as the flower of love was about to blossom, she suddenly discovered that Chang Ming's mother was none other than the teacher whom she had beaten. The threads of love were immediately cut off by political struggle. With a deep sense of guilt, Bai Hui went to the Nei Monggol grassland. She tried to make up for her past mistakes by hard work and used Marxism "to comb her tangled thoughts." However, due to the fact that the greatest hidden pest of the party and the state had not been exposed, she could not understand: How can a person do things harmful to the revolution in the name of the revolution? How did her innocent and sincere heart fall into the dark pit of crime, and why was she helpless to pull herself out of the pit? It was only after the fall of the "gang of four" that she came to solve this puzzle: she "had become the cannon fodder of those meanest, craftiest careerists and schemers. She was poisoned by them and led astray." After everything became clear to her, she was filled with guilt and hatred and did not know what to do with herself. However, Chang Ming forgave her. They finally came together and advanced onto "an infinitely broad road filled with sunlight." What makes this story different from others is that it did not deal directly with the various brutal forms of persecution the "gang of four" inflicted on the people and did not emphasize exposing the ugly features of various types of opportunist and reactionary elements. Instead, it portrayed the process of spiritual awakening of a young girl who was fooled by revolutionary slogans to "go astray on a road paved with flowers." It brought out a theme which is of great contemporary significance but which is rarely touched on by other works: the problem of how to correctly understand and treat young people who committed mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution." Quite a number of young people committed different kinds of errors during the "Cultural Revolution." Are they all undesirable or even very bad people? No. "The majority of young people are good." Young people like Bai Hui have pure hearts which were dirtied by the dust of the times. They were fooled and used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" because of their lack of political experience. After they come to their senses they themselves feel ashamed, guilty and sorry. Today we must understand and forgive them and help them to draw useful lessons from their painful experiences.

The "Call of Justice" is a work in praise of the "5 April" Movement. In dealing with this subject the short story did not waste too much time on the evildoings of the "gang of four." Instead, it portrayed the irrepressible noble spirit of justice and fearless spirit of struggle shown from the sidelines during the "5 April" mass movement by portraying how a factory leader was enlightened and moved. Wei Qian—a cadre with "the smell of orthodoxy" who always looked up to instructions from higher authorities as criteria for action—made a total turnabout when the "gang of four" was frenziedly persecuting participants in the "5 April" mass movement on the pretext of investigating counterrevolutionaries. He took a passive, indifferent attitude toward "instructions" from above and later even boycotted and resisted them. Finally, in order to protect the revolutionary masses from harm, he stood up, lied about his being the author of the so-called "counterrevolutionary" leaflets and thus landed in jail. This plot not only forcefully demonstrates the just and revolutionary nature of the "5 April" Movement but also is different from other works dealing with the same subject. It is quite a refreshing change. The short story also makes use of uncommon literary techniques, and the ending comes as a great surprise. Wei Qian's sacrificing himself to save the masses is an excellent dramatic twist. This plays an important role in stressing the main theme and projecting the personality of the characters.

If "Going Astray on a Flower-Paved Road" and "The Call of Justice" were Feng Jicai's experiments with portraying the contemporary monumental struggles, "A Carved Pipe" was his attempt to portray the spiritual world of the working people. Seeing through fleeting human relations during the 10 years of storms and the demonic atmosphere created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," he discovered the purity, simplicity and fine sentiments retained by the working people. Using colorful and lyrical language, he wove these sentiments into a poetic piece of excellent literature. By relating Mr Tang's relationship with the old flower grower, he portrayed the sincerity and profound sentiments of the old flower grower. His pure and kind heart was like a golden chrysanthemum, giving off a sweet fragrance and shining with a rich halo. The plot of the story was skillfully thought up. The author did not follow the usual formula, which portrays the character in intense conflict or directly relates the moving deeds of the character. Instead, he showed the beauty of the old flower grower's spiritual world by giving an account of the observations and reactions of the painter, Mr Tang. This technique is somewhat similar to Lu Xun's "A Minor Incident." The old flower grower and the painter had only very few contacts. Their friendship only went as far as exchanging presents in the form of chrysanthemums and a carved pipe. Yet the author was able to write a profound and touching story out of this common occurrence. What was his secret? The key lies in the fact that the author did not portray the relationship of these two people in isolation. He put their friendship in the context of the unstable social environment, relating the characters' fate to the society and using the fleeting human relations of the outside world as a contrast. This enables a common story of friendship to acquire unusual significance. He not only clearly sketched out the old flower grower's kind and noble heart but also presented a picture of social customs and practices at that time.

Feng Jicai is bold in his artistic creation. He always engages in artistic contemplation based on his own feelings and understanding of life. Therefore, his choice of subjects, elaboration of themes and building up of the plots bear the mark of his unique characteristics.

II

Feng Jicai's unique voice is also heard through his skillful portrayal of the characters' psychological state. The portrayal of man is the core of artistic creation. It is impossible to create a character with depth without adequate insight into his psychological state. In the past few years, many middle-aged and young writers have made serious explorations into the content and form of psychological description and left the mark of their individuality. Then what are the unique characteristics of Feng Jicai's descriptions of mental activities?

In our opinion, he is best at describing the effects of social contradictions on the character's inner world. The author once said that he would strive to make his works attain the high standard of the times. In terms of character portrayal, he has been seriously doing this. He always observes the characters' inner world from the point of view of history and the times. He has learned from real life that people's inner world is like a photosensitive plate. Various elements in social life are all reflected in people's psychology. Intense historical upheavals, complex social contradictions and constantly changing customs and practices all affect people's minds directly or indirectly. Therefore, he never portrays his characters' inner world in isolation or in a static state, but always puts the characters in a specific environment and concentrates on portraying the marks left by the class, the times and society on people's minds. On the other hand, from the description of people's minds, a refracted image of the happenings of the times is formed.

The character Wu Zhongyi in "Ah!" is a typical example. He "has a firm grasp of knowledge and is serious and diligent in his work." He has always been cautious in words and deeds and always abides by the rules and regulations. Yet such an honest and well-behaved person was almost criticized and attacked as a rightist just because he said something that was not very appropriate in 1957. Therefore, he has become a nervous person. When people's backgrounds were being checked and all remote and recent past history was being reinvestigated during the "Great Cultural Revolution," he was practically trembling with fear and was always all nerves. The author gave a very meticulous description of his psychological state, of the process of his psychological change and of the social factors that brought about this situation. For example, one day Wu Zhongyi was in the courtyard helping others put up big-character posters. When he turned his head his eyes "met the cold, piercing eyes" of Jia Dazhen, the lackey of the "gang of four." Those eyes were like two shining, sharp swords. He was scared out of his wits. "'Pak!' he dropped his bucket of paste and the paste was spilled all over the ground." Another time, during a criticism meeting, Jia Dazhen was shouting and indiscriminately dragging out people for criticism. Wu Zhongyi was so scared that "his hands turned ice cold. He was shaking all over, and the sticky cold sweat covered his whole body." Suddenly, Jia Dazhen "banged the table." Wu Zhongyi shivered all over. Unconsciously he grasped someone's arm, betraying his inner fears. Although not too many words were used to make such descriptions of Wu's psychological state, they were very forceful. They presented a vivid picture of Wu Zhongyi's great anxiety during those years when everyone feared for his own safety. The author enables us to see a pitiful soul trembling in a stormy era like a leaf tottering in cold wind. Wu Zhongyi in this novelette is comparable to the junior civil servant in Chekhov's "The Death of a Junior Civil Servant." The death of the junior civil servant indirectly exposed the cruelty of czarist rule, while the weakness of character and inferiority complex and fears of Wu Zhongyi were precisely the result of the "gang of four's" unbridled oppression of people.

Other distinguishing features of the characters' personality, such as the shrewdness of Zhao Chang and the ruthlessness and treachery of Jia Dazhen in "Ah!" and the arrogance and despotism of Zhao Xiong in "Struggles Against the Cold," were all products of their times. Therefore, we can feel a strong sense of the times when reading short stories by Feng Jicai. Of course, relating some historical incidents and accurately portraying details of daily life and social practices all create a sense of the times; yet this is not quite enough. Simple portrayal could also result in superficiality in picturing social phenomena. It is only through truthful portrayal of the characters, particularly appropriate, truthful portrayal of these characters' inner contradictions, mental activities, changes and conflicts, that works can acquire a distinctive color of the times. The strong sense of the times in Feng Jicai's works is precisely brought out through the portrayal of the spiritual world of the characters.

There is a great deal of psychological description in Feng Jicai's short stories and novels. Yet they are never boring. This has much to do with the great variety of his literary techniques, particularly his skillful portrayal of the inner workings of the characters' minds through the portrayal of their actions. An ancient saying claims that emotions are felt in the heart but expressed outwardly. People all show their feelings subtly or overtly through their actions. Therefore, actions are an important technique to get to the inner world of the characters. Aleksey Tolstoy said: "I always try my best to observe the gestures and actions which show the psychological state of a person. These gestures and actions give me hints to the verbs to be used in describing his mental activities." Naturally, it is much more vivid and picturesque to use the concrete "verbs" that Tolstoy was talking about than to use abstract verbs to portray psychological activities. Both Chinese and foreign classical writers paid great attention to the use of this artistic technique. Feng Jicai seriously absorbed this precious artistic experience. He paid great attention to observing life and is good at catching distinctive actions to portray the characters' minds, thus turning abstract ideas into concrete images. In his unique short story "37 Degrees, Normal," Feng Jicai used the description of actions to expose the inner changes occurring in the "big shot's" mind. When the "big shot" was subjected to persecution and was locked up in jail, he was very ill and was suffering from serious illness. "I"--in the short story Doctor Wu--saved his life. Later, when the policies were implemented, the "big shot" was released from jail. When he first saw the person who saved his life, he was very agitated. He wiped off the dust from the chair with his hands, took a knife and began to peel an apple. Later, when the "big shot" regained his position and saw Doctor Wu again, his attitude changed. He just casually uttered a few pleasantries or "nodded his head." Finally, he "even refused to nod his head as sort of a charitable gesture." In describing the process of change in the relationship between these two people, the author did not use adjectives or value-ridden words like "warm" or "cold," "approachable" or "bureaucratic." The facial expressions and attitude of the "big shot" himself betrayed the changes in his ideas and feelings. With the rise in his position and the increase in his power, his friendship and warmth for Doctor Wu cooled off. Using the author's picturesque expression, the temperature of his feelings dropped from 100 degrees to 0 degrees Celsius.

Together with the description of the characters' actions, the author sometimes directly dissects the complex and mysterious psychology of the characters. Sometimes he makes the characters confess their thoughts. Sometimes he expresses the characters' feelings with fervor, and sometimes he uses his piercing literary style to expose the characters' filthy thoughts. In short, all his descriptions start from reality. He rationally looks at people and events and uses various methods to describe them as he sees fit, thus fully portraying the spiritual world of his characters.

III

Feng Jicai's unique voice contained in his works is also heard through his use of language. When talking about this problem, the author said: "There are two indispensable elements in language: one is emotional while the other is rational. In the emotional aspect the author expresses and lays out his feelings about life in a lyrical manner. It adds to the literary works' power to move the readers. The rational aspect pertains to the author's refinement and condensation of his views and opinions on life and the thoughts he would like to express in his works in a crystallized and meaningful form. This is helpful in bringing out the essence of matters. These two elements must be used together." This statement clearly shows the author's views on literary language and the orientation of his efforts, that is, to make his works highly emotive and at the same time pregnant with profound meaning.

The emotional aspect of his literary language is displayed through the author's skill at using emotion-packed and brightly colored language in sketching an artistic realm wherein human emotions merge with the setting and in instilling his attitude and values toward things and events into his work. Were not the beginning and ending of the novella "Ah!" written in poetic language? The "exceptionally beautiful" spring, the "bright and shining" sunlight and birds "shooting to the sky" stood in sharp contrast to the intense struggle in the historical research institute, the stifling atmosphere and the people who had lost their freedom. An irrepressible resentment permeates every line. In Chapter 4, part 2 of "Going Astray on a Flower-Paved Road," the author used the description of the magnificent, sprawling Great Wall to express fervent love for the motherland and hatred of villains in history. The novella said: "It is the symbol of the Chinese people." "It possesses great wisdom, courage and imagination. It has an infinitely bold, diligent, enduring and mysterious creative power. It is a miracle of humankind. No force can revive its original look, yet no force can destroy it either. Those buffoons who humiliated and belittled it will ultimately die an ignominious death at its foot." This powerful language harmoniously blended with the characters' surging emotions.

In portraying his characters the author also instills his own feelings into his pen. He uses language of various timbres and colors to show his varying attitudes toward his characters. For example, there is his description of faction head Hao Jianguo's skills at conducting provocative propaganda: "He is always emotion filled and provocative. He could call into action passers-by who are total strangers and build a fire out of stones." At first glance this seems to be an affirmation of Hao's propaganda skills, yet in reality this is a stinging satire on his wagging tongue. In the same piece there is a descriptive passage which runs like this: "Now, the agitated atmosphere had entered people's heads like hot air. Their brain cells swelled like fermented flour..." Without any explanation, the readers can easily see that this simile is a metaphorical allusion to the social havoc and poisoning of people's minds brought about by the fanatic political tide stirred up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It demonstrates the author's feeling of abomination.

Of course, we are not saying that authors should include long-winded empty discussions in literary works, because too much discussion makes a piece dry and boring and destroys the integrity of the characters' personality and the continuity of the plot. However, we must not also totally negate discussion in literary work. Good and appropriate discussion usually adds flavor and brings a piece to life. It not only does not affect the charm of the images created but also adds to the ideological color of the piece. Gorkiy once pointed out: "Writers must be good at flowing, compact and meaningful description." Feng Jicai's efforts in this respect are commendable. He does not insert discussions which are divorced from the development of the plot and of the characters' personality. From time to time he puts in a few words in the midst of his narrative or description to inject his views on the times, on society, life, friendship, love and social mores and practices. Some of his opinions show keen insight and are quite inspiring. The following passage was lifted from "Ah!":

> Sometimes life forces people to put on an act, wittingly or unwittingly. There are farces that are seriously acted out, and there are serious things which are funny. Sometimes you think that you are a director who manipulates others, yet in reality you are but an actor acting out the part of a director. Then you are the only one to blame, because you have illusions of stepping on other people's heads and achieving a meteoric rise to wealth and power.

This opinion concerns Jia Dazhen. Political work group leader Jia Dazhen was an arrogant despot in the little world of the historical research institute. He thought he was the master of life and the "director" of history. In reality, he was just "an actor acting out the part of a director." The passage was not only a stinging satire on people like Jia Dazhen. It also shows the author's profound understanding of historical development.

Literary language must be picturesque and vivid. It must have its distinctive character. Even rational discussions in literary work must strive to realize this characteristic. The reason why some discussions in Feng Jicai's stories are so eye catching is that he writes them in vivid, picturesque artistic language and rarely uses political jargon. This enables the discussions to blend into the whole literary piece, thus preventing them from being a nuisance, from being cumbersome and abominable. A passage in "Ah!" goes like this: "Two hearts can sometimes immediately merge into one, like two drops of water which combine into one as soon as they touch; yet sometimes they can be as far apart from each other as two planets. When we look from one planet to another, the other planet is wrapped in thick fog. It is mysterious, like a puzzle which is difficult to solve." This discussion used crystal-clear images and contains profound meaning. It inspires people ideologically while also possessing great artistic appeal.

The foregoing points are our most vivid impressions after reading Feng Jicai's works. Although this does not purport to be a comprehensive analysis and evaluation of his works, at least we can see from certain aspects that he has gained preliminary achievement and has ascertained the orientation of his efforts in his artistic undertaking.

Of course, because he is a young writer there still are shortcomings in Feng Jicai's artistic creations. However, as a writer he is diligently exploring and striving to create his own artistic style in order to make his voice more refreshing and more touching. We believe that, as long as he persists in his efforts and tirelessly studies, explores and improves, Comrade Feng Jicai will certainly reap more fruits in his artistic endeavors. He will certainly be able to create his own outstanding and unique literary style.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF METHANE IS AN IMPORTANT TASK IN SOLVING THE RURAL ENERGY PROBLEM

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[Article by Huang Zhijie [7806 1807 2638] and Zhang Zhengmin [1728 2973 2404]]

[Text] In the past few years, people of all walks of life have been concerned about the energy shortage in our country. However, people usually focus their attention on the problem of the shortage of energy in the cities and overlook shortages in the broad rural areas. At present our country possesses insufficient energy resources in the rural areas. There is a serious shortage of fuel both for production and for people's daily lives. We should pay sufficient attention to the problem of energy in the rural areas. In developing coal, oil and electricity we should at the same time actively tap new energy sources and make great efforts to develop methane. This is a strategic approach to solving the energy problem in the rural areas of our country.

I

For a long time, firewood and crop stalks have been the chief fuels for daily life in the rural areas of our country. Today there are 1.5 billion people throughout the world using this ancient way of burning firewood directly to cook rice--half of them in China. At present there are 170 million peasant households in our country. If we calculate 10 kilograms of firewood as the average daily consumption of each household, 600 million tons are needed each year. But the total quantity of crop stalks produced amounts to just over 400 million tons. After reducing this amount for fodder and industrial raw material, the remainder is far from enough for the needs of the peasants' daily lives. Even if the coal and charcoal supplied to commune members for their daily needs are added, together with the firewood they cut and the dry excrement of livestock they collect, about two-thirds of the peasant households still lack fuel in varying degrees. A large quantity of stalks is burned year after year without the residue being returned to the fields. This results in a decrease of organic matter in the soil and the loss of a large quantity of fertilizing elements such as nitrogen and phosphorus, thus causing great damage to the cycle between the soil and crops. Besides, burning stalks directly also means burning fodder, which in turn causes a shortage of grass for livestock. To solve the fuel shortage problem the peasants fell trees in forests and even dig up grass to use the roots for fuel. This damages the trees and plants in woods and forests and causes a rapid increase of sand in the soil and soil erosion, thereby unbalancing the ecology. If this phenomenon continues, it will seriously affect the development of our country's agriculture, forestry and husbandry.

Then how can the problem of fuel shortages in the rural areas of our country be solved? If coal alone is used as fuel throughout the rural areas, the amount of coal consumed each year will exceed 250 million tons, and the government will have to spend 40-50 billion yuan to mine and transport such a large quantity of coal. Obviously it will be impossible to do this for quite a long time to come. So the practical and feasible ways are to make the best use of the natural resources in different places, build small hydropower stations, utilize solar energy, plant fuel forests and so on and take the road of using diverse energy sources. Among them, the full utilization of biological energy--preparing and making use of methane--has special significance. It is an important way to solve the fuel shortage problem in the rural areas of our country.

Numerous facts prove that making use of methane in the rural areas can greatly ease the grave fuel shortage there. Shanghai's suburban Qi Xian Commune is one place that has suffered serious fuel shortages. In the past, 70 percent of the peasant households there were short of fuel for more than 4 months of the year. Besides burning crop stalks, they purchased over 1,500 tons of coal each year. After the use of methane became popular, the commune saved over 300,000 jin of stalks in 1978 alone, and the coal it bought that year was 1,000 tons less than before. There are 44 households in a production team in Mian Yang, Sichuan, that lacked 47,000 jin of firewood each year and had to buy 38,000 jin of coal each year. After methane was introduced, the people were able to use it for cooking rice and to provide light for more than 10 months a year. In 3 years they have saved a total of 78,000 jin of coal, 110,000 jin of firewood and 1,700 jin of kerosene.

The reason using methane can save fuel is that the efficiency of burning stalks directly usually does not exceed 10 percent, but when stalks are used for preparing methane the efficiency usually can be raised to about 50 percent. That is to say, if 20 jin of stalks are needed when burning them directly, only 11 or 12 jin will be needed when methane is burned instead. In the preparation of methane a certain amount of human and livestock excrement as well as weeds are needed. Usually, human and livestock excrement would not have been used as fuel, but when put into the methane pit to ferment it can produce a considerable quantity of methane. Using the excrement, only 5 to 6 jin of stalks will be enough to produce fuel for a family of five.

The development of methane can make full use of the stalks' functions as fuel, fodder and fertilizer. It can basically solve the problem of fuel for commune members' daily life in the rural areas, and it can also save a large quantity of stalks for fodder to develop animal husbandry; the liquid and dregs in the methane pit again are fine-quality organic fertilizer which helps to develop agricultural production; after methane has been developed, firewood is no longer cut at random, which also helps to develop forestry; furthermore, human and livestock excrement and weeds are put into pits to ferment, which kills the eggs of parasites and destroying germs, and this is in the interest of the environment and sanitation and of improving the health of the masses. It is clear that the development of methane is beneficial to the country, beneficial to the collectives and beneficial to the commune members themselves. It has an important bearing on the construction of a socialist new countryside and on speeding up the modernization of agriculture.

II

Methane production involves a complicated heat decomposition process. It is generated by using organic matter such as excrement and urine and crop stalks which are hidden and isolated from air and acted on by anaerobes. Therefore, the development of methane requires certain material and natural conditions. We must take into account the raw material for fermentation, the changes in temperature, the materials for building pits, the technical capability and the demand for developing methane so as to scientifically select the places and focal points for developing methane.

The basic raw materials for producing methane include excrement and urine, stalks, water, weeds, etc. These fermenting raw materials are closely related to the development levels of agriculture and animal husbandry, as well as natural conditions--particularly temperature and rainfall.

Temperature is important in generating methane. The rise or fall of temperature determines the speed of fermentation and the quantity of gas generated. At present the methane pits in the rural areas are all designed for underground fermentation at ambient temperature. Ground temperatures of 10-27 degrees Centigrade are more suitable. Usually no gas or very little gas is generated at temperatures below 10 degrees. The ground temperature changes with regions, seasons or atmospheric temperature. According to temperature records, the rough distribution in our country of the number of months with average monthly atmospheric temperatures above 10 degrees is as follows: Counties with more than 10 months amount to 461, making up 19 percent of the whole country; counties with 8-9 months amount to 538, making up 25 percent; counties with 6-7 months amount to 810, making up 34 percent; counties with less than 5 months amount to 518, making up 22 percent. The vast expanse of land south of the Changjiang River has a mild climate, especially Guangdong, Guangxi, Yunnan, Fujian, etc. The atmospheric temperatures in these places are suitable for developing methane. Quite a number of regions, particularly Xizang, Qinghai, Heilongjiang, etc., have a severe cold climate. Insulation measures are needed to develop methane.

To produce methane, the first thing to do is to build pits, which requires a large quantity of bricks, stone, sand, lime, cement and other materials. Then there must be a technical contingent with knowledge of methane and ability in construction and management.

In conclusion, to insure the steady development of methane, we must stick to the principle of suiting measures to local conditions and have a clear understanding of the resources of the locality, the temperature, materials for constructing pits, technical conditions and so on. As to what type of pits should be built and what kind of materials should be used, we must suit our measures to local conditions and, in accordance with actual needs and potentials, build pits by stages and in groups and do what we are capable of. We must stress practical results, consolidate a group after building a group and not make a terrific din or one-sidedly seek quantity. Disregarding objective conditions or popularizing by rigid administrative decree is wrong and will get us nowhere.

III

In past years the promotion and popularization of methane in our country have had some success, but many problems remain unsolved. At present more than 6 million methane pits have been built in the rural areas in our country, but less than 60 percent are in normal use. Of the latter, not too many can often be used to cook rice three times a day, and still less can be used every day for four seasons of the year. In some places the past mistake was repeated. Quick success and instant benefits were sought. The methane pits could generate methane the first year but failed to do so the second and had to be reported as worthless the third. The main reasons were imperfect organization, failure to implement policies or consider materials and expenses, and mismanagement.

In view of these problems, we believe that in the process of developing methane we should pay attention to the following points:

1. Strengthen leadership and develop steadily. Initiating methane production is an important part of the fundamental construction of agriculture. Many things are related to it. It not only influences the development of agriculture, forestry, husbandry and sideline occupation, but also concerns the problem of the commune member's daily life. It involves the problems of construction and technique and also involves the problem of economic policy. It has to do with the allocation of labor power, the supply of materials, and so on and so forth. Therefore, there must be unified and comprehensive planning under the leadership of the people's government at different levels.

An important point in strengthening leadership is to have a sound organization. Special organs should be set up in provinces and counties and special persons should be appointed to have responsibility in communes and production teams. Someone must grasp the work at each level, and someone must manage it in each production team. All relevant government departments, especially departments concerning planning, finance, banking, materials and science and technology, should give their full support. Production team leaders should, without exception, be personally in charge of this task. For the time being, the main target in developing methane should be to solve the problem of fuel and lighting for each and every household. Places and units with necessary conditions can also prepare to try constructing some bigger types of methane pits for solving the problem of power for production in the rural areas.

2. Concentrate the strength and develop a piece at a time. This has been the successful experience of many places in developing methane. Mianyang Municipality was the first place in Sichuan to promote methane. Once it succeeded, it became popular throughout the province. Mianyang Municipality had first concentrated efforts on promoting methane in Yong Xing District. Once this district succeeded, the whole municipality soon popularized it. In Huanggang Prefecture of Hubei, Guangji and Huanggang were first chosen as experimental counties. Manpower, materials and money were concentrated in these two counties, and methane

was developed progressively in one production team after another and one production brigade after another. Such experience proves that concentration of strength and development of a piece at a time are beneficial to strengthening leadership and to building up a contingent of specialized technicians.

3. Respect science and persist in putting quality first. Whether the undertaking of methane can be developed and consolidated or not depends, to a great extent, on assuring the quality of the methane pits. Methane pits should be standardized, systematized and generalized. Building solid and lasting methane pits in keeping with the standard is the foundation for producing methane. So in producing methane we must respect science, pay attention to quality and try our utmost to make each newly built pit a success. With the prerequisite of guaranteeing quality, the costs of building pits can be lowered. However, we cannot one-sidedly emphasize lowering construction costs and should not overemphasize practicing economy so that the quality of the construction of the pits might be affected, thus creating difficulty for management afterwards. Methane technique and service stations have been set up in some places to insure maintenance and repair of methane pits. This is an important measure to guarantee the quality of the pits. In places where conditions are favorable, concrete prefabricated methane pits should be actively recommended. Prefabricated parts should be produced in factories, complete sets should be supplied as commodities and installation and construction should be done in a specialized way. These are of great help in guaranteeing the quality of construction of the pits.

4. Pay attention to drafting and implementing reasonable policies. After methane is employed, methane use by commune members and fertilizer use by the collective are closely related to the interests of the collective and individuals. How to evaluate and fix the amount of work for building pits and for routine maintenance and work points for putting materials and manure into the pits should strictly follow economic laws. Reasonable economic policies should be formulated according to the principles of assessing prices according to quality and paying according to work. According to the investigation by the municipality of Shanghai, more than 10,000 methane pits, constituting 18 percent of the total number of the city's pits, cannot function normally simply because the leaders in some districts disregard proper management of methane. The fertilizer policy was not implemented. After the methane pits were built, no materials were fed into them or the materials were not replaced. Consequently, more than 10,000 methane pits were not functioning properly, which amounts to 18 percent of the total. Some cadres of the production teams believe that methane burns up the "fertilizing effects" and that fertilizer from methane pits is no longer effective, so the work points for putting manure into methane pits are fixed at a very low rate, and the commune members are reluctant to do this work. Some production teams pay no attention to adding and extracting materials from pits, which also affects the replacement of materials in them. There is a production team in Nan Hui County of Shanghai which actively supports commune members' adding materials to pits and appropriately arranges labor to extract or add materials regularly. It also gives reasonable compensation to commune members for the manure they put in and for the labor in putting it in. Consequently, all 25 methane pits in the production team are generating methane, reaching a utilization rate of 100 percent.

5. Strengthen management and do a good job of solving the contradiction between using methane and using fertilizer. "Thirty percent depends on the construction of pits and 70 percent on the management of them." This saying vividly explains the relationship between constructing pits and managing them. If after the commune members have spent money, done work and put in materials the pits are not generating methane normally, it will not only be unable to solve the fuel problem of the masses but also will dampen their enthusiasm. Therefore, after the pits are built, a set of practical and feasible management methods must be laid down. Only when the pits are managed and used well can their effects and advantages be given full play. At present some commune and team cadres' understanding of the importance and complexity of the work of managing methane is insufficient. They often attach importance to construction but are indifferent to management, attach importance to fertilizer but are indifferent to methane, and some even think that using methane conflicts with using fertilizer. In some places, because of lack of planning, all the fertilizer in the methane pits was scooped out for use the moment fertilizer was needed, which stopped the commune members from using methane. All of these problems require serious study and solution.

In the work of managing methane, both the interests of the individuals and the interests of the collective must be considered. Methane pits must be made to serve both agricultural production and the livelihood of the commune members. Use of fertilizer by the collective and of methane by individuals must be combined and handled appropriately. Only with manure can methane be prepared, and only with methane can the sources of fertilizer be enlarged. Only when the commune members are assured of using methane regularly can more stalks be put aside for preparing methane and producing fertilizer and can the quantity and quality of methane and fertilizer be raised. The key point in solving the contradiction between methane and fertilizer is to properly arrange in advance the adding and extracting of materials according to the production seasons. In this way, neither the use of methane nor the use of fertilizer is affected.

The most important measure in strengthening the management of methane is to train managerial personnel for methane and to form a contingent of specialized technicians who are not delegated from other regular work. In the past few years the development of methane in some places has been expedited. An important reason is that they have changed their thinking of attaching importance to construction and disregarding management, have trained a large number of peasant technicians who are capable of constructing and maintaining methane pits and have mastered the technique of using methane, and have strengthened management, thus creating conditions for developing methane rapidly.

6. Strengthen scientific research and raise the level of methane utilization. Methane use is still a newly developed area of science and technology. Many scientific principles need further investigation, and many technical problems need to be solved. We must persist in carrying out scientific tests, raise the level of construction, management and utilization, and try hard to have pits with low construction costs, pits of high quality, pits that can generate more methane and pits that can be used all year round. From the standpoint of popularizing methane use, we must now study and solve the problem of mechanization in extracting materials from methane pits, the problem of standardization in building pits, the problem of generating methane in winter and the problem of giving greater assurances for the use of methane. The further strengthening of scientific research work will permit even faster methane development in our country and enable methane to make a greater contribution to the modernization of agriculture.

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DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR POWER GENERATION IS ONE WAY TO SOLVE THE ENERGY PROBLEM

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[Lectures on scientific and technological knowledge by Wang Ganchang [3769 3227 2490], Lian Peisheng [6647 1014 3932], Li Yingxiang [2621 7751 5046] and Kang Lixin [1660 0500 2450]]

[Text] The energy problem is a world problem. Many countries, including some developing ones, have now taken the vigorous exploitation and utilization of nuclear energy as a strategic policy to solve the energy problem. Nuclear energy is playing an increasingly important role in the world's structure of energy resources. Our country needs a great deal of energy for its four modernizations. The energy problem is of primary importance in the four modernizations. According to the experiences of many countries and the concrete conditions in our country, our country's energy planning should not only stress exploitation and utilization of fossil fuels, such as petroleum, natural gas and coal, and waterpower resources, but also pay close attention to studying, exploiting and utilizing nuclear energy. This article attempts to give a brief introduction to the technical and economic characteristics of nuclear energy, the general situation of the world's development of nuclear power generation and the necessity and possibility of developing nuclear power generation in our country.

I. Nuclear Energy and Nuclear Power Plants

Nuclear energy is also known as atomic energy. It is the energy released when the structure of the atomic nucleus undergoes a change. There are two kinds of nuclear energy: the first is the energy released by a heavy element (such as uranium and plutonium) when its atomic nucleus undergoes fission reaction; the second is the energy released by a light element (such as deuterium and tritium, which are isotopes of hydrogen) when its atomic nucleus undergoes fusion reaction.

In a fission reaction the atomic nucleus of uranium-235 is bombarded by a neutron, splits into two lighter atomic nuclei and at the same time gives out energy and 2 or 3 neutrons of a new generation. The collision of neutrons of a new generation with other atomic nuclei of uranium causes a new fission reaction. This process goes on and causes a chain reaction, so that it is possible to continuously "ignite" large numbers of atomic nuclei and release a great deal of energy.

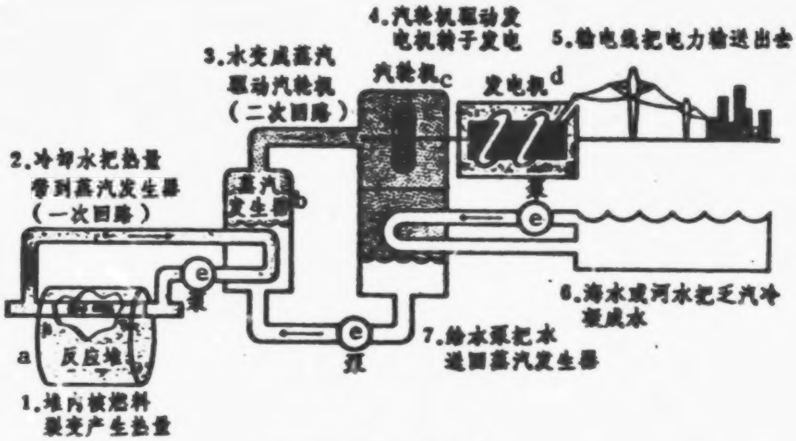
In a fusion reaction, deuterium and tritium are treated by heat and stripped of their atoms, which become electrons and ions and form a high-temperature plasma. When the electrons and ions fuse to become helion, they will release neutrons and a great deal of energy.

Nuclear energy is different from chemical energy. Chemical energy is the energy released by atoms when a chemical combination takes place between the atoms. But the nuclei of these atoms do not undergo a change. Nuclear energy is the energy released when the structure of atomic nuclei undergoes a change (fission or fusion). The binding force between particles (neutrons and protons) in an atomic nucleus is much greater than that between atoms. The amount of energy released in a nuclear reaction is therefore several million times greater than that released in a chemical reaction. For example, the amount of energy released by a kilogram of uranium-235 is roughly equal to the amount of energy released by 2,400 tons of standard coal. A thermoelectric powerplant generating 1 million kilowatts of electric power needs 3 to 4 million tons of raw coal a year, or 8 trainloads of coal every day. A nuclear powerplant of the same scale needs 28 tons of uranic fuel containing 3 percent of uranium-235, or 130 tons of natural uranic fuel a year. It goes without saying that energy-intensive nuclear fuels are superior by far to fossil fuels as far as extraction and transportation are concerned.

In order to make controllable use of nuclear energy, people have invented the nuclear reactor. In the power generation system the nuclear reactor acts as the boiler. A nuclear powerplant differs from a thermoelectric powerplant in that the latter obtains heat by burning fossil fuel in the boiler while the former acquires heat through the fission of nuclear fuel in the reactor. The diagram on the following page shows the operational principles of a nuclear powerplant.

There are many types of nuclear reactors. A modern nuclear powerplant is usually equipped with a light water reactor or a heavy water reactor which uses uranium dioxide as fuel. Uranium dioxide is put into the shape of a small stick and inserted into an anticorrosive, irradiance-proof tube of zirconium alloy which is sealed at both ends. Thus, a fuel stick is made. A few dozen or hundreds of such fuel sticks are put together to make fuel components (or fuel modules). These fuel components are placed inside the core pipe of the reactor. A reactor may comprise hundreds of fuel components. When a nuclear powerplant goes into operation, heat energy is produced by fission reaction of the fuel at the core of the reactor. This heat energy is carried to the steam generator by the water of the first loop which flows through the core tube. The steam generator then transmits the heat to the water of the second loop, turning it into high-temperature and high-pressure steam to drive the turbine to generate electricity.

In a thermal neutron reactor, only the isotopes of uranium-235 take part in the chain reaction. They account for only 0.7 percent of the natural uranium, and the remaining 99.3 percent consists of almost nonfissionable isotopes of uranium-238. Utilization of uranium-238 is a problem attracting people's attention. Some countries have begun to solve this problem by building fast neutron breeder reactors. In a reactor of this kind, a greater number of neutrons are captured by uranium-238 and transformed into fissionable plutonium-239. It is called a breeder reactor because more fissionable materials are produced than consumed.


4.汽轮机驱动发电机转子发电
5.输电线把电力输送出去
3.水变成蒸汽驱动汽轮机（二次回路）
汽轮机c
发电机d
2.冷却水把热量带到蒸汽发生器（一次回路）
蒸汽发生器b
e
泵
e
6.海水或河水把乏汽冷凝成水
e
泵
7.给水泵把水送回蒸汽发生器
a
反应堆
1.堆内核燃料裂变产生热量

8. 核电站流程示意图

Key:

1. Heat is produced through fission reaction in the reactor
2. Cold water brings the heat to the steam generator (first loop)
3. Water turns into steam to drive the turbine (second loop)
4. The turbine drives the generator to produce electricity
5. Power transmission lines transmit electric power to users
6. Waste steam is condensed through coolant—water from sea or river
7. Water pump feeds condensed water back to the steam generator
8. Diagram showing the operational principles of a nuclear powerplant

a. Reactor
b. Steam generator
c. Turbine
d. Electric power generator
e. Pump

The fast neutron breeder reactor nuclear powerplants in the world at present are still at the prototype stage. Another system for breeding thorium is being studied and developed. When this reactor technology matures and is applied in a wider field it will be possible to fully utilize the uranium resources and to increase their utilization by a few dozen times. This will be of great economic significance.

Many foreign countries are now studying the utilization of energy generated by nuclear fusion. Our country is also carrying out some basic study on a fairly large scale. The key to a fusion reaction lies in the presence of some specific conditions for a plasma, such as temperature, density and time. Two methods are being studied to create these conditions: the first is magnetic binding, by such means as the Tokamak equipment and magnetic mirror; the second is inertial binding, such as bombardment of a target by a high-power pulse laser or by a charged particle beam. Both methods have made great headway. It is expected that "ignition" can be achieved at the end of the 1980's. Some countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union, have drawn up plans for building the fusion prototype reactor around the year 2000. Deuterium, the material for a fusion reactor, can be obtained from the inexhaustible source of seawater. The invention of a fusion reactor will basically solve the problem of energy supply for mankind.

To sum up, using nuclear energy to generate electric power is a great achievement of modern science and technology. The development of the use of nuclear energy will generally cover three stages: First, the currently mature technology of the thermal neutron reactor is applied extensively in exploiting and utilizing the fission energy of uranium-235 and in further developing the advanced converter. Second, studies are carried out on the breeder reactor, and it is built to exploit and utilize the fission energy generated by uranium-238 and thorium. Third, studies are carried out on the fusion reactor, and it is built to exploit and utilize the fusion energy generated by deuterium and tritium. This shows that nuclear energy resources have great vitality and bright prospects for development.

II. The Safety and Economy of the Nuclear Powerplant

It is safe and economical to generate electric power by nuclear energy. Some people often link the nuclear powerplant with the atomic bomb and worry that a nuclear powerplant accident might result in an explosion like that of an atomic bomb. Their worries are lacking in scientific proof. A nuclear powerplant and an atomic bomb are two completely different things. The nuclear fuel of an atomic bomb is highly concentrated, with more than 90 percent uranium. An atomic bomb undergoes instantaneous chain reaction of a high concentrate of densely packed fissionable material, whereas an atomic reactor undergoes controllable chain reaction of loosely packed, dilute fissionable material. An atomic reactor is not designed for a nuclear explosion. Therefore, under no circumstances will a nuclear powerplant produce a nuclear explosion like that of an atomic bomb.

People also worry about the harm which the radioactivity of a nuclear powerplant might do to the human body. Actually, radioactivity is present everywhere man lives. Generally speaking, everyone receives from nature a dosage of radiation of about 100 millirems a year (a millirem is the unit for measuring the biological effect caused by radiation). This is chiefly caused by cosmic rays, the soil, building materials and the radioactive material in the human body. In places where the earth's crust gives out a relatively high quantity of radiation (such as India, Brazil and some localities in southern Hunan and northern Guangdong in our country), the residents receive from nature a dosage of radiation of 500-1,000 millirems a year. However, no abnormal effect done to the human body has been discovered. The residents living near an operating nuclear powerplant actually receive a radiation dosage of 1 to 2 millirems a year, which is far smaller than the radiation dosage they receive from nature.

Of course, we should be highly vigilant against the harm caused by radiation. Therefore, when a modern nuclear powerplant is designed, protective measures are taken and radiation shielding built in every possible way to prevent the leakage of radioactive material. First, the fuel core is a compact earthen container which holds 99 percent of the radioactive material. Radioactive material will not be released as long as the core does not melt. Second, the fuel core is protected by a cladding, a pressure vessel and a safety shield so that it is leakproof. The possibility of simultaneously destroying these three protectors is negligible. There are other safety devices inside the reactor. The big and medium-sized nuclear powerplants of the world have now accumulated the experiences of more than 1,400 reactor-years of operation (a reactor-year means a year in which a reactor has been operated). They have never had an accident involving large radiation leakage and never caused injury or death among the residents in neighboring areas and among their staffs and workers.

The Three Mile Island nuclear powerplant in the United States had an accident in March 1979 because of some operational error and mechanical failure. This was a rather serious accident and was unprecedented in the history of operation of nuclear powerplants. The investigations and analyses of this accident showed that the reactor stop system, the emergency cooling system, the safety shield and other safety devices had functioned according to the design and succeeded in retaining almost all radioactive matters in the safety shield. Each of the residents living within 50 miles of the plant received an average radiation dosage of only 1.5 millirems. The commission appointed by the U.S. President to investigate this accident said in its report: "The most serious question is that many parts of the news reports on the radiation leakage and the explanations on the importance (or unimportance) of this leakage were exaggerated." After the Three Mile Island accident the antinuclear movement in the West had a new upsurge. This movement had a complicated background and was affected by various political, economic, social and psychological factors. We should analyze this background and these factors. Various countries have learned a lesson from this accident and taken steps to prevent similar accidents and run their nuclear powerplants more safely and more reliably.

A salient economic feature of the nuclear powerplant is that it requires a great investment in its capital construction but its fuel is cheap. The investment in capital construction of a foreign nuclear powerplant is 1.5 to 2 times that in a thermoelectric powerplant generating an equal quantity of power. If the investment in extraction, processing and transportation of fuel is also taken into account, the total investment in a nuclear powerplant is more or less the same as that in a thermoelectric powerplant. Moreover, in a foreign country the cost of power generated by a nuclear powerplant is 20 to 50 percent lower than that of power generated by a thermoelectric powerplant. The following table is a comparison between the costs of nuclear power and thermoelectric power per kilowatt-hour:

Country	Nuclear power	Power generated by coal	Power generated by oil	Year
United States (U.S. cent)	1.5	2.3	4.0	1978
France (centime)	10.4	12.6	14.1	1978
Britain (pence)	0.69	1.07	1.27	1977
Canada (Canadian cent)	1.09	1.937	---	1979
Italy (U.S. cent)	2.27	---	2.82	1976

Fuel charges account for a small proportion of the costs of a nuclear powerplant. Therefore, when fuel charges rise, a nuclear powerplant will show its economic superiority more conspicuously. For example, in Canada, when fuel charges in 1979 rose by 15 percent as against those in 1978, the increase in the cost of nuclear power was only 22 percent of that in the cost of thermoelectric power.

III. A General Account of the Development of Nuclear Power Generation in the World

The history of the development of nuclear power generation in the world can be summarized in this way: The 1950's was the initial period; the 1960's was the maturing period; and the 1970's was a period of extensive development. By the end of 1979, 22 countries and regions possessed 229 reactors which were functioning in nuclear powerplants and had a total installed capacity of 125 million kilowatts; another 301 reactors were being built or planned, and their installed capacity totaled 280 million kilowatts.

The countries where electric power is generated by nuclear energy and exceeds 10 percent of the total amount of electric power generated include the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Switzerland, Japan, Bulgaria and Finland. In Sweden and Belgium more than 20 percent of their electric energy is generated by nuclear power. The portion of electric power generated by nuclear energy exceeds 50 percent in several northeastern states (Maine, Vermont and Connecticut) in the United States.

What deserves attention is that it is not only the countries with few resources which are devoting major efforts to developing nuclear power generation. Countries such as the Soviet Union, the United States, Canada and Brazil, which have vast territories like China and possess rich resources of coal, petroleum, natural gas and hydroelectric power, are drawing up plans for large-scale development of nuclear power generation. (See the following table)

Nuclear Power Generation Plans of a Few Countries

Country	Soviet Union	United States	Canada	Brazil	China
Population (million)	260	220	23	110	960
Land (million sq km)	22.4	9.36	9.97	8.50	9.60
Geological reserve of coal (billion tons)	4,900	2,600	3,000	Very little	1,400
Waterpower resources (million kilowatts)	270	190	120	230	680
Utilization of waterpower resources (percent)	12	43	33	10	2.3
Nuclear power capacity in 1979 (million kilowatts)	11.5	52.0	5.5	Nil	Nil
Nuclear power development plan (million kilowatts)	125	300	17	60	?
Year in which the plan ends	(1990)	(2000)	(1990)	(2000)	---

According to data collected from all sources, the following table shows the proportion of energy from various sources that will be used worldwide by the years 2000 and 2020:

Year	Petroleum (percent)	Coal (percent)	Natural gas (percent)	Nuclear energy (percent)	Others (percent)	Total (percent)
1979	43	28	20	2	7	100
2000	29	28	23	10	10	100
2020	11	26	13	31	19	100

We can see from the above table that the proportion of coal will remain stable over the next 40 years. The energy shortage caused by the big decrease in the proportion of petroleum will have to be compensated for by use of nuclear energy and energy from other sources. It is estimated that by the year 2000 the world's installed capacity of nuclear power will amount to 0.8-1.0 billion kilowatts, and electric power generated by nuclear energy will exceed 30 percent of the total electric energy production. The Three Mile Island nuclear powerplant accident in the United States and the antinuclear movement in the West do not hinder the nuclear energy policies of various countries. U.S. President Carter delivered a speech on restricting nuclear power development when he ran for the presidency. After the Three Mile Island accident, however, he emphatically pointed out that coal and nuclear energy were the two main pillars of the United States' future energy resources. In 1979 the Soviet Union decided to increase its nuclear power capacity by 10 times in 10 years. Among the developing countries which devote major efforts to developing nuclear power generation are India, Romania, Spain, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. In a few words, due to the influence of economic and political factors, the world's speed of nuclear power development may vary from time to time, but generally it will not decrease.

IV. The Necessity and Possibility of Developing Nuclear Power Generation in Our Country

1. Developing nuclear power generation is the best way to solve the problem of uneven distribution of resources.

Our country has very rich coal and waterpower resources. However, they are distributed unevenly. Over 60 percent of the coal resources are distributed in north China, and over 70 percent of the waterpower resources are in southwest China. An energy shortage is felt in eight provinces and one municipality in the south where industries thrive and which have a large population. Hunan, Hubei, Guangdong, Guangxi, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian and Jiangxi provinces and Shanghai Municipality are inhabited by 36.5 percent of the country's population but possess only 2 percent of the country's coal resources and only 10 percent of its waterpower resources. To regulate supply and demand of energy in various parts of the country, 43 percent of the country's railroad transport capacity and 47 percent of the water transport capacity of the Ministry of Communications are devoted to transportation of coal and petroleum. In light of the distribution of fossil fuels in our country, this problem will become more and more conspicuous as the four modernizations make progress. Nuclear power generation involves a small freight volume and can be carried out flexibly in different areas, so that developing nuclear power generation is the best way to solve this problem.

As far as rational utilization of natural resources is concerned, it is possible to save fossil fuels by developing nuclear power generation. Coal, petroleum and natural gas are valuable industrial chemicals for making synthetic fiber, synthetic rubber, plastics, dyestuffs and medicine. It is a waste to burn them away as fuel. Uranium is used only for making nuclear weapons and as nuclear fuel and not for any other important purposes. Major efforts should be devoted to utilizing nuclear energy in order to save fossil fuels, prolong the duration of their use as much as possible and leave some natural resources behind to our future generations.

2. Our country has the basic conditions for developing nuclear power generation.

Uranium reserves: It has been verified that the exploitable geological storage of uranium is enough to meet the needs of national defense and scientific research and to develop nuclear power generation on a considerably large scale for a few decades. Therefore, our country has better conditions than many other countries for starting nuclear power generation. Geological survey has not been conducted in many parts of our country. Prospecting and drilling were not conducted to a great depth, and geological work was confined to a narrow scope. Therefore, China has great potential resources of uranium.

Manpower: China has a contingent of a large size and a high technical level for studying and designing the reactor. The majority of the members of this contingent are engineers above 40 years of age, are technically proficient and have rich experiences to draw on.

Scientific base: In the base areas for studying and designing the reactor there is a very large number of experimental reactors, particle accelerators, hot cells, return circuit experimental setups and other experimental devices.

Industrial base: China has established a small-scale but rather complete system for its nuclear fuels industry. It has also mastered the major techniques regarding the reprocessing of fuels, separation of uranium isotopes and production of heavy water. The departments concerned can supply heavy water, graphite, aluminum, zirconium, stainless steel and other special materials of fine quality. Our country also has great ability to construct reactor facilities.

To sum up, it is necessary and possible for our country to develop nuclear power generation. Therefore, we have the following several proposals to make:

1. Exploiting and utilizing nuclear energy is an important way to solve the energy problem in our country. Nuclear energy should be included in our country's energy plan and developed to a considerably great extent by the end of this century.

2. In our country, nuclear power generation is developed chiefly for the purpose of solving the problem of uneven distribution of energy resources. Nuclear powerplants should be built in areas where coal and waterpower resources are scarce.

3. In developing nuclear power generation we should adhere to the policy of "taking self-reliance as the key link and foreign aid as a supplement" and draw up a plan for developing nuclear power generation according to our capabilities. We should not underestimate our own capabilities and rely on foreign aid. Meanwhile, we should not neglect our favorable conditions. We should actively bring in advanced foreign technologies.

4. Our country started later than many other countries in developing nuclear power generation. We should firmly grasp scientific and engineering studies. In handling the construction of nuclear powerplants in the near future we should do a good job of designing and building nuclear powerplants equipped with experimental prototype reactors, so as to master the technology, train qualified personnel and accumulate experience. This also creates favorable conditions for us to learn and master foreign technologies. While building breeder reactors and nuclear fusion powerplants, we should strengthen basic studies and applied studies and actively participate in international cooperative projects, so as to quicken our pace in developing nuclear power generation.

5. The construction of nuclear powerplants requires a long period of time and the efforts of many departments. Therefore, we should take early action to do the work in all fields and should not drag out the discussions. Under the unified leadership of the central authorities, various departments should clearly divide the work among themselves and closely cooperate with one another in accomplishing this task, so that nuclear energy can play a splendid role in our country's four modernizations.

(This article is a lecture delivered by Prof Wang Ganchang to the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee and has been revised by the authors--RED FLAG editor)

CSO: 4004

LEADING CADRES MUST STUDY SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 p 48

[Ideological commentary by Zhang Ming [1728 2494]]

[Text] Since the National Conference on Science, many leading cadres have responded to the call of the party Central Committee to attach importance to scientific and technological knowledge. A large number of leading cadres who used to be nonprofessionals have managed to acquire professional knowledge. This is a heartening phenomenon. However, there are still many leading cadres in various departments and units who do not have an adequate understanding of the indispensability and urgency of studying science and technology. They say that "distant water cannot quench present thirst. It does not matter too much whether one studies or not." This view is very wrong. It must be earnestly corrected.

The continuous rapid development of modern science and technology is permeating every facet of social life. It is playing an increasingly important role in the development of material and spiritual civilization. Advanced science and technology is indispensable for our achievement of the four modernizations. Therefore, comrades who are charged with various leadership responsibilities must attach great importance to the study of science and technology. Over the past few decades, because of the frequent occurrence of political campaigns and the influence of erroneous ideas and practices, such as the theory that "nonprofessionals leading professionals is a general rule," some comrades who wanted to strive to become professionals in their work were powerless to do so. They did not have a chance to really devote efforts to study. An even greater number of comrades were content to be "uncouth fellows" forever. They were proud of being nonprofessional. We did not vigorously advocate the study of science and technology. Nor did we earnestly organize the cadres to engage in such study. This was a great mistake in our work. It has already brought about great difficulties in the building of the four modernizations. Today, now that the work focus of the whole party has turned to the building of the four modernizations, this situation must not be allowed to continue. Facts have shown that a country with a great number of people who are "blind to science" and occupy leadership organs at all levels will never be able to build modernization. Leading cadres at all levels must have a basic understanding of the necessity and urgency of studying scientific and technological knowledge in order to measure up to the requirement of the building of the four modernizations and do leadership work well.

Leading cadres' study of science and technology must not only be regular but must also be institutionalized. For a long time our cadre system has had serious defects. We had no system of evaluation and election, and the "iron rice bowl" and life tenure systems were in practice. During this new historical period we must have a new cadre system and a new set of criteria for recruitment. The promotion and appointment of cadres must go through a process of serious evaluation wherein important consideration will be given to how well they study. We must effectively select and promote those comrades who study well, who are good at learning, who continuously improve their working ability and whose work efficiency is outstanding.

Science is a useful branch of knowledge and is developing rapidly day by day. Every comrade who is in charge of leadership work at various levels, no matter what level of cultural and scientific knowledge he previously had, must exert efforts to study hard. Comrades who have a low educational level must find time from work to exert real efforts in studying. Even those comrades who are well educated must not think that the call for leading cadres to study science and technology pertains only to others and not to them. They must realize that a new cycle in modern scientific and technological knowledge is becoming shorter and shorter. People who had some professional knowledge previously might not be able to keep abreast of developments if they do not continue to study.

Comrades of the Central Committee have set a good example for leading cadres at all levels and people of the whole country by inviting scientists to give lectures. If leading comrades of the Central Committee can persist in studying with their heavy workload, all the more should other leading comrades at all levels seize the time and study tirelessly in order to strive to become professionals in the sectors and departments where they work and to mobilize the broad masses of cadres and people to study modern science and technology by their own actions. This will accelerate the pace of our country's building of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

THE MASSES CAN BECOME 'COMMENTATORS'--AN OBJECTION TO THE ARTICLE '"IDLE TALK" SHOULD NOT BE ENCOURAGED'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 p 49

[Article by Yu Biying [0151 3880 5391] of the Guizhou organic chemical plant]

[Text] In my opinion, Comrade Xue Ming's short article "'Idle Talk' Should Not Be Encouraged," carried by RED FLAG No 17, holds a rather biased view. I want to discuss it with him.

First, he regards the "emotional" opinions of the "self-styled" "commentators," the "empty talk and big talk which are pointless and useless," the "nauseating complaints directed against everyone and anything but oneself" and the "impassioned language" heard in "conference rooms, offices and dormitories and appearing in newspapers and other publications," as "idle talk" and as improper. At present our country is in a period of reform. It is beyond reproach for the masses to comment on some new things and to air their views on and even show their dissatisfaction with the difficulties which they see in carrying out the reform. The "impassioned language" appearing in newspapers and other publications should not be negated indiscriminately.

Second, in his article Comrade Xue Ming has inappropriately likened the comments which some comrades have made on certain problems to the idle talk which was a common practice among some philosophers and the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove" during the Wei and Jin dynasties. Today's comments have absolutely nothing to do with the "idle talk" of olden times as far as their cause, purpose, pattern and role are concerned. In addition, the question of whether the "idle talk" caused the weakening and corruption of the country or the country's weakening and corruption engendered the "idle talk" during the Wei and Jin dynasties is a topic for study.

Third, it is entirely correct to advocate "starting with me right now." But this does not mean that "I should not comment on other persons and matters and on the past and the future." In his article Comrade Xue Ming suggests that "one should be a laborer and not an 'idle talker.'" Does he mean to say that the people's bounden duty is to labor and that they are allowed only to "talk about the work of their own units and the work for themselves" and are not allowed to talk about the work of other people and other units and the affairs of the state and the world? Is he correct in saying so?

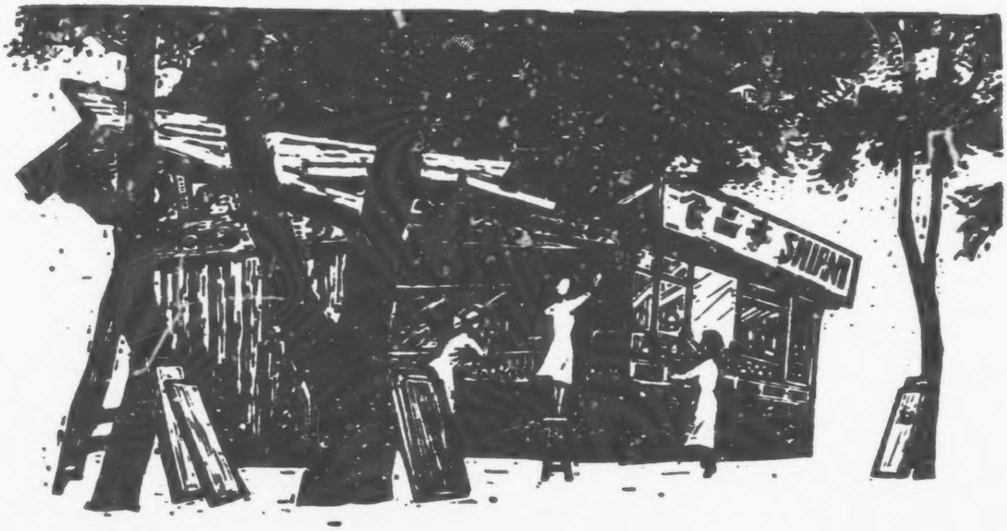
Fourth, I certainly do not mean that one should idle about and just talk the whole day. I oppose all the more the "empty talk and big talk which is pointless and useless." Comrade Xue Ming begins his article by saying: "The practice of 'idle talk' has been prevalent and 'commentators' have been numerous over the past few years. Their tune is high-pitched and emotional." In my opinion, there are signs of "idle talk," but it is exaggerating to say that such "idle talk" has become a "practice" and is "prevalent." These "commentators" have been "numerous," but this is a good sign which should cause no alarm or worry. People are willing to comment on the affairs in our country today. This shows that they have confidence in the future of our country. The people are fully entitled and qualified to be such "commentators." In my humble opinion, these "commentators" may have spoken in a high-pitched tune and held extreme views, but they are far from "damaging national interests." However, there is one reason for anxiety: Those who cling to their feudal ideas and work styles, those who are incompatible with socialist democracy and those who have refused to understand and carry out the series of reform measures adopted by the party and the state over the past few years--they are the objects discussed by the "commentators"--are really "damaging national interests" if they do not readily discard the old and accept the new.

CSO: 4004

MORNING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 outside back cover

[Woodcut by Wang Wei [2769 3555]]



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